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PREFACE.

At the time of Professor Bassett's lamented and untimely death he had completed his editing of the correspondence of Andrew Jackson to the end of the sixth and last volume, so far as text, arrangement, and annotations were concerned. He had not, however, prepared for the fourth, fifth, and sixth volumes the interpretative and illuminating prefaces which it was his practice to prepare on the basis of galley-proofs. In this respect no one can take his place, for no one has the intimate knowledge of Jackson's life which long study of his papers and the preparation of an admirable biography had given to Professor Bassett. If some sort of preface to the present volume is deemed requisite, it falls to the inadequate hands of the general editor of the series to supply it.

It will be perceived that the period of four years covered by the volume, from the beginning of January, 1829, to the end of December, 1832, coincides very nearly with the period of Jackson's first administration of the presidential office, which he assumed on March 4, 1829. To his own mind, that date marked a turning-point in the life of the federal government. "You will recollect", he writes soon after to one of his supporters, "that in the recent political contest, it was said, and truly said, to be a struggle between the virtue of the american people and the corrupting influence of executive patronage."¹ His first duty was to "cleanse the Augean stables". Therefore the choice of proper persons to fill executive offices had a foremost place in his scheme of agenda.

The correspondence does not cast much light on the procedure by which the Cabinet was chosen. With only one of its members was the new President on terms of intimate friendship. That one was Major John H. Eaton of Tennessee, appointed Secretary of War. Jackson's feeling of attachment to him was so warm, or the appointment bore so commanding an aspect to the intensely personal eye with which he looked at such transactions, that Eaton bulks larger in the correspondence than all the rest of the Cabinet put together, with the exception of the useful and sagacious Van Buren. Indeed, if Jackson's correspondence is any guide, the question of Eaton's retention, and of Mrs. Eaton's position in the self-conscious society of a small city of fourteen thousand white inhabitants, held a larger place in the President's thoughts, during at least the first two years of his presidency, than all the public interests of the nation combined. The actual qualities of the major and his battle-scarred companion are a matter of little consequence to history. It is possible that she was chaste; it is certain that she was vulgar.² The President's chivalry

¹ *Infra*, p. 31.

² *Infra*, pp. 145, 189, 196 n. *Autobiography of Van Buren*, pp. 407, 408.

was wasted upon her. Her husband, though Jackson could think him the ablest Secretary of War since Knox, was but an ordinary, easy-going politician. Yet in defense of this precious pair the President of the United States was ready to jeopardize his administration, saved from disaster only by his extraordinary popularity.

Warnings from cooler heads, like Call and McLemore,³ were not lacking, but were without effect save to diminish confidence in the faithfulness of the writers. The President's devoted nephew and secretary, and his young wife, following their convictions courageously yet with exemplary correctness of deportment, were merely thought to have sided with his enemies, and were forced into temporary banishment from the White House. Wearisome as are Jackson's outpourings on the subject, to various correspondents, and the arguments of uncle and nephew, they serve a good purpose in heightening our appreciation of the young man's character and intelligence, and especially of the warm family affection and kindly solicitude which the elder maintained, and pathetically showed, throughout the course of his obsession.

Not less determined than in the subduing and disruption of his Cabinet did Jackson show himself in his dealings with the lesser offices of federal administration. Hosts of deserving democrats arose like swarms of flies to aid in cleansing the "Augean stables". Many of the earlier pages of the volume are brightened by the letters of office-seekers, setting forth their personal services and deserts, disparaging the claims of others, but withal casting no small amount of light on political situations and transactions in their respective states. The book presents illustrations also of the consternation and hardships which the distribution of the spoils of victory brought upon the old set of office-holders. Chief among them is the clarion letter⁴ which the President received from that formidable materfamilias, Mrs. Mary Barney, true daughter of old Samuel Chase.

Other letters show how useful their writers thought it would be to flatter their military chieftain, and the case of Samuel Swartwout shows that, despite warnings from the wise Van Buren and others, expressions of virtuous devotion which to any present-day reader are far from ringing true were accepted at their face value by the guileless hero. Especially curious are his relations with John Randolph of Roanoke, whose mission to Russia has added so much to the gaiety of American diplomatic history. Randolph's letters, rambling as his speeches, are full of devoted admiration and of advice; but when he made his extraordinary nomination of himself to the post of minister to Great Britain,⁵ Jackson had quite enough perspicacity to put the nomination gently aside.

³ *Infra*, pp. 28, 197.

⁴ P. 43.

⁵ Pp. 420, 426-429.

Another personality that emerges most interestingly in the correspondence is that of Van Buren. His interest in impersonal public affairs is far greater than that of Jackson, his range of thought concerning them far wider, his advice always sound, his loyalty beyond question; but if anyone is in doubt as to how he became the political heir of his aging chieftain he has only to observe in these letters his perfect bedside manner—respectful, even obsequious, prudent, vigilant, tactful.

Among public interests of the nation, foreign relations, which had bulked so large in the cares of his predecessor, held little interest for Jackson. He was content to leave them in the hands of the successive Secretaries of State, Van Buren and Livingston. The one exception was that of relations with Texas and Mexico, in which his dealings with the Spaniards and the Southwest, and his sympathetic understanding of the Southwestern frontiersman's point of view, prepared him to take a keen interest. His personal conduct of negotiations respecting the Texan-Mexican boundary can be followed in his correspondence with his friend Colonel Anthony Butler.

Another portion of executive duty that especially appealed to Jackson was the management of relations with the Indians. In this field he had definite views, and was entitled to believe that they were founded on abundant and valuable experience. Respecting the United States Bank, on the other hand, he had had only a planter's experience, with a planter's ordinary difficulties, and he sought the advice of his Cabinet officers and of other members of his administration. Their responses to his first questionings⁶ are among the volume's most interesting contributions.

The issue presented by South Carolina nullification was a plainer one, on which Jackson felt little need of advice, though glad to be informed by Poinsett and others as to the facts of the situation in the state.⁷ In the preceding volume⁸ Robert Y. Hayne and his brother are seen attempting, before Jackson's election, to keep him in line with the extremer state-rights men of South Carolina. In the present volume⁹ Hayne is seen advancing to a more peremptory attitude toward the President; but such courses were adopted in vain. Sentiment for the preservation of the Union and feeling for presidential authority were both too strongly entrenched in Jackson's mind to permit of his wavering in the crisis. Opposition to the nullifiers was moreover heavily reinforced by the firm conviction that the very head and front of the whole movement, its prime instigator and mechanician, was John C. Calhoun, toward whom letter after letter breathes increasing animosity, till finally all varieties of resistance to Jackson are traced to his malign influence.

⁶ Pp. 92-95 (Ingham and Berrien), and pp. 111-114 (J. A. Hamilton).

⁷ Pp. 481, 484-488, 490-494.

⁸ Vol. III., pp. 432-436.

⁹ *Infra*, p. 238.

Many letters are occupied with Calhoun's alleged treachery in the matter of the Florida campaign of 1818 and with Jackson's correspondence with Monroe through the dubious medium of John Rhea, a correspondence of vital import to Jackson's mind, but concerning which it remains difficult to go farther than Professor Bassett's conjectures in a preceding volume.¹⁰ Jackson's memorandum of February, 1831, with aid from a letter of the next month from Colonel John Williams, sets forth his whole defense in convenient summary.¹¹ But the best illumination of the subject comes from the cool and clear brains of ex-Senator Abner Lacock and of ex-Judge John Overton.¹²

Drafts of inaugural addresses and of messages to Congress are not precisely correspondence, but no one will cavil at Professor Bassett's inclusion of several of Jackson's rough drafts of such documents in this volume.¹³ Nothing that is printed in its pages is of greater historical importance, for comparison of these drafts with the texts finally used enables us to estimate, at least approximately, the relation of Jackson and his advisers, respectively, to the composition of his state papers. The drafts are characteristically, unmistakably Jacksonian. The messages or addresses actually delivered often bear little resemblance to them. It is evident that many arguments have been suggested by advisers mindful of a wider range of governmental interests, and that phraseology widely different has been substituted by minds more cautious or more experienced in the art of appealing to public opinion.

Jackson's status in respect to spelling and the minutiae of grammatical composition has been sufficiently discussed by Professor Bassett in the preface to an earlier volume.¹⁴ It is enough to say here that in his presidential years he had improved in both respects. His spelling was, as Professor Bassett indicates, as good as that of many of his neighbors and of some other public men of his time. It was much less good than that of any of the preceding Presidents, and perhaps of any of his successors. But far more important than these defects, in any critical estimate of his quality as a civil magistrate, is the want of coherence of thought which we see in so much of what he wrote, especially when we are reading what he wrote independently, with his own pen.¹⁵ We rightly praise him for straightforward simplicity in action; but directness of will and action is no index of clarity of thought as to reasons, motives, and methods.

Many letters relate to matters of pecuniary business. They illustrate not merely the ordinary perplexities of a planter's life, but also the special difficulties which every President has experienced in giving any reasonable amount of attention to his own personal interests while devoting himself

¹⁰ Vol. II., pp. xii, 348, 404.

¹¹ *Infra*, pp. 228-236.

¹² Pp. 452-457, 152-155.

¹³ Pp. 10, 97, 137, 211, 458, 494.

¹⁴ Vol. I., p. ix.

¹⁵ *E. g.*, the letter on p. 164, *infra*.

to the affairs of the nation. They exhibit Jackson's scrupulous integrity and his practical sagacity; they also exhibit his pugnacity in maintaining his own opinions and claims. Especially noteworthy is the memorandum drawn up in April, 1832, for the guidance of his adopted son in the management of his Tennessee estate.¹⁶ As in the preceding volumes, not a few letters show his strong interest in his racing horses.

No portion of the volume will seem to the reader more attractive than the many and pathetic passages which evince Jackson's constant devotion to the memory of his wife, whose death in December, 1828, had made the months preceding his inauguration so sorrowful. The tenderness of his feeling toward Andrew Donelson and Donelson's young wife shines through all his wrongheaded attempts to bend them to his will in the matter of Mrs. Eaton; and few letters of uncle to nephew could be finer, more marked by kind wisdom and consideration for the spirit of youth, than those in which the old man counsels his other namesake in respect to his temporary attachment to the flirtatious Flora and his permanent alliance with the admirable Sarah.¹⁷

There are letters, too, which exhibit Jackson's natural humanity of disposition, especially in the relation of master to slave.¹⁸ A considerable number of others show his religious feeling, heightened by the loss of his beloved wife—his trust in an overruling Providence and a future life, his belief in prayer, his willingness to support churches, his dislike of sectarianism.¹⁹

It should perhaps have been mentioned, in previous prefaces, that throughout these volumes the mode in which the place and date of the letters has been presented has, for the reader's convenience, been made uniform. It should also have been mentioned that, in addition to those for whose assistance Professor Bassett expressed his thanks in the preface to the first volume of this series, Professor E. M. Eriksson, of Coe College, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, is entitled to gratitude for much helpful aid in the earlier stages of Professor Bassett's labors.

J. FRANKLIN JAMESON.

MAY 18, 1929.

¹⁶ Pp. 431-433.

¹⁷ Pp. 76, 365.

¹⁸ *E. g.*, p. 49.

¹⁹ Pp. 1, 41, 255 n., 256, 353.

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LIST OF LETTERS AND PAPERS OF JACKSON FOR THE
PERIOD JANUARY 1, 1829, TO DECEMBER 31, 1832,
PRINTED ELSEWHERE THAN IN
THIS VOLUME.

Henry Conwell, bishop of Philadelphia, to Jackson. Rome, Jan. 1, 1829. Congratulates Jackson on his election to the presidency. *National Intelligencer*, Jan. 30, 1830; *United States Telegraph*, Feb. 9, 1830.

To a committee of citizens of Louisville, Ky. Hermitage, Jan. 3, 1829. Declines to attend reception because of the death of his wife. *Ibid.*, Jan. 27, 1829.

To Joel Blanckenship. Washington City, Feb. 14, 1829. Expressing appreciation for the gift of a hickory cane. *Ibid.*, June 8, 1829.

To Rev. E. S. Ely. Washington, Mar. 23, 1829. On reports against Mrs. Eaton. *Parton's Jackson*, III. 186.

To General Meakle, of the Franklin Market, New York. Washington, Mar. 24, 1829. Acknowledging gift of a piece of beef. *National Journal*, Apr. 7, 1829.

To Walter Bourne, mayor of New York. Washington, Apr. 4, 1829. Expressing thanks for resolutions of condolence passed by the common council on Feb. 12. *U. S. Telegraph*, Apr. 24, 1829; *National Intelligencer*, Apr. 25, 1829.

To Rev. E. S. Ely. Washington City, Apr. 10, 1829. Offering proof in defense of Mrs. Eaton's character. *Parton's Jackson*, III. 192.

Richard D. Davis to Jackson. Poughkeepsie, Apr. 15, 1829. Political course of Martin Van Buren in New York. *U. S. Telegraph*, June 13, 1831.

To Bishop Conwell. Washington City, Apr. 25, 1829. Acknowledging letter of Jan. 1, and expressing thanks for engravings of the pope and the bishop. *National Intelligencer*, Jan. 30, 1830; *U. S. Telegraph*, Feb. 9, 1830.

Draft, in Jackson's hand. Apr. 26, 1829. False charges of the late Secretary of the Navy. Heiskell's *Jackson*, III. 168.

To David Ritter. Washington, May 7, 1829. Thanks him for the gift of a patent razor strop. *National Journal*, Aug. 27, 1829; *National Intelligencer*, Aug. 29, 1829.

To Joseph Jackson and other members of the New Jersey legislature. Washington, June 15, 1829. Expresses appreciation for a letter congratulating him on his election. *Ibid.*, Aug. 6, 1829; *National Journal*, Aug. 8, 1829.

Somerset R. Waters to Jackson. Three Springs, Carroll's Manor, Frederick County, July 1, 1829. Presenting American box made by the writer from 24 kinds of wood. *U. S. Telegraph*, Aug. 12, 1829.

To Somers R. Waters. Washington, July 31, 1829. Acknowledges with thanks the gift of box. *Ibid.*, Aug. 12, 1829; *National Journal*, Oct. 8, 1829.

Jackson's account of visit from Rev. J. N. Campbell concerning Mrs. Eaton. Sept. 1, 1829. *Parton's Jackson*, III. 197.

To Rev. J. N. Campbell. Washington, Sept. 10, 1829. Invites him to acknowledge his mistake about Mrs. Eaton, before the Cabinet. *Ibid.*, III. 202.

To John Worrall. Washington, Sept. 15, 1829. Expressing pleasure at receiving copy of a song composed for the Catholic Emancipation Festival in Philadelphia, July 14, 1829. Heiskell's *Jackson*, II. 377; *National Journal*, Oct. 8, 1829.

J. K. Kane, R. M. Lewis, and William Platt to Jackson. Philadelphia, Sept. 29, 1829. Invites him to attend the opening of the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal. *National Intelligencer*, Oct. 19, 1829; *National Journal*, Oct. 22, 1829.

To J. K. Kane, R. M. Lewis, and William Platt. Washington, Oct. 2, 1829. Declines invitation to attend the opening of the canal. *National Intelligencer*, Oct. 19, 1829; *National Journal*, Oct. 22, 1829.

To Hugh L. White. Washington, Oct. 12, 1829. Need for White's support in the Senate. Heiskell's *Jackson*, I. 657.

To David Haley. Oct. 15, 1829. Message to Choctaws explaining why it is better for them to move beyond the Mississippi. American Historical Association, *Annual Report*, 1906, I. 373.

To Benjamin G. Jansen, New York. Washington, Oct. 23, 1829. Expresses thanks for gift of copies of his *Elementary Lessons in Natural History*. *National Journal*, Nov. 10, 1829.

Stephen D. Miller to Jackson. Executive Dept., Columbia, Dec. 15, 1829. Urging consideration of South Carolina's claims for advances made during the war of 1812. *National Intelligencer*, Oct. 8, 1831.

Secretary Eaton to Jackson. War Department, Jan. 2, 1829 (1830?). Expressing his opinion of South Carolina's claims growing out of the war of 1812. *Ibid.*

To the Secretary of the Navy (John Branch). Washington, Jan. 26, 1830. Stating that he would interview him in Major Barry's presence, concerning his misunderstanding with Major Eaton. *Ibid.*, Oct. 10, 1831; *Globe*, Oct. 12, 1831.

Secretary Branch to Jackson. Navy Department, Jan. 27, 1830. Agreeing to meet Major Eaton at Van Buren's house at 2 o'clock, in the presence of Barry and Van Buren. *National Intelligencer*, Oct. 10, 1831; *Globe*, Oct. 12, 1831.

George D. Strong and 12 others to Jackson. New York, Feb. 11, 1830. Presenting a copy of Jackson's first message to Congress, printed on satin. *National Journal*, Mar. 27, 1830.

W. Ramsay and T. H. Crawford to Jackson. Washington, Feb. 16, 1830. Presenting two specimens of carpeting manufactured in Pennsylvania by Mr. Samuel Given. *National Intelligencer*, Feb. 24, 1830.

To W. Ramsay and T. H. Crawford. Washington, Feb. 19, 1830. Acknowledges gift of carpeting. *Ibid.*

To George D. Strong and others. Washington, Mar. 12, 1830. Thanking them for their gift of Feb. 11. *National Journal*, Mar. 27, 1830.

Secretary Branch to Jackson. Navy Department, Mar. 25, 1830. Transmits report on the Dry Tortugas with reference to its fitness for a naval rendezvous and depot. *Am. St. Papers, Naval Aff.*, III. 570.

To the House of Representatives. Mar. 27, 1830. Transmits letter of Secretary Branch respecting accompanying survey of the Dry Tortugas. *Ibid.*

To John N. Moulder. Washington, Mar. 27, 1830. Regrets that his official duties will not permit his assisting the Masonic brethren in laying a church cornerstone on Mar. 29 and afterwards marching to the tomb of Washington. *National Intelligencer*, Apr. 7, 1830; *U. S. Telegraph*, Apr. 21, 1830.

W. Ramsay and T. H. Crawford to Jackson. Washington, Apr. 5, 1830. Presenting Jackson with an axe and hatchet from the factory of Dunlop and Madeira, Chambersburg, Pa. *Ibid.*, Apr. 18, 1830.

To W. Ramsay and T. H. Crawford. Washington, Apr. 5, 1830. Acknowledges gift of axe and hatchet. *Ibid.*; *Niles' Register*, LXVIII. 345.

Vice-President Calhoun to Jackson. Washington, May 13, 1830. Returns Crawford's letter and promises to notice it at length in a short time. *Ibid.*, XL. 13; *U. S. Telegraph*, Feb. 17, 1831; *National Intelligencer*, Feb. 18, 1831; *Globe*, Feb. 23, 1831.

To Secretary Van Buren. May 15, 1830. Protesting against the extravagant appropriations of Congress; declaring that the Constitution must be obeyed, states' rights preserved, the national debt paid, direct taxes and loans avoided, and the federal union preserved. *Am. Hist. Assoc., Annual Report*, 1918, II. 322.

Colonel George Jackson to Jackson. Zanesville, Ohio, May 28, 1830. Urging that James B. Gardiner, whose nomination as register of the land office at Tiffin was rejected by the Senate, be appointed to another office. *U. S. Telegraph*, June 12, 1830.

John Hamm to Jackson. Zanesville, Ohio, May 28, 1830. Urging the appointment of James B. Gardiner to an office. *Ibid.*

Vice-President Calhoun to Jackson. Washington, May 29, 1830. Reply to Jackson's inquiry of May 13; devoted to refuting Crawford's letter of Apr. 30, and attacking Crawford. *Ibid.*, Feb. 17, 1831; *National Intelligencer*, Feb. 18, 1831; *Globe*, Feb. 23, 1831; *Niles' Register*, XL. 13.

Vice-President Calhoun to Jackson. Steamboat *Potomac*, June 1, 1830. Defending his action as Secretary of War in 1818. *Ibid.*, XL. 17; *U. S. Telegraph*, Feb. 17, 1831; *National Intelligencer*, Feb. 19, 1831; *Globe*, Feb. 26, 1831.

John Forsyth to Jackson. Augusta, June 17, 1830. Acknowledges Jackson's letter of June 7, and promises to show the enclosed papers to Crawford. *U. S. Telegraph*, Feb. 17, 1831; *National Intelligencer*, Feb. 19, 1831; *Globe*, Feb. 26, 1831; *Niles' Register*, XL. 18.

Vice-President Calhoun to Jackson. Pendleton, June 22, 1830. Respecting a letter from John Forsyth of May 31, and referring to the whole difficulty as "a base political intrigue". *U. S. Telegraph*, Feb. 17, 1831; *National Intelligencer*, Feb. 19, 1831; *Globe*, Feb. 26, 1831; *Niles' Register*, XL. 18.

To James Gowen. Hermitage, July 22, 1830. Explaining his pardon of Wilson, a mail robber. *Globe*, Nov. 10, 1832.

James Gowen to Jackson. Philadelphia, Aug. 13, 1830. Acknowledging letter of July 22, and stating that the Irish were convinced that Jackson had not unfairly discriminated against them in pardoning Wilson. *Ibid.*, Nov. 3, 1832.

Talk to the Chickasaw delegation at Franklin, Tenn. Aug. 23, 1830. Referring to the removal of the Indians. *Niles' Register*, XXXIX. 67.

Vice-President Calhoun to Jackson. Fort Hill, Aug. 25, 1830. Further attempts to vindicate his conduct. *U. S. Telegraph*, Feb. 17, 1831; *National Intelligencer*, Feb. 19, 1831; *Globe*, Feb. 26, 1831; *Niles' Register*, XL. 19.

To William Park, Luke Lea, and others, committee. Knoxville, Sept. 7, 1830. Declines an invitation to a public dinner at Knoxville. *U. S. Telegraph*, Sept. 28, 1830; *Niles' Register*, XXXIX. 89.

To Samuel J. Hayes. Washington, Dec. 7, 1830. Enclosing his message to Congress. *Heiskell's Jackson*, III. 174.

To J. R. Pringle. Washington City, Dec. 24, 1830. Declining invitation to visit Charleston. *U. S. Telegraph*, Jan. 22, 1831.

To Judge John Overton. Washington, Dec. 31, 1830. On Van Buren and Calhoun. *Parton's Jackson*, III. 294.

Members of the Ohio legislature to Jackson. Columbus, January, 1831. Transmitting resolutions of approval. *Niles' Register*, XL. 127.

Secretary Branch to Jackson. Jan. 24, 1831. On pay and allowances of marine corps, and on contingent fund. *Am. St. Pap., Naval Aff.*, III. 873.

To the House of Representatives. Jan. 25, 1831. Enclosing communications from Secretary Branch, recommending increase in pay and allowances of marine corps, etc. *Ibid.*

Jacob M. Wise and other members of the Pennsylvania legislature to Jackson. Harrisburg, Feb. 3, 1831. Approval of his administration. *Niles' Register*, XXXIX. 432, XL. 127.

To Thomas Rigdon and others, members of the Ohio legislature. Washington, Feb. 9, 1831. Reply to letter of January, 1831. *Ibid.*

To Jacob M. Wise and other members of the Pennsylvania legislature. Washington City, Feb. 9, 1831. Stating, "if my continuance in office another term be thought essential, that my services are at the disposal of the people, as they have been heretofore". *National Intelligencer*, Mar. 2, 1831; *Globe*, Feb. 26, 1831; *Niles' Register*, XL. 127.

To N. P. Trist. Washington, Mar. 2, 1831. Enclosing proof of his farewell address. *Parton's Jackson*, III. 624.

To Secretary Branch. Washington, Apr. 20, 1831. Explains his reason for accepting resignations of Cabinet members. *Ibid.*, p. 355.

To Peter W. Spicer, chairman. Washington, May 2, 1831. Expresses regret that on account of official duties he cannot attend the 42d anniversary of the Tammany Society on May 12. *Globe*, May 18, 1831; *Niles' Register*, XL. 229.

To Andrew Jackson, jr. Washington, May 18, 1831. Care of his health. *Heiskell's Jackson*, II. 396.

To Rev. H. M. Cryer. Washington, May 20, 1831. The political situation. *Ibid.*, p. 611; *Am. Hist. Magazine*, IV. (1899) 234.

Major F. W. Armstrong to Jackson. Knoxville, May 22, 1831. Results of his attempt to persuade White to accept appointment as Secretary of War. *Heiskell's Jackson*, III. 177.

To E. B. Dudley, O. Holmes, and J. Hill. Washington City, May 23, 1831. Declining an invitation to visit Wilmington, N. C., because of the duties of office. *U. S. Telegraph*, June 18, 1831; *Niles' Register*, XL. 294.

Committee of arrangements to Jackson. Charleston, June 5, 1831. Inviting him to attend a dinner of the Union and States' Rights Party on July 4, 1831. *Globe*, July 13, 1831; *Niles Register*, XL. 351.

John Jones to Jackson. Boston, June 6, 1831. Presenting a shell comb made by himself. *Globe*, June 29, 1831.

To the Secretary of the Treasury (Samuel D. Ingham). June 6, 1831. Asking if it would be convenient for him to attend a meeting of the Canal Commissioners. *National Intelligencer*, July 21, 1831.

To George W. Cross, Francis Y. Porcher, J. M. Read, and others, committee. Washington City, June 14, 1831. Regrets that his duties prevent his acceptance of their invitation, praises the Union Party, and expresses strong union sentiments. *Globe*, July, 13, 1831; *Niles' Register*, XL. 351; Parton's *Jackson*, III. 370.

Attorney General Berrien to Jackson. Washington, June 15, 1831. Resignation as Attorney General. *U. S. Telegraph*, June 23, 1831; *National Intelligencer*, June 24, 1831; *Globe*, June 25, 1831; *Niles' Register*, XL. 304; Parton's *Jackson*, III. 356.

To John Jones. Washington City, June 16, 1831. Acknowledges gift of a shell comb, and says that it will be worn by his niece, Mrs. Donelson. *Globe*, June 29, 1831; *Niles' Register*, XL. 340.

Secretary Ingham to Jackson. Treasury Department, June 20, 1831. Is leaving work relating to weights and measures in charge of F. R. Hassler. *National Intelligencer*, July 14, 1831.

Colonel John Campbell to Jackson. Washington, June 22, 1831. Denying Ingham's charges. *Ibid.*, June 24, 1831; *Globe*, June 25, 1831; *Niles' Register*, XL. 303; Heiskell's *Jackson*, III. 341.

T. L. Smith to Jackson. Washington, June 22, 1831. Ingham's charges untrue. *National Intelligencer*, June 24, 1831; *Globe*, June 25, 1831; *Niles' Register*, XL. 303; Heiskell's *Jackson*, III. 342.

P. G. Randolph to Jackson. Washington, June 22, 1831. Denying Ingham's charges. *National Intelligencer*, June 24, 1831; *Globe*, June 25, 1831; *Niles' Register*, XL. 303; Heiskell's *Jackson*, III. 343.

W. B. Lewis to Jackson. Washington, June 22, 1831. *National Intelligencer*, June 24, 1831; *Globe*, June 25, 1831; *Niles' Register*, XL. 303; Heiskell's *Jackson*, III. 342.

Attorney General Berrien to Jackson. Washington, June 22, 1831. Stating that his office was ready for his successor, and that he thought it proper to have the correspondence between himself and Jackson published. *U. S. Telegraph*, June 23, 1831; *National Intelligencer*, June 24, 1831; *Globe*, June 25, 1831; *Niles' Register*, XL. 304; Parton's *Jackson*, III. 358.

To Attorney General Berrien. Washington, June 22, 1831. Acknowledges Berrien's note of the same date and gives permission to publish the correspondence between them. *U. S. Telegraph*, June 23, 1831; *National Intelligencer*, June 24, 1831; *Globe*, June 25, 1831; *Niles' Register*, XL. 304; Parton's *Jackson*, III. 358.

General R. G. Dunlap to Jackson. Lea's Spring, Tenn., June 30, 1831. Approves of Eaton's retirement and thinks that Judge White could be persuaded to accept the Secretaryship of War should his daughter's health improve. *Am. Hist. Magazine*, IX. (1904) 83; Heiskell's *Jackson*, I. 585.

S. D. Ingham to Jackson. New Hope, Pa., June 30, 1831. Repeats his charges made June 21, and requests an official investigation. *National Intelligencer*, July 11, 1831; *Globe*, July 13, 1831; *Niles' Register*, XL. 346.

To Norfolk committee. Rip Raps, July 1, 1831. Declines invitation to celebrate the 4th because of resolution "not to partake of a public dinner during my continuance in office". *National Intelligencer*, July 8, 1831; *Niles' Register*, XL. 340.

To S. D. Ingham (by N. P. Trist). Washington, July 7, 1831. Replying to Ingham's letter of June 30. The President did not think Ingham's charges against certain friends of Eaton conclusive as showing that a conspiracy had been formed against Ingham. *Ibid.*, XL. 346.

Brig.-Gen. Simon Bernard to Jackson. Washington City, July 8, 1831. Resigning from the army in order to return to France. *U. S. Telegraph*, Sept. 13, 1831; *National Intelligencer*, Sept. 15, 1831; *Niles' Register*, XLI. 92.

To Simon Bernard. Washington, July 9, 1831. Accepts his resignation and expresses appreciation of his services. *U. S. Telegraph*, Sept. 13, 1831; *National Intelligencer*, Sept. 15, 1831; *Niles' Register*, XLI. 93.

General John Coffee to Jackson. Cross Creek near Florence, July 9, 1831. Reporting news from Rome. Heiskell's *Jackson*, III. 520.

To Attorney General Berrien. Washington, July 15, 1831. Accepting his resignation. Parton's *Jackson*, III. 357.

To General R. G. Dunlap. Washington, July 18, 1831. Defends his Cabinet and councillors. Heiskell's *Jackson*, I. 587; *Am. Hist. Magazine*, IX. 85.

S. D. Ingham to Jackson. New Hope, Pa., July 26, 1831. Dealing with the break-up of the Cabinet and related events, before and after. *U. S. Telegraph*, Aug. 2, 1831; *National Intelligencer*, Aug. 4, 1831.

Martin Van Buren to Jackson. New York, Aug. 3, 1831. Suggests Louis McLane for the bench. *Am. Hist. Assoc., Annual Report*, 1918, II. 578.

Martin Van Buren to Jackson. New York, Aug. 15, 1831. Referring to a letter to be shown to Major Lewis; McLane's appointment pleases him. *Ibid.*, II. 580.

To the Hawkins County committee. Washington, October (?), 1831. Reasons for vetoing the Maysville Road Bill. *Niles' Register*, XXXIX. 105.

To George House and others, committee. Washington City, Oct. 1, 1831. Agrees to see the mail contractors on Oct. 3. *Globe*, Oct. 5, 1831.

To Committee of women of Newbern, N. C. Washington, Dec. 5, 1831. As requested, he has ordered a military company to Newbern in the place of Captain Whiting's company, withdrawn. *Niles' Register*, XLI. 338.

N. P. Tallmadge and 14 other Republican members of the New York legislature to Jackson. Albany, Feb. 9, 1832. Enclosing resolutions passed by the Republican members of the legislature on Feb. 3; expressing indignation at Van Buren's rejection, and praising Van Buren and Jackson. *Globe*, Mar. 7, 1832; *Niles' Register*, XLII. 37.

Silas E. Burrows, John H. Wallace, Edward H. Carmichael, and George W. Bassett to Jackson. Washington City, Feb. 11, 1832. Inviting him to officiate at the laying of the cornerstone of a monument in memory of Washington's mother. *National Intelligencer*, Feb. 14, 1832.

To Messrs. Burrows, Wallace, Carmichael, and Bassett. Washington, Feb. 11, 1832. Accepts their invitation. *Ibid.*, Feb. 14, 1832.

To N. P. Tallmadge and 14 others. Washington, Feb. 23, 1832. Expresses gratitude for the resolutions sent to him; eulogizes Van Buren; defends relations with Great Britain. *Globe*, Mar. 7, 1832; *Niles' Register*, XLII. 38.

Elijah Hayward to Jackson. General Land Office, Feb. 29, 1832. In compliance with resolution of Senate, reports on business of surveyor general in Missouri, Illinois, and Arkansas. *Am. St. Pap., Pub. Lands*, I. 402.

To the Senate. Washington, Mar. 2, 1832. On the expediency of dividing the district of the surveyor general for Missouri, Illinois, and Arkansas. *Ibid.*

Secretary of State (Edward L. Livingston) to Jackson. Department of State, Apr. 2, 1832. Requesting funds to pay Captain Sloat for expenses incurred in giving refuge to the vice-president of Peru and General Miller on board the *St. Louis*. *Id., Indian Aff.*, IV. 125.

To the House of Representatives. Washington, Apr. 4, 1832. Transmitting report of the Secretary of State showing why refuge was given to the vice-president of Peru and General Miller by Captain Sloat of the *St. Louis*. *Ibid.*

Secretary McLane to Jackson. Ca. Apr. 23, 1832. Statements showing expense of administering public lands. *Id., Pub. Lands*, VI. 467.

To the Senate. Washington, Apr. 23, 1832. Transmitting statements respecting public lands. *Ibid.*, p. 466.

To Andrew Jackson, jr. Washington, Apr. 23, 1832. Anxiety at not hearing from him. Heiskell's *Jackson*, II. 396.

To John F. Schermerhorn, chairman of committee of the General Synod of the Reformed Dutch Church. Washington, July 12, 1832. Declines, on constitutional grounds, to appoint a day of "fasting, humiliation and prayer" because of the cholera. *Globe*, June 30, 1832.

To the Speaker of the House of Representatives. July 12, 1832. Transmitting all correspondence, etc., received from Commodore Downes concerning the affair in Sumatra. *Am. St. Pap., Naval Aff.*, IV. 150.

To Felix Grundy. Hermitage, Aug. 20, 1832. On the bank veto. *Am. Hist. Magazine*, V. 136.

David Burford to Jackson. Nashville, Sept. 10, 1832. Asking his preference for senator. Heiskell's *Jackson*, III. 526.

To Mrs. Andrew Jackson, jr. Tyree Springs, Sept. 23, 1832. Regrets to leave her behind. *Ibid.*, II. 402.

John J. Donaldson and four others, committee of the City Council of Baltimore. Washington, Nov. 15, 1832. Invites him to join them "in showing the last testimonial of respect to the remains of the late Charles Carroll of Carrollton". *Globe*, Nov. 17, 1832.

To Messrs. Donaldson, Lightner, Smith, Moore, and Davidge, committee. Washington, Nov. 15, 1832. Regrets that public duties make it necessary for him to remain in Washington. *Ibid.*

To Martin Van Buren. Washington, Nov. 25, 1832. Discusses appointment of Secretary of Treasury, and mentions Duane's name in postscript. *Am. Hist. Assoc., Annual Report*, 1918, II. 595.

To General John Coffee. Washington, Nov. 26, 1832. Announces the arrival of his daughter in Washington. Heiskell's *Jackson*, III. 199.

Martin Van Buren to Jackson. Albany, Nov. 29, 1832. Approves of the appointment of Duane. *Am. Hist. Assoc., Annual Report*, 1918, II. 598.

CORRESPONDENCE OF ANDREW JACKSON

TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOHN COFFEE.¹

HERMITAGE, January 17, 1829.

My Dear Genl, I have this day got my dear Mrs J Tomb, compleated, and am notified that the steam boat will be up tomorrow for me. of course, we will leave here tomorrow evening, or monday morning. whether I am ever to return or not, is for time to reveal, as none but that providence, who rules the destiny of all, now knows. be this as it may, I leave for you, and your amiable wife and family my sincere prayers, for your wellfare and business in this, and the future world, and as rational beings it behooves us so to live, as to be prepared for death when it comes, with a reasonable hope of happiness hereafter through the atonement of our blessed saviour on the cross.

I have been trying to wind up all my business before I left the country, but two debts remain unpaid, except what I owe to Nichol and Hill. The two debts are one to the estate of Capt Henry Thompson deceased, for a horse bought at one hundred and thirty five dollars due on the 25th day of December last, the other to Albert Ward for a horse imposed upon me for a gentle good conditioned horse, at one hundred and thirty dollars. this is due on the first of March next, tho, when the contract was made I was assured, if inconvenient then to pay he would wait until next fall—now he says he has made engagements and he must have the money. it is the first and I am sure it will be the last contract I will ever have with him.

Mr Easton tells me Mr Griffin was in when he left you, if he has paid the debt he owes me, I wish you to send to Mr William Donelson the amount of the note due Thompsons, which is \$135 with interest from the 25th of December last until you forward it, and \$130 due Albert Ward, with a request that he pay it over to the Executors of Henry Thompson, to wit, James P. Thompson and take up my note, and to pay \$130 to Albert Ward and take up my note. should the debt due from Griffin not be recovered, I have to request so soon as you make sale of A. J. Hutchings cotton you will remit to Mr William Donelson the amount of the aforesaid two notes with the request above, and when Griffins debt is received, place to the credit of the amount sent me the principle and interest so sent. I have promised that this sum will be paid by the first of April next. I am anxious that it be so paid, which will clear me of all claims that can be rightfully set up against me, but that of Hill and Nichol. do my dear Genl attend to this for me.

I never have had time to search over my papers for the bond of the commissioners of Florence for the lotts, I think you have them. If you have not sold the lott please close the contract with the man spoken of, keeping

¹ Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.

a lien on the lott as security for the consideration money, and have the debt of Judge Fulton secured by morgage on his lotts. it will be serving him and securing me.

I inclose you Mr Wm Crawfords note for \$400 dollars, due 1st of May 1828 and 1829. it may be convenient for them next fall to pay one half the debt, if he can it will aid me in meeting Mr Nichols debt. if you find it not in his power, why he must be indulged another year, but the truth is I owe Mr Nichol and I must pay him next fall, and my expences for the last four years have exhausted all my means, and I must begin to collect my debts to enable me to meet mine.

My mind is so disturbed, and I am even now perplexed with company that I can scarcely write, in short my dear friend my heart is nearly broke. I try to summon up my usual fortitude but it is vain, the time, the sudden and afflictive shock, was as severe as unexpected. adieu my dear Genl, and give my love to Polly and all the children, to Capt Jack and Elisa and believe me

yr friend

P. S. I shall expect to see you and Mr Earle at the city in the spring.

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT BETWEEN JACKSON, ANDREW J. DONELSON,
AND GRAVES W. STEELE.¹

January 19, 1829.

This memorandum of agreement between Andrew Jackson and Andrew J. Donelson of the one part, and Graves Steele of the other part, both of the County of Davidson and State of Tennessee, Witness[*e*]th, that the said Andrew Jackson and Andrew J. Donelson have employed the said Steele to oversee their negroes and manage the affairs of their plantations during the year 1829, and as such have placed him in possession of the working tools, the horses and stock of every description, and whatsoever else appertains to the land as necessary to its cultivation and protection, with obligations to bestow upon them the attention and care usually expected from the most faithful, diligent and industrious overseers. And further the said Steele is left in charge of their dwelling houses and the buildings attached to them, and is obligated to devote to them the care necessary to their preservation, and the furniture within them; and to do whatever else the said Andrew Jackson and Andrew J Donelson may point out relating to the correct disposition and management of their interests on their plantations. And in consideration of these services the said Andrew Jackson and Andrew J Donelson are obligated to pay to the said Graves Steele at the end of the year the just and lawful sum of six hundred dollars.

It is also stipulated by the parties that this agreement is to be continued for four years unless one or the other give notice of his wish to dissolve it, thirty days before the close of the year. It is also stipulated that the Brother of said Steele is to be engaged as assistant in the performance of

¹ Library of Congress, Donelson Papers.

the duties of overseer, the said Jackson and Donelson charging him nothing for his board.

In testimony whereof the parties have hereunto subscribed their names and affixed their seals this 19th January 1829, having signed duplicates,
[Signatures.]

Test B. F. CURREY

REV. EZRA STILES ELY ¹ TO JACKSON.

PHILADELPHIA, January 28, 1829.

My Dear and Honoured Sir, You will impute, I hope, the liberty which I take in writing to you, to my strong attachment to you, and the earnest desire of my heart that you may prove the best President who ever acted as Chief Magistrate of our nation. My principal design at present is to give you the copy of a letter which I have to-day received from the Rev. Lyman Beecher, D. D. of Boston, the most distinguished divine at present living in Massachusetts, if not in New England: from which you will learn the sentiments of many of the thousands of your friends, and of your countrymen who wish you the highest honour, usefulness, and happiness in your exalted station. I feel confident that both your sense of duty and your desire to gratify a numerous class of your firm supporters, would prevent you from publicly travelling on the Lord's day, *except in a case of mercy or necessity*. If ascending a river in a boat, you would of course, and with propriety, proceed in it; but when on land, if the stage of Monday would carry you in season to the place of destination, I feel confident that you would set an example of resting on the day previous. You are not ignorant of the effect produced by the needless excursion of Mr. Adams, and that will explain to you the letter which follows.

"BOSTON Jan. 20. 1829.

"Rev. Dr. Ely, Brother, A fear has been expressed here that as Genl. Jackson sets out for Congress only till after notified officially of his election, he may be tempted, inadvertently, to ride on the sabbath, at a time when it might injure both us and him greatly: and as you have seen and corresponded with him, I was requested to suggest to you our wish that you would write a line to the General, and put him on his guard in this thing: for as *Nobody*, almost, loved his predecessor, or regrets the election of Jackson, and all seem to be prepared to give him a candid trial, he possesses a fine opportunity by a virtuous and independent example to secure the confidence and affection of all the friends of virtue in the nation. If nothing happens to prevent, I should apprehend that he may become one of the most popular men who have set at helm, and a great blessing to the civil and religious interests of the nation. He possesses a noble opportunity to distinguish himself as a patriot and friend of good men, and not the head of a party. I am affectionately yours, LYMAN BEECHER."

This coming from Boston, and one of the most influential men in it, deserves regard; and I rejoice to know that New England will yet be as well pleased with the Patriarch of the Hermitage, as with any former

¹ See vol. III., p. 223n.

President. We do not wish, dear and honoured Sir, to seem to prescribe your course of conduct. We are not bigots, but believe "the sabbath was made for man, and not man for the sabbath." I have travelled on that day, and expect to do it again, when duty calls; but the papers, unhappily in this instance, *publish* the arrivals of our great men, and do not give the religious public the reasons for their journeying on the sabbath, although they might in some cases be satisfactory to the strictest moralist. It was lately published that Mr. Calhoun arrived, for instance, in Washington on the sabbath, and it created a prejudice against him immediately in many of our citizens. On this subject I need say no more, for I expect this letter will not reach you until you will have arrived in W. I send it to the Hermitage because Dr. Beecher seems to think, with many others, that you will not leave home until the 20th of Feb. next.

Something of the public voice may be learned from the numerous and most respectable petitions which have lately been sent to Congress on the subject of transporting the mail on the sabbath in the time of peace. I saw one in Albany lately subscribed by 7000 names. We do not wish any national legislation about any holy days or religious matters; but merely that our Government should not instruct their agents to violate the sabbath, [or] set an ungodly example in this matter. [No] civil laws should enforce the religious [obs]ervance of any day; and at the same time no Christian ruler of a Christian people should do violence to his own professed, personal principles.

My wife sends her kind regards to you, and says that she shall feel little interest in W. since the death of your beloved companion. Many who love you, will still regard W. much as you will; as a place of pilgrimage. Old Mrs. Calhoun, the mother-in-law of the Vice President will miss your dear wife more than any one there. She said that she would spend another winter there if you should become President, "that she might see a President who would go to church." When I was there a few years since, several said to me. "Genl. Jackson and Mrs. Calhoun are the only independent characters here."

May the Lord bless and keep you my dear and much esteemed friend.

TO MARTIN VAN BUREN.¹

WASHINGTON, February 14, 1829.

Sir, I am now at the seat of Government, ready to enter on the high duties that my country has so flatteringly assigned me. my first and strong desire, is to have associated with me in the discharge of my responsible trust, men, in whom, under all exigencies, I can repose. I have thought of you; and trusting in your intelligence and sound Judgment, my desire is that you shall take charge of the *Department of State*. Do me the favor to say, if you will undertake it? were you here, I should defer any enquir[ies] on the subject, untill the end of this month but being at a distance my solicitude is to k[now] forthwith, if I may calculate on your aid.

¹ Library of Congress, Van Buren MSS. The letter is mutilated and the words in brackets are restorations.

If consistant with your feelings; it would afford me great pleasure to have you here early as possible, that I may consult with you on many and various things purtaining to the general interest of the country.

As early as possible I shall be glad to he[ar from] you; and to know your determinati[on when] leisure permits, to know your opi[nion as to the] time when you can be at the city of Washi[ngton.]

very respectfully

JOSEPH FICKLIN TO JACKSON.

LEXINGTON, KY., February 16, 1829.

. . . . This conversation occured as follows and you may recollect the circumstances when repeated.¹ On the 3 of March 1819 when the members of congress were returning after dinner to close the session you were standing near the house with Col Kemper, other company having just left you as I came up and Joined in the conversation; in a few moments Commodore Decator joined and remarked to you that he would have delayed the Launch of a 74 had he understood you would have returned from new york as soon. you Observed in reply that your return was unexpected, that the investigation of your public conduct gave you no concern, it was what congress had a right to do and you should never complain of the exercise of that right but that your private character was another matter and you should attend to it. you spoke freely of Mr Epps for the part he took at so late an hour after Mr. Forsythe had left the committee for his appointment to Spain² but in all this long conversation not a threat was uttered by you against any member of congress nor was the manner of Comd. Decator any other but of the most friendly Character. Col Kemper and myself remained untill you and Commodore Decator walked away together.

I do not recollect to have seen you untill the next day at your lodgings at [mut.] The subject was frequently spoken of between Col Kemper and myself and the whole occurrence is as fresh in my mind as if it had taken place yesterday.

Very respectfully

JOHN POPE TO JACKSON.¹

FRANKFORT, KY., February 19, 1829.

D'r Sir, I have just returned from Louisville where I learnt from our friend Worden Pope your enquiry as to my disposition to take a seat in the national Judiciary. The Jackson members of both houses of our general assembly almost unanimously had a few days before forwarded to

¹ One of the charges brought against Jackson was that, about the time of Lacock's report, February, 1819, he went to the Senate chamber to attack Eppes, but was restrained by Commodore Decatur, who, when Jackson became excited, swore, in reply, that Jackson should pass only by going over his dead body.

² John Forsyth resigned from the Senate Feb. 15, 1819.

¹ John Pope was a senator from Kentucky 1807-1813. In 1829 Jackson made him governor of Arkansas, in which place he served until 1835.

you at Washington City an address pressing me on your consideration for the office of attorney Genl. A few of our parti[c]ular friends at Louisville had a private conference on the subject and all concurred that the office of Judge would be most advantageous to me but most of them believed that as regarded the party and the effect on the course here and in the west generally the office of attorney general ought to be preferred and I was strongly inclined to this opinion; but our friend Worden Pope and another friend dissented and he has made known his view of the subject to you. He is a sincere and disinterested friend of ours and his opinion is entitled to high regard. I gave my opinion with the reasons for it in two letters to your friend Judge White of the Senate with a request, that he would submit them to your perusal. It is gratifying to me to believe that I have a place in your friendship and confidence. Your better judgment upon a view of the whole ground will settle the question and I will cheerfully accept whatever situation your partiality may assign me. I have never before solicited an office from the executive of the state or the nation nor would I now obtrude myself upon your notice but for some late indications of your regard and confidence and a conviction that some distinguishing evidence of it is necessary to my political advancement and that it will add much to my power and influence to sustain your administration and our party in the west. I will not affect indifference to your favour because upon you my political fate and prospects depend. I hope you will excuse the solicitude of one who has had to encounter opposition at every step of his political march—a public and decisive evidence of your confidence will lessen to a great extent the difficulties in my way—our friends in congress from Kentucky at an early period of the session were for presenting me to you for a place in the Cabinet but I now understand that by some magic influence they have abandoned their first plan and that Amos Kendall and these gentlemen have made some other arrangement, that I am to be excluded and my family satisfied with some small offices, and my friend Duff Green, who was pressing me all last year to permit Colo Johnson to be reelected ² and to look to some high station under your administration after I have yielded to Barry Johnson Bibb etc what they were under the highest obligations to concede to me, writes that it is doubtful whether I can be promoted because I did not have Colo Johnson elected and voted for the confirmation of Judge Robinson. whether this little fry of managers at Washington shall control my fate in defiance of the will and judgment of the President and that of near seventy members of our General assembly and the will of the people of Kentucky is for you to decide. I have neither the motive or disposition to indulge bad feelings towards our members from Kentucky. I have fought the good fight with them in the great struggle in which we have been associated and have certainly given them no cause of complaint. I am at home and have no means of counteracting the artful machinations against me at Washington. I suspect some invisible hand has been operating on these men. It may be that political aspirants of

² Richard M. Johnson, senator from Kentucky 1820-1829; was succeeded in 1829 by George M. Bibb.

other states imagine that I will not subserve their objects of ambition. our friends here who have been eyewitnesses of my public conduct here are entitled to be heard in my favour in preference to mr kendall who went from here in december my warm friend and the members of congress if they have changed their opinions since the commencement of the session. Give to my exertions in the common cause my talents and reputed integrity a due estimate and award me what your judgment approves. Be assured I would not consent that you should sacrifice the public good to gratify me or advance my interest. In my letters to Judge white who I have ever understood had your good opinion and a considerable share of your confidence I mentioned the name of mr van Burin of new york not with reference to his merits or demerits but to effect on that state. I had no preference for him over other distinguished men on the list of your friends. I have no personal acquaintance with that gentleman and his public career has not furnished sufficient data to enable me to form a satisfactory opinion of his pretensions to public consideration as a statesman and patriot. I regret that I cannot have a personal interview with you on the commencement of your administration. You will not I know doubt my sincerity when I assure you that no man feels more solicitude for the success of your administration and that it may furnish additional evidence of elevated patriotism and devotion to the prosperity and glory of your Country. I have a special desire to converse with you on the subject of removals from the subordinate offices of the government. It is one of peculiar delicacy difficulty and embarrassment and demands a calm and dispassionate consideration uninfluenced by the host now pressing you for places from every quarter of the union. In this business pardon me for suggesting that you should proceed with caution and the process should be gradual. A too sudden and violent shock ought not to be given to public feeling and sentiment. Remember that the hope of office will secure you more support than the enjoyment of it. By the removal of a good officer of character you not only array him and his friends against you but a portion of the disinterested part of the community and if you secure the man substituted you offend twenty or more disappointed expectants. As regards yourself and the strength and stability of your administration it is a losing game unless managed with consummate skill and judgment and yet to a certain extent it must and ought to be done and especially where influential political men hold office which afford them power to annoy you and your friends. Pardon my freedom in making these remarks which are merely intended to guard you against the importunities of members of congress and others who are more engrossed with their little selfish and electioneering projects than zeal for your fame or the success of your administration. You should bear in mind that a large portion of the members of congress have less moral weight and political influence than many of their constituents—such I know to be the case in relation to the members from kentucky—most of them have good managing electioneering sense and local popularity but none have extensive weight and influence in the state—not more than one in twenty probably in one hundred are office holders

or office hunters, and you have been placed in power not by the aspiring politicians and busy partisans but by the affections and confidence of the great body of the people who feel no other concern than that the government may be administered by the man of their choice and upon just and honest principles. Elevated like Washington by the will of the nation rather than party for your patriotism and distinguished public services you should look to the moral force and sound intelligence of the country for support and not to the mere creatures of party. The sound sense and intelligence of the people is the only rock upon which a great public man can build a lasting fame, every other foundation is temporary and evanescent. Policy however requires him to be mindful to a certain extent of mere partizans and while on this subject permit me to call your attention to one here Wm T. Barry Esqr who deserves nothing from me and but little from you. He and his friends have lost us the state administration and had nearly lost you the state. He is not fit for any station which requires great intellectual force or moral firmness but he is a gentleman in his deportment and amiable in his private relations. He is nearly insolvent and has the sympathies of many of the new Court men and is more a favourite with them than any other. They want something done for him and as a measure of policy I would gratify them to a reasonable extent—give him the attorneyship for this District if vacant or make him governor of arkansa and public sentiment might bear his being sent to some of the south american states. Of our senators I will say nothing—you know them. Dick Johnson and his family connections I like generally, although very wild and violent occasionally in politics they are warm hearted and efficient. Governor metcalf and some other of Clays friends are I think endeavoring to separate them from your other friends here. Let me advise you to treat old Dick and his brother John I. Johnson who voted for you with kindness and attention. Henry Daniel is a bold efficient man in his quarter. Thomas P Moore is an efficient man of sense and management and although he has not much moral weight and has not done for you one tenth part of what is pretended, yet he has fought the battle with zeal and boldness. He regards neither truth no[r] principle to carry his point, as a matter of policy I advise you to treat him as well as you can, but dont give him too much influence with you. Charles Wickliffe has done his duty. He is a cool calculating man to whom I stand indifferent. Chilton shoots at random now and then but has good popular talents. Of the rest of our delegation it is unnecessary to speak. It will be well if they can be elected and vote with you. I fear that our members in relation to me may be influenced by ambitious men from other states. In this I may be mistaken. I am sorry to send this letter in my own hand writing as it may give you more trouble to read it than it is worth. Please to consider it a substitute for a free confidential conversation and when you have read it I would prefer that you should commit it to the flames. Permit me to tender to you assurances of my respect and sincere regard.

[*Indorsement in Jackson's handwriting:*] confidential, to be preserved carefully. . . . to be filed with my *private* papers.

MARTIN VAN BUREN TO JACKSON.¹

ALBANY, February 20, 1829.

Sir: Your favour of the 15th Inst. proposing to assign to me the Department of State in the administration about to be formed under your auspices was recd. yesterday.² With an expression of my gratitude for the favourable opinion you have formed of me, and the very flattering manner in which you have expressed it, I inform you that I accept your invitation with no other hesitation except such as is derived from a distrust of my fitness for the high station to which [you] have been pleased to call me. Allow me to assure you that the hope of being able to assist you in some small degree to realize the expectations of a people who, under the most trying circumstances, have evinced a degree of patriotism and fidelity that would do honor to the proudest days of the Republic, induces me to quit the elevated and truly honorable station conferred upon me by my immediate constituents. Associated as I shall doubtless be, in your Cabinet, with so great a portion of the intelligence and virtue of the country, and having constantly and only in view the success of your administration, I cannot doubt of our ability to fulfil the public expectation. My movements in regard to my repairing to the seat of Government will be entirely controuled by my new duties, and be subjected to no farther delay than is strictly unavoidable. Of that character will be the necessity of waiting information of the confirmation of my appointment by the Senate. A moment's reflection, my dear sir, will satisfy you that however desirable and agreeable it might be, that I should be with you sooner, a different course would be subject to insurmountable objections. Although I am satisfied that the great body of my leading friends in this State, look to the result that is about to take place, as probable, and will be prepared to approve it, there are thousands and tens of thousands who have never bestowed a thought upon the subject. With such particularly, and indeed in a greater or less degree with all, the fact of my leaving so soon the station to which I have been raised by their favour, in the midst of a busy and very interesting session of the Legislature, cannot fail to create a strong sensation. Unless it be done with the utmost propriety, to go off without communicating with the Legislature, and leave the Government to devolve silently, in the first instance, upon the Lieut. Gov. would not do. The first direct notice that my constituents are to have of my intention should be an address to the Legislature resigning my office, and assigning my reasons for doing so. In the discharge of that duty (which I am satisfied public opinion will require of me), it is due to the Senate of the U. States that I should avoid the presumption of taking the confirmation of my nomination for granted.

Independently of the unpleasant reflections that an opposite course would give rise to, in relation to me personally, and by which my future

¹ Library of Congress, Van Buren MSS.

² While the Jackson and Van Buren MSS. contain papers that throw light on the selection of Jackson's first Cabinet, they contain almost nothing that was written by, or to, Jackson on this subject.

usefulness might be impaired, it is scarcely to be doubted that the appetites of your enemies for detraction would be in no small degree re-excited, and that we should be charged through their papers with disrespect towards the constitutional powers and other departments of the Government.

Hoping that my views upon this subject, (thus hastily expressed) will be satisfactory, I have only to add that no time will be lost after the receipt of my appoint[ment]. The resignation and delivering over of what belongs to the office, will of course take a day or two, and I may want a very few days to shut up house, and not to exceed a week in all, as I shall leave the final arrangement of my domestic affairs for a period when it can be done under circumstances more consistent with the public service. My friend and aid, Col. Hamilton, of this State ³ is now with you, and will take the trouble to ascertain as far as that can properly be done, how long a time may without prejudice to the business of the office be allowed to me to pack up, and upon conferring with you will communicate to me the result. Accept, Sir, the assurance of my great respect and kindest regards

ROUGH DRAFT OF THE FIRST INAUGURAL ADDRESS.¹

[March 4, 1829.]

Fellow citizens, About to enter upon the duties to which as President of the United States, I have been called by the voluntary suffrages of my country, I avail myself of this occasion to express the deep and heartfelt gratitude with which a testimonial of such distinguished favor has been received. To be elected under the circumstances which have marked the recent contest of opinion to administer the affairs of a government deriving all its powers from the will of the people, a government whose vital

³ Col. James A. Hamilton, son of Alexander Hamilton.

¹ This paper exists in Jackson's handwriting and it is called a "rough draft". It seems to be the original form of his inaugural address of 1829. Col. James A. Hamilton in his *Reminiscences* (pp. 104-106) pronounces the original draft "absolutely disgraceful". The paper, he says, was given to him on March 1 for criticism. He suggested several alterations and also submitted an entirely new address. Then followed a conference with Jackson, Lewis, and A. J. Donelson. He thought that the draft shown to him was largely the work of Lewis and Donelson. Hamilton could hardly have been talking about the same paper as this "rough draft", for he does not allude to the fact that it was in Jackson's handwriting. In the Jackson MSS. is a copy of the address in nearly the form in which it appears in Richardson's *Messages*. Hamilton's proposed copy is in his *Reminiscences* (p. 105). It is interesting to compare this "rough draft", which, besides the handwriting, has many internal marks suggesting that it was Jackson's, with these other two copies, Hamilton's and the copy actually delivered.

In view of Hamilton's assertions, the following letter from him to Maj. W. B. Lewis, Dec. 24, 1830, is of special interest:

"Your letter of the 20th Inst. in which you state that letters have been received in Washington stating that one of my brothers has been heard to say that I had written the Presidents inaugural address and that Mr. Van Buren wrote his last message and I corrected it, was received yesterday and immediately communicated to my Brothers who all state most unequivocally that they have never said any thing of the kind and they authorise me to assure you that the statement is false in all its parts. Alexander has sent me a written statement to that effect and the other two are ready to do the same if required. This is a part of the tactics of the enemy, their game is desperate and will be played in any way however unworthy. You are authorised to use this letter as you please. I remain Your friend and Svt."

principle is the right of the people to controul its measures, and whose only object and glory are the equal happiness and freedom of all the members of the confederacy, cannot but penetrate me with the most powerful and mingled emotions of thanks, on the one hand, for the honor conferred on me, and on the other, of solemn apprehensions for the safety of the great and important interests committed to my charge.

Under the weight of these emotions, 'unaided by any confidence inspired by past experience, or by any strength derived from the conscious possession of powers equal to the station, I confess, fellow citizens, that I approach it with trembling reluctance. But my Country has willed it, and I obey, gathering hope from the reflection that the other branches of the Govt. with whom the constitutional will associates me, will yield those resources of Patriotism and intelligence, by which the administration may be rendered useful, and the honor and independence of our widely extended Republic guarded from encroachment; but above all, trusting to the smiles of that overruling Providence, "in the hollow of whose hand," is the destiny of nations, for that animation of common council and harmonising effort, which shall enable us to steer, the Bark of liberty, through every difficulty.

In the present Stage of our history, it will not be expected of me on this occasion to enter into any detail of the first principles of our government. The achievements of our fathers, our subsequent intercourse with each other, the various relations we have sustained with the other powers of the world, and our present attitude at home, exhibits the practical operations of these principles, all of which are comprised in the sovereignty of the people. This is the basis of our system, and to its security from violation and innovation must our practice and experience as a government be dedicated. To the administration of my illustrious predecessors I will be permitted to refer as mirrors not so much for the measures which m[a]y be demanded by the present state of the country, but as applications of the same principles to the various exigencies which have occurred in our history, and as shedding light upon those which may hereafter arise. It is thus the great moral race we are running, connects us with the past, and is tributary to the events which are to come: thus, that every period of our Government is useful to that which follows, not as the source of principles, but as guides on that sacred fountain to which we must often go for the refreshment of our laws, and the invigoration of the public morals. It is from this source that we derive the means of congratulating ourselves upon the present free condition of our country, and build our hopes for its future safety. In fine, Fellow Citizens, this is the bulwark of our liberties.

Among the various and important duties that are confided to the President, there are none of more interest than that which requires the selection of his officers. The application of the laws, and the management of our relations with foreign powers, form the chief object of an Executive, and are as essential to the welfare of the union as the laws themselves. In the discharge of this trust it shall be my care to fill the various offices at the disposal of the Executive with individuals uniting as far as

possible the qualifications of the head and heart, always recollecting that in a free government the demand for moral qualities should be made superior to that of talents. In other forms of government where the people are not regarded as composing the sovereign power, it is easy to perceive that the safeguard of the empire consists chiefly in the skill by which the monarch can wield the bigoted acquiescence of his Subjects. But it is different with us. Here the will of the people, prescribed in a constitution of their own choice, controuls the service of the public functionaries, and is interested more deeply in the preservation of those qualities which ensures fidelity and honest devotion to their interests.

Provisions for the national defence form another class of duties for the Representatives of the people, and as they stand in delicate connection with the powers of the general and state Governments, when understood to embrace the protection of our own labour, merit the most serious consideration. Legislation for this object encouraging the production of those articles which are essential in the emergencies of war, and to the independence of the nation, seems to me to be sanctioned by the constitution, as lawful and just. The general safety was the great motive for the confederation of the states, and never could have been effected without conferring on the Federal Government the power to provide those internal supplies which constitute the means of war, and which if left to the ordinary operations of commerce, might be withheld at a time when we most needed them. Judicious Tariff imposing duties high enough to insure us against this calamity will always meet with my hearty cooperation. But beyond this point, legislation effecting the natural relations of the labour of the states are irreconcilable to the objects of the Union, and threatening to its peace and tranquility.

Recollecting that all the states are equal in sovereignty, and in claims to the benefits accruing from the confederation, upon the federal principle of providing by taxation for the wants of the Government, it seems Just that the expenditures should be distributed regard being first paid to the national debt, and the appropriations for the support of the Government, and safety of the Union. The necessity of conforming more closely to this principle is illustrated by the dissatisfaction which the expenditures for the purposes of improvement has already created in several of the states. The operation of the principle, as fixed on this equitable basis, will give to the states the fiscal prosperity of the nation, and secure harmony by removing the grounds of Jealousy.

Between the powers granted to the general government, and those reserved to the states and the people, it is to be regretted that no line can be so obviously drawn as that all shall understand alike its boundaries. There will be a territory between them which must be governed by the good sense of a nation always ready to resist oppression, and too high minded to forget the rights of the minority. It is the inheritance of that sentiment of conciliation, and spirit of compromise which gave us the constitution, and which is to enable us in the progress of time to amend such defects in the system as experience may detect. Fully sensible of the necessity which I shall have for the exercise of this spirit on the part of

my fellow Citizens, I shall notice with pleasure an unreserved examination of the measures of my administration, and shall be the last to cry out treason against those who interpret differently from myself the policy, or powers of the government.

Some of the Topics which shall engage my earliest attention as intimately connected with the prosperity of our beloved country, are, the liquidation of the national debt The introduction and observance of the strictest economy in the disbursements of the Government, a Judicious tariff, combined with a fostering care of commerce and agriculture, and regulated by the principles before adverted to, a Just respect for state rights and the maintainance of state sovereignty as the best check of the tendencies to consolidation: and the distribution of the surplus revenue amongst the states according to the apportionment of representation, for the purposes of education and internal improvement, except where the subjects are entirely national. With the accomplishment of these objects I trust the memorials of our national blessings may be multiplied, and the scenes of domestic labour be made more animating and happy.²

TO COLONEL JAMES A. HAMILTON.¹

WASHINGTON, March 4, 1829.

Sir: You are appointed to take charge of the Department of State and to perform the duties of that office from this time until Governor Van Buren arrives in this city.

TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOHN COFFEE.¹

WASHINGTON, March 19, 1829.

My Dear Genl, Since I have been here my time has constantly been employed with a press of business left undone by the preceding administration, and many things done by them, intended no doubt, to embarrass the present. This, with my late afflictive bereavement on my mind, has been as much as my debilitated constitution could well bear, still I have to thank my god, my health still enables me to attend to my duty, and I trust in him, will enable me to perform it, to the satisfaction of my country.

Great exertions have been made by Clays friends to raise a clamour about my taking Major Eaton into my cabinet, and some of my friends from Tennessee weak enough to be duped by the artifice, were made in-

² In a speech in the House of Representatives in 1833, James K. Polk said that Jackson had assured him that his views on the bank were in the original draft of the inaugural address of 1829, but that after his arrival in Washington and on the advice of friends they were omitted. The draft here submitted does not sustain Polk's statement. See *Congressional Globe*, vol. X., pt. 2, p. 2263; see also Meigs, *Life of T. H. Benton*, p. 195.

Another matter that was not in the inaugural address was Jackson's previously avowed belief that a man should be President only one term. John H. Houston, writing to A. J. Donelson on behalf of the Jackson men in Pennsylvania, Feb. 23, 1829, urged that nothing of that kind go into the inaugural address. He said the Pennsylvanians wished Jackson to be a candidate for re-election in 1832. All Jackson men opposed to Calhoun for President took that position.

¹ N. Y. Pub. Lib., MSS. Coll.

¹ Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.

struments; the object was to intimidate me, from the selection, and thereby destroy Major Eaton. I had to assume sufficient energy to meet the crisis. I did meet it, and Major Eaton will become one of the most popular men in the Departments, be a great comfort to me, and will manage the Dept of war well. . . .

TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOHN COFFEE.¹

WASHINGTON, March 22, 1829.

My D'r Genl: I have Just received your letter of the 1st instant, enclosing me one from Doctor Lindsley to you, conveying the unpleasant information of my little ward Hutchings having been suspended from college, and having gone to the Hermitage where he now is.² This is information, of the most distressing kind to me, but upon the best reflection I can give the subject I have determined to send him to Mr. Otte at Franklin who, if any man can, will contróle and preserve him, and carefully attend to his morales. I have just written a short letter to Mr. Wm. Donelson, requesting him to have Hutchings immediately, on the receipt of my letter, sent to Mr. Otte and advise you of it, and I beseech you to address Mr. Otte, requesting his particular attention to him, and to his morales, enquiring of him the amount of tuition, and board, and transmit Mr. Otte the amount—and dealing to Hutchings but little funds.

I wish him taught penmanship, arithmetic, and Book keeping, algebra, and some other branches of mathematics, moral philosophy, belles letters, and such other branches that may be profitable to him as a farmer, and private gentleman. I have lost all hope of making him a classic scholar, and do not wish him to touch the languages, except to review those Books of latin and Greek that he has read, but wish him to understand his grammar well. These are only useful to him as a farmer, or a politician, and should he ever form a taste for reading and improvement, being well versed in the branches named, he has it in his power to become useful to himself and country. If Mr. Ote cannot control him, then Sir I know not what to do with him, as I have determined never, whilst I hold my present office, to place one of my young relatives, either in the military school, or the navy. I hope and trust Mr. Ote will be able to contróle him. I shall leave him to your direction under the observations made. I shall write him under cover to William.

I shall refer you to the papers and other channels of information for news of this place, since the 4th I have been crowded with thousand of applicants for office, and if I had a tit for every applicant to suck the Treasury pap, all would go away well satisfied, but as their are not office for more than one out of five hundred who applies, many must go away dissatisfied. all I can do is, to select honest and competant men. this I will do, as far as I can be informed, and reform and retrenchment will be made, as far as sound principle will warrant it.

¹ Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.

² Andrew J. Hutchings was the son of Jackson's old business partner, John Hutchings. Writing to Andrew J. Donelson Feb. 5, 1818, Jackson said: "Our friend Maj. John Hutchings is no more. He died on the 20th of Novbr. He left to my care his little son Andrew. I left the sweet little fellow, with your Aunt, and our little son, all in good health."

Much pains was taken to prevent me from taking Mr. Eaton into the Cabinet, his wife was assailed secretly, in the most shameful manner, and every plan that Clay and his minions could invent to deter me, in hopes I would be intimidated and drop Eaton, which would have been destruction to him. Under those circumstances I could not, nay I would not, abandon an old and tried friend. I sustained him, and I have no doubt he will become the most popular of the heads of the Departments and the War office will be well directed.

My labours have been great, my health is not good, but if my constitution will bear me up for one year I have no fear but I will make such an expose to the nation that will be satisfactory to the people. The late administration has left everything in such a state as to embarrass me but you know when I am excited all my energies come forth. . . .

LITTLETON W. TAZEVELL TO JACKSON.

NORFOLK, VA., March 30, 1829.

. . . . I have now redeemed the promise which I made, when I last had the honor to converse with you upon this subject;¹ but before I part with it, I hope you will pardon me, if I avail myself of the privilege, in which you have sometimes indulged me, of making to you some suggestions in relation to this matter, that may perhaps be found worthy of more reflection, than you have had occasion yet to bestow upon it. I present these to your own eye *only*; and shall speak of them with the frankness that becomes me always to use, and in that spirit of candor, which will ever dictate what I may take occasion to say to you upon any subject.

I have reason for believing, that owing either to the practices of those who have preceded you in the administration, or to some wounded pride but badly concealed, or to some other cause, which it is not worth while even to conjecture, the Statesmen of Great Britain, view your accession to the place you now hold, with no very kind feelings; and that if they do not seek to embarrass you, they will at least treat with much indifference, any overtures made by the U. S. to re-open a negotiation with them. Should this impression of mine be found to be correct, it is very obvious, that any direct offer to negotiate at this time, must be productive of some mortification, if not of future mischief. The first care of our minister therefore, should be, to remove any false impressions that may exist in England in regard to this country, and especially in respect to the views and policy of your administration. Until this object shall be accomplished, any attempt to negotiate, would be much worse than useless. Even after the Minister has succeeded however, (and there is no doubt but by a prudent course he will succeed) it would be still impolitic to make any direct offer to treat, until he was assured that such an overture would be received with satisfaction, and met with cordiality.

¹ Littleton W. Tazewell was U. S. senator from Virginia 1824-1832. See Van Buren, *Autobiography*, p. 256. Jackson had offered Tazewell the post of minister to London. Tazewell had asked for time to consider the state of his private affairs and began this letter by saying that they were in such a situation that he could not accept the position offered. He then proceeded to discuss Great Britain.

The native character of British Statesmen constitutes a very strong obstacle to the acquisition of any certain information upon this point. They are all cautious cold and reserved by nature, and must be stimulated by some excitement, before they will allow themselves to express what they really feel, and what the interests of their own Country requires that they should utter. Mere general declarations of the disposition of the U. S. to adjust with them all the differences existing between the two countries, may not be sufficient to break the ice, with which a British statesman is always encrusted. Some more special, and therefore more powerful stimulant may be requisite, to make him move promptly, and speak decidedly. This can easily be supplied, by opening a negociation for a commercial treaty with France. Let the Minister of the U. S. in England be informed of this fact, with directions to hint at it, upon some fit occasion, in the presence of the British Minister, and my life upon it, the tone and temper of the British cabinet towards us, will be at once changed. That cabinet will then no longer regard with indifference, our general declarations of an amicable temper towards them; but will reciprocate such declarations, with an earnestness and cordiality, the very rarity of which will be a strong pledge of its sincerity. The negociation may then be commenced, with happy auspices of its successful termination. But if commenced before, it will very probably drag on heavily, if it does not soon come to such a rupture, as may do mischief both at home and abroad. I would suggest to you then the propriety of dispatching a Minister to France, previously, or certainly simultaneously with one to Great-Britain: and the necessity of instructing the former, to open a negociation for a liberal commercial treaty with France, and to communicate freely and promptly with the latter, as to his progress in this negociation. Let the Minister to Great Britain be apprised of these instructions, before he leaves this country; and be directed to govern himself in his intercourse with the British Ministry, according to the effects they may produce, should circumstances seem to require it.

The preceding remarks will sufficiently shew, if indeed you required any such proof, that it is all-important, that the Minister to Great-Britain should be a man high in the confidence of this government, and known to the world so to be. That he should be one of much intelligence, of amiable manners, and of quick and sure observation. In one word, that he should possess not less of tact than of judgment; and of sufficient discretion to discriminate accurately and properly, when he should rely upon the one or the other of these qualities most. In casting my eye around the circle of our friends, to find one who might answer this description, I can think of none to whom it applies more truly, than to the Attorney General Mr. Berrien. His present situation marks him to the world as one high in your confidence; and the appointment of one of your cabinet, will be the best pledge you can offer to Great Britain, of the zeal and sincerity of your wishes towards her. It will be quite unnecessary for me to enlarge before you upon the other qualifications of Mr. Berrien, you know him

as well as I do, and will probably concur with me in opinion, that you can find no person better suited to the service which you wish performed. You can find no difficulty in filling the place of the Attorney General, altho' you will probably be much perplexed to find one better qualified than Mr. Berrien to fill the other situation.²

I have felt it my duty to make these suggestions to you, under the hope, that you will not think me trespassing too far on your goodness, while offering such unasked for advice. To this let me add, that if at any time, or in any way, you may think I can be of service to you, I hope you will freely command me, under the assurance, that there is nothing which may be within my power to perform that I will not readily do.

With very high respect, and much esteem and regard,

MARTIN VAN BUREN (SECRETARY OF STATE) TO JACKSON.¹

WASHINGTON, March 31, 1829.

my dear Sir, On my return from your house last evening I found the enclosed among some letters which I had not before been able to examine. Upon a careful consideration of its contents I find it to be so evidently

² The post was offered to Berrien, who declined it; it finally went to Louis McLane.

¹ Library of Congress, Van Buren MSS. Thomas Ritchie was editor of the *Richmond Enquirer*. From his letter of Mar. 27, 1829, the following extracts are taken:

"You know how anxiously I desired the election of Gen. Jackson. My most intimate friends have witnessed the joy which his success inspired. I regarded it not simply as the downfall of a party which had corrupted the purity of Elections, and abused its power for its own little purposes, but as a new epoch in the history of our Country; as opening a bright prospect of wise and constitutional principles. I need not say, Sir, that I had nothing to gain, except as one of ten millions of people. I have nothing to ask—the Administration has nothing to offer, which I will accept.

"Why this bright prospect is somewhat clouded over within the short space of thirty Days, I will not enter into a long Recapitulation to explain. I pass over the Cabinet. It has disappointed many of the sincerest of the President's friends. In the same proportion that it dispirit[ed] them, has it raised the hopes of their enemies. They have already raised the standard of opposition; and a rival, who was abandoning all his views in utter despair, was immediately animated to enter the lists again. I do not speak at random, when I make these assertions. The admirable Inaugural Address, however, contracted these effects in some degree. It gave us all additional spirits. But, I speak it with profound regret, the subsequent appointments have thrown a cloud over our friends, which it will require some time and great wisdom to dispel. We are sorry to see the personal friends of the President appointed. We lament to see so many of the Editorial Corps favored with the patronage of the Administration. A single case would not have excited so much observation, but it really looks as if there were a systematic Effort to reward Editorial Partizans, which will have the effect of bringing the vaunted Liberty of the Press into a sort of Contempt. I make allowance for the situation of these Gentlemen. I know most of them are able and qualified men. They have fought manfully, to put out a corrupt Coalition. They have fought with the halter round their necks; and not, as I have done, so much in the country of friends, as of enemies. I allow for all these things, and still the truth cannot be disguised, that the press, which shrinks like the sensitive plant from the touch of Executive Power, has been heedlessly handled. Invade the freedom of the Press and the freedom of Election, by showering patronage too much on Editors of newspapers and on Members of Congress, and the rights of the People themselves are exposed to imminent danger. I know that this was not the *motive* of such appointments; but I argue about *effects*: effects too, not to be brought about by *this* administration, but by less worthy ones which are to succeed it.

"There is some difficulty under all new administrations, to know whom to *put out* and whom to *put in*, and it is the right use of patronage under such circumstances that constitutes one of the most delicate operations of gove[rn]ment. We should suppose that one pretty good rule was, for the Chief Magistrate to consider offices, not as made for himself,

written for your perusal as to make it something like a duty on my part to lay it before you; and I do that the more readily from an entire consciousness that you wish to hear all that may be said with decency in respect to your administration by those interested in its success. I have known Mr Ritchie long and intimately and am well satisfied that there is not a man of purer public spirit in the Country. The disinterestedness of his views with the great ability that has characterized his paper has given it an influence infinitely greater than any other press in the Union. Whatever you may think of the wisdom or justice of the opinions expressed by such a man I am quite sure that they will receive from you a liberal and respectful consideration. not being certain from the great press that is made upon me that I shall be able to see you to day I have thought proper to enclose it and will view it again at your perfect leisure.

Yours affectionately

TO SECRETARY VAN BUREN.¹

WASHINGTON, March 31, 1829.

I have read the inclosed letter with attention, and if the facts adverted to would warrant the conclusion, the objections would be well founded.

There has been as yet, no important case of removal except Genl Harrison; and I am sure if Mr Richie has read the instructions given to our ministers, who were sent to Panama, he must think the recal of Genl Harrison, not only a prudent measure, but one which the interest of the country makes indispensibly necessary. I have refered to the case of Genl Harrison only, because I cannot suppose mr Richie has any allusion to the Auditors and comptroller, who were dismissed, not so much on account of their politics, as for the want of moral honesty. The Gentleman² who has been selected to supply the place of Genl Harrison is, I

the gratification of his own feelings and the promotion of his own purposes, but as a public trust to be confided to the most worthy. I throw out this suggestion, because I have seen too much stress laid upon the personal feelings of the President, by some who did not sufficiently estimate the high station which he occupies. There is another thing. I go for reform, but what is reform? Is it to turn out of office all those who voted against him, or who decently preferred Mr. Adams? Or is it not rather those, who are incapable of discharging their duties; the drunken, the ignorant, the embezzler, the man who has abused his official facilities to keep Gen. Jackson out, or, who are so wedded to the corruptions of Office, as to set their faces against all Reform? Is it not to abolish all unnecessary Offices, and to curtail all unnecessary Expences? It surely is not to put out a good and experienced officer, because he was a decent friend of J. Q. Adams, *in order* to put in a heated partizan of the election of Gen. Jackson, which partizan cho[]sles to dub himself on that account the friend of Reform. I trust that such a spirit of Reform will not come near to us in Virginia. Should any one be seeking the loaves and fishes of federal office in Virginia, I hope the Administration will be very careful *whom* they may put out, to serve such an Office-Seeker. There is no man, whom I would touch, in this City.

"The course of appointments at Washington is calculated to cool and alienate some of our friends. The enemies of the Administration are on the alert—they are availing themselves of all our errors, while we are so situated, that we are unable to justify and defend them. You can scarcely conceive the uneasiness which prevails."

¹ Library of Congress, Van Buren MSS. Jackson refers to Ritchie's letter to Van Buren, Mar. 27, 1829 (see the preceding note). The Virginians were deeply dissatisfied with the Cabinet. It was the first time since the government was founded that no Virginian was in Cabinet or presiding. Andrew Stevenson wrote a very candid letter of disappointment to Van Buren, Apr. 19, 1829. See Library of Congress, Van Buren MSS.

² Thomas P. Moore of Kentucky, minister to Colombia, appointed in place of William Henry Harrison, who, appointed by Adams, had just arrived in Bogotá.

believe as well qualified, if not better, than any other who would have undertaken the mission to that country.

I would advise the answering of mr Richie's letter; and, in the most delicate manner, to put him on his guard with respect to letter writers from Washington. The letter he has extracted from, instead of being from my *friend*, must be from some disappointed office hunter—one who merely professes to be my friend; or perhaps from a friend of mr Clays in disguise. How could this letter writer, know what changes were to be made? How can he pretend to *foretel*, without knowing who are to be appointed, that the changes will be injurious to the public interest? You may assure Mr. Richie that his Washington correspondent knows nothing of what will be the course of the President in appointments, or he would have known that the President has not, nor will he ever, make an appointment but with a view, to the public good, and the security of the fiscal concerns of the nation. He never has, nor will he, appoint a personal friend to office, unless by such appointment the public will be faithfully served. I cannot suppose mr Richie would have me proscribe my friends, merely because they are so. If my personal friends are qualified and patriotic, why should I not be permitted to bestow a *few* offices on them? For my own part I can see no well founded objections to it. In my Cabinet, it is well known that there is but one man with whom I have had an intimate and particular acquaintance, tho' they are all my friends, and in whom I have the greatest confidence. But even if it were as mr Richie supposes, I have only followed the examples of my illustrious predecessors, Washington and Jefferson. They took from their own state, bosom friends and placed them in the Cabinet. Not only this, but Genl Washington went even farther—besides placing two of his friends from Virginia near him, he brought into his cabinet Genl Hamilton with whom, if possible, he was upon more intimate terms than I am with any member of my Cabinet. I have drawn your attention to these facts because I apprehend that our friend mr Richie had not reflected upon the subject, or he would not have suffered himself to be so easily alarmed. I have, I assure you, none of those fears, and forebodings, which appears to disturb the repose of mr Richie, and his Washington Correspondant. I repeat, it would be well for you to write mr Richie and endeavour to remove his apprehension of difficulty, and danger. Say to him, before he condemns the Tree, he ought to wait and see its fruit. The people expect reform—they shall not be disappointed; but it must be *Judiciously* done, and upon *principle*.

yours respectfully

To JOHN C. McLEMORE.¹

WASHINGTON, April, 1829.

Dear Sir: Major Donelson has read me part of your letter Just received. I have also recd. one from my old friend Judge Overton, which I will answer so soon as a leisure moment occurs. I am much engaged.

¹ N. Y. Hist. Soc. John C. McJemore married a niece of Mrs. Jackson. He was one of Jackson's most devoted friends in Nashville.

A rat that has been marauding on the Treasury, finding that he was detected, left this place, and I am engaged preparing legal process to pursue and arrest him. It may be that the Late Secry. of the Navy is concerned in the frauds. The presumption is *strong*, still, he may be able to explain. This for yourself, and your confidential friends. a few days will give publicity to this transaction, but all must be still until the principal is arrested, and until the Ex Secry of the Navy explains, for which I have directed a call to be made upon him in writing, which is done, and I presume he will forthwith answer. should he hesitate he will be called on by a Judicial inquiry, and be put upon his defence. Should a Jury find him guilty, the punishment a Penitentiary offence. as to the Guilt of *Tobias Watkins*² in this fraud upon the Treasury, there can be no doubt, but he has disappeared.

I beg my friends in Tennessee to have no fear. I will go on in the same even tenor of my ways in harmony with my Cabinet, (which is one of the strongest, as I believe, that ever have been in the United States) cleansing the Augean Stable. My Cabinet is gaining upon the popularity of the nation daily, and my deceitful enemies in Tennessee will fall in to utter disgrace and contempt, not in Tennessee alone, but in the whole Union. I am aware of the base conduct of some of our Tennessee friends towards Eaton. I heard some of the most unfounded lies ever propagated, that must have been circulated by some Members of Congress, be them, whom they may, if Eaton can trace it to a source worthy of notice, they will feel the chastisement that such base conduct and secret slander merits. he has already paid his respects to two gentlemen *here*, for the tales of their wives; and I suppose their tongues will be hereafter sealed. I have heard, that it has been circulated in Tennessee, that Timberlake³ cut his throat on account of his jealousy of Eaton. There never was a *baser lie told*. To the last moment of his life, he had every confidence in Eaton, and in November 1826, sent him a full power of Attorney to attend to all his business, by which Major Eaton has saved from the rack of his fortune, about \$25,000, which he has willed to his wife and children. Read the two letters inclosed. They are from two Gentlemen that were with him, on the whole cruise, intimate friends of his and who closed his eyes in death, and then recollect, that Timberlake was a mason, Major Eaton, a mason, and Majr. Oneal, the Father, a mason and must he not be a Villain, who could ascribe to Majr. Eaton, such base conduct, and violation of every virtuous obligation; I would inclose you a copy of the letter of Attorney, but time will not permit. I have had it in my possession, it is authenticated in due form, at Giberalter.

I have long ago intended to do something for Genl Carroll. I will give him a charge de affairs to South America, if he will accept it, so soon as one is open. It is all that can be done for him, as we are trying to curtail our Diplomatic Corps, at least of Ministers of the first Grade, and our predecessors has left us without funds.

² Dr. Tobias Watkins was fourth auditor of the Treasury from 1824 to 1829. Jackson appointed Amos Kendall in his place. See J. Q. Adams, *Memoirs*, VIII. 141, 290.

³ Mrs. Eaton's first husband, a purser in the navy.

I fear nothing that Clay or such treacherous friends as *Miller* and others can do. These are the men who cry out principle, but who are on the scent of Treasury pap. And if I had a *tit* for every one of these *pigs* to suck at, they would still be my friends. They view the appointment of Eaton as a bar to them from office, and have tried here, with all the tools of Clay helping them on, to alarm and prevent me from appointing him. I was elected by the free voice of the people, I was making a Cabinet to aid me in the administration of the Government, agreeable to their will, Majr. Eaton was necessary to me to fulfill the expressed will of the people, he was *my friend*, I knew his *worth*, and like Washington, Jefferson, and Madison, I took him from my own state. I was not making a Cabinet for Genl Desha, Isaacs, Mitchel and Miller, I was making a Cabinet for myself. As I told them, I did not come here to make a cabinet for the Ladies of this place, but for the nation, and that I believed, and so I do, that Mrs. Eaton is as chaste as those who attempt to slander her. Assure my friends we are getting on here *well*, we labour night and day, and will continue to do so, until we destroy all the rats, who have been plundering the Treasury. I am not in good health, but as long as I am able, I will labour to fulfill the expectations of the nation. The press *here* for offices exceeds everything known before, and it seems that almost every man that voted for me, lays in his claims for some office or other. not having time to say more at present, remember me affectionately to your Lady, and the dear Little ones, to all friends, and accept of my wishes for your future welfare and prosperity.

I remain your sincere friend,

I have this moment heard a rumor of poor Houstons disgrace. My God, is the man *mad* ⁴

P. S. Say to my friend Earle I have recd. his letter and will answer it soon.

TO MRS. SUSAN DECATUR.¹

WASHINGTON, April 2, 1829.

Dear Madam. Your note of yesterday is before me. In reply, permit me to assure you that your situation interests my warmest wishes, and will not be forgotten.

In reference to the claims of Mr Ridgely, I can only say that they must await the action of those general principles by which the administration

⁴ Refers to Sam Houston, whose friends were shocked by his unexplained separation from his bride of a few months, his resignation of the governorship of Tennessee, and his withdrawal from white society to live with the Southwestern Indians. See p. 23n., *post*.

¹ Copy. Handwriting of A. J. Donelson. Mrs. Susan Decatur was the widow of Commodore Decatur, whose tragic death in a duel with Commodore Barron, Mar. 22, 1820, made a deep impression on the imagination of the people and aroused much sympathy for his widow, who was left with slight means of support. She sought payment on account of her husband's destruction of the *Philadelphia* off Tripoli in 1804. Jackson recommended in his first annual message that compensation should be made to the Commodore, his officers, and crew, and unsuccessful efforts were continued until 1857. See also p. 128n., *post*.

is to be governed. Offices cannot be created by it, nor can incumbents be removed to make room for others without an enquiry establishing their incompetency, and even where this enquiry produces a vacancy it must be remembered that the numerous applicants for it have, each, a conviction of superior claim, and demand from the President an impartial hearing. It is a source of sincere regret with me that Congress disappointed your appeal to its justice and magnanimity. I am satisfied, however, that the disappointment was not the result of an unfriendly feeling, or of a conviction that your claim was not well founded; and that at the next session you may calculate upon a favorable decision. In the mean time I assure you that whatever I can do with propriety for your relief will be cheerfully done.

Yr. obt sevt

JOHN M. BERRIEN TO JACKSON.¹

NEW YORK, April 9, 1829.

Dear Sir, Your letter of the 6th inst. reached me this morning. If any thing had been wanting to convince me, how much I am, and am destined to remain, your debtor, for a confidence as gratuitous, as it is gratifying, that evidence is now afforded me. I beg you to be assured my dear Sir, that as no one of your political friends attaches a higher value to your good opinion, so I would yield to no one in the devotion of my very humble powers, to the success of your administration, to the advancement of those two objects which I consider identified [with] your personal fame, and the public welfare. With the view therefore, which you are pleased to take of my capacity to render service in the station to which you have invited me, it is matter of unfeigned regret to me, notwithstanding my distrust of my competency to discharge the duties of this highly important mission, that the situation of my private affairs forbids its acceptance.

Torn as your own heart has been by calamity, I need not enter upon the detail of my private sorrows, to convince you, that my duty to the little children of whom I am now the sole surviving protector, would not justify the separation, which the duties of this mission would inevitably demand. The state of my professional engagements, and the situation of my planting interests, would also make it extremely injurious to me, to leave the United States during the present year. Mr. Tazewell intimated his wishes to me on this subject, on the contingency of his being unable to accept, in the last conversation we had before he left Washington, and I endeavored to explain to him fully and more in detail, than the limits of a letter admit, why I could not undertake this service. I regret extremely that he has declined it.

I propose to proceed to *Savannah* in a vessel which sails on the eleventh inst. Any commands, which you may have for me there, shall be promptly attended to. Meanwhile allow me to repeat the assurance of the respect and gratitude with which I am Dr sir

¹ Berrien, Attorney General since Mar. 9, was now offered the mission to Great Britain. See Van Buren, *Autobiography*, p. 257.

COLONEL CHARLES J. LOVE TO JACKSON.

MANSFIELD, TENN., April 15, 1829.

Dear Sir, Mr. Steel will finish planting corn today except the new ground and commence the cotton to morrow, young Hutchins is very much in the way at the Hermitage, he rode one of the brood mares away the other day and got her eyes put out; I think she is called Dianna, a letter from you to him might be of service; Mr Steel is anxious he should leave the place unless it is your wish for him to stay there

Our friend Houston has separated from his wife;¹ and will resign tomorrow and leave the state Immediately for the Arkansas Territory to reside among the Indians. There is a hundred reports about the cause of seperation; he gave her Father a certificate that she was virtuous. I lament his unfortunate situation most sincerely, his hopes for happiness in this world are blasted forever, his effigy was burned in Gallatin on Saturday night last; be so good as [to] make my best respects to your family and my friend Majr. Lewis

TO THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.¹

WASHINGTON, April 17, 1829.

My Dear Sir, I have just received your letter of the 26th February last, and feel a melancholy pleasure in knowing that the dispensation of Providence which has thrown over my future days the mantle of sorrow, has engaged your sympathies. The reflections which they inspire are consolatory as a tribute to the memory of my dearly beloved wife, and as a proof of your friendship for me. They are also cheering as another evidence of the goodness of your heart, which, amidst the vicissitudes of life in a distant land, does not cease to look with a parents eye upon the private as well as public concerns of the people of the United States.

With my prayers for the conti[n]uation of your health and happiness allow me to offer you the grateful recollection of Mrs Donelson and every other member of my family, and subscribe myself

Your Sincere friend

Remember us if you please to Mr. Lavossiur and the whole family of La Grange

¹ Many stories circulated to account for Governor Houston's sudden separation from his recently espoused wife. The most probable is that, a few months after marriage, he discovered that she had rejected a less prominent man whom she loved, to make a more successful marriage with the governor of the state, and that he left her and his brilliant career so as to give her the opportunity to obtain a divorce and marry the man she loved. It is a matter of record that she married later and lived happily. Houston became very unpopular in Tennessee as a result of his action. He returned on a visit in 1830, and S. J. Hays, writing to Jackson, May 5, said: "Poor Houston is here and not well received. I understand there are resolutions by the people of Sumner County coming out against him in tomorrow's paper. He has informed me he will leave in the morning."

¹ Copy.

EDWARD LIVINGSTON TO JACKSON.¹

Private

PHILADELPHIA, April 17, 1829.

Dear General, After thanking you which I do most sincerely for the new proof you have given me of a confidence which it has always been my pride to possess and my earnest desire to merit I wish to make to you some confidential communications on the subject. It is my earnest desire to accept the mission to France for many reasons but principally and without the fear of being thought vain because I think I can render my country service and do credit to your administration, and I should without further delay accept it but for reasons which I am now about to detail. I have much private business to arrange but the greater part might be done by the time mentioned in Mr. Van Burens letter as the period at which you wish me to embark. Circumstances however may possibly occur in one of them which may render it impossible for me to go and this can not be determined in less than a fortnight or three weeks from this time so that if I should accept, and the circumstances should occur I shall have lost my seat in the Senate and be deprived of any chance of supporting your administration either there *or elsewhere* in any other public station. On the contrary should I decline the mission under an apprehension of the possible contingency, it may not happen, and I shall then deeply regret that I have deprived myself of the opportunity of serving you where I could do it most effectually. . . .

TO SECRETARY VAN BUREN.

WASHINGTON, April 20, 1829.

D'r sir, Your note of last evening was handed me as I was going to bed, with the letters to mr Livingston and mr Woodbury inclosed,¹ which I examined, sealed and forwarded, by this mornings mail.

I recd. last evening a private letter from mr. Livingston, for reasons therein named, asking three weeks to determin on accepting the mission, but expressing at the same time his *great desire to do so*, if he can arrange some private business. I have wrote him the necessity of a speedy answer of acceptance, as I wish, for reasons assigned, that he should go out in the same vessel with mr McLean.² I will see you with pleasure at 11 oclock a. m. today, on the business proposed.

yours respectfully

¹ From the collection of the letters and papers of Edward Livingston, preserved at his former residence, Montgomery Place, Barrytown, N. Y.; printed by the kindness of Brigadier-General John Ross Delafield. See Van Buren, *Autobiography*, p. 259.

² Edward Livingston had been offered the mission to France and Levi Woodbury that to Spain. Both declined the offers.

² Louis McLane of Delaware, appointed minister to Great Britain after Tazewell and Berrien had declined.

SECRETARY VAN BUREN TO JACKSON.¹

WASHINGTON, April 23, 1829.

Sir, In compliance with your request, that I would look at the papers sent to me in relation to the New York Customs, and give my opinion in writing on the realitive merits of the several applicants, specifying at the same time the offices to which I would appoint them, and how far the principles we have adopted would justify dismissals in that port I have carefully examined the documents and have the honor to submit this my report upon the subject. The first and most important question relates to the Office of Collector, and the first consideration that naturally presents itself is the propriety of dismissing the present incumbent. I have been long and intimately acquainted with Mr Thompson,² believe him to be a strictly honest man, and to have discharged the duties of his very difficult and highly responsible office with integrity and fidelity. I am however constrained to express my belief, that the manner in which he has disposed of the patronage of his office, (including the application of a great portion of it to his own family) with a personal demeanor far from conciliatory, (as it is said by those who have business intercourse with him) superadded to his course in reference to the recent struggle in which the whole country has been involved, have excited a current of public feeling adverse to his continuance in office that deserves the respect of the Government; and that under the circumstances his dismissal would be justifiable upon the principles we have adopted; provided a successor can be selected who possesses in an ample degree the public confidence. Justice to my own feelings requires that I should add that the early and uniform Republican character and course of Mr Thompson, my respect for his private virtues, and our long and unbroken personal friendship makes this act of public duty a source of deep regret on my part. The prominent candidates for that office are Jeromees Johnson and Samuel Swartwout.

I know Mr Johnson intimately and believe him to be a worthy and highly deserving man, and it would give me great pleasure to see him placed in some office which would be agreeable to him, and for which his talents are adapted. He is a merchant of respectability, and has strong claims upon us. I do not believe that his capacities, (respectable as they are,) qualify him for that difficult and extremely responsible station, and for that sole reason cannot recommend his appointment.

I have known Mr Swartwout for many years although not intimately. I have always regarded him as a generous, warm hearted, and high spirited man, influenced by kind feelings to his friends, and have consequently never entertained any other than friendly feelings towards him personally. And Politically; he has never been, and is not now, in a situation, to make his opinions the cause of either prejudice or solicitude with me. It is my clear and decided opinion, (and a firmer or better

¹ Library of Congress, Van Buren MSS. Reply to Jackson's note of Apr. 20, printed in Van Buren's *Autobiography*, p. 263.

² Jonathan Thompson, collector 1820-1829.

grounded conviction I never entertained in my life,) that the appointment of Mr Swartwout to the office of Collector of the port of New York, would not be in accordance with public sentiment, the interest of the Country, or the credit of the administration. Deeply impressed with the peculiar importance of this appointment and anxious fully to discharge the duty imposed upon me by your request, and the relation in which I stand to you, I feel it my duty to add, that his selection would in my judgment be a measure that would in the end be deeply lamented by every sincere and intelligent friend of your administration throughout the Union.³

I have examined the recommendations of Mr Swartwout carefully and from my local knowledge would have no difficulty in presenting to you a just estimate of their amount. That there are individuals of much personal worth who have expressed a desire for his appointment I cheerfully admit; but so far forth as the documents profess to establish a favourable expression of either the commercial or political sentiment of the City they are extremely deceptive and deficient; and fall far short, of what I had, under the circumstances, been led to expect. I have reason to believe that this subject is somewhat irksome to you, and it is assuredly not a pleasant one to me. I shall therefore not press the explanations which I am prepared to make, unless your view of the matter should induce you to think them necessary. For the present allow me barely to add, (and aver that I would not do were it not for the circumstance that you must unavoidably be ignorant of most of the men who have addressed you upon the subject;) one or two observations. Several of the gentlemen who urge Mr Swartwouts appointment also speak in the very highest terms of the character and claims of Henry Post, whose character is now well understood, and whose appointment (had it been possible) would have filled the minds of every sincere friend of yours with the deepest sorrow. In some of the cases this arises from a want of discretion, and in others from a want of principle. An attempt is made to impress you with the belief that Gnl. Lewis⁴ is in favour of Mr Swartwouts appointment, and the reason given for his not writing is that he did not allow himself to recommend in any case. I do not know the gentleman who makes this statement and have no wish or cause to impeach his correctness; but waiving the consideration of the weight that ought to be given to this opinion of Gen Lewis if correctly given, it is worthy of remark, that among the papers will be found two recommendations of Gov Lewis from other persons. It is alleged that Mr Astor (who though a good merchant is no politician) is in favour of Mr S. In addition to the letter from Mr Cambreleng, which I read to you, I have re'd one from him yesterday, in which he informs me that he had called on Mr Astor, who informed him that he had been twice applied to to write in favour of Mr S. but had refused, and repelled the idea of his

³ Jackson ignored Van Buren's advice and appointed Samuel Swartwout collector at New York. The result was that the appointee proved a defaulter, and it was found that his irregularities began within a year after his appointment. On this subject see Van Buren, *Autobiography* (ed. Fitzpatrick), pp. 262, 263, 266.

⁴ Morgan Lewis, governor of New York 1804-1807.

being in his favour. I have mislaid Mr C's letter but can hunt it up if material. Mr. Gouverneur (the Postmaster)⁵ sends a recommendation from a Mr Richard Hatfield as entitled to much consideration—now this is the same Mr Hatfield who our friends in NYork wish to turn out of the office of Clerk for his conduct during the last election, and to put Mr Noah in his place. they have had two meetings upon the subject and will I hope and trust do it. But I find I am going into the very explanation I propose to avoid and will therefore desist with this single remark. I do not understand from your note whether, our Senators recommended Mr Swartwout for the office of Collector in particular, or for some place generally and am strongly impressed with the belief that it must have been the latter. I have however written to Mr Dudley and will have his and Mr Sanford's⁶ views in a few days. . . .

SECRETARY VAN BUREN TO JACKSON.¹

WASHINGTON, April 24, 1829.

Dear Sir. If it is perfectly agreeable to you it would be particularly so to me to be permitted to send your letter to Mr Cambreleng with a view to its being shewn to a few of my friends in New York.² If you have the slightest objection to the course I propose I hope you will do me the favor to inform me of it.

If you allow it to be sent it will be inclosed in the within (which was written before I received it) and of course with a prohibition against its publication. I shall cheerfully do what you may desire in regard to the appointment at Nashville³ but as I have not the slightest choice between the Candidates and no personal knowledge of either of them save Mr Balch and that very superficially, I should be in no small degree embarrassed in the execution of a trust you have in so kind and flattering a manner committed to me. But we shall converse on this subject further when I have the pleasure of seeing you

Your friend

[P. S.] I return the letter with a view to give you an opportunity to alter it (if you think it advisable to have it sent upon which point I repeat my wish that you should not suffer your sense of propriety to be in the least influenced by your desire (of which I am well satisfied) to gratify me. you will observe that in the word *capable* the *pa* is through inadvertance omitted. The whole letter to Mr Cambreleng is subject to your opinion as to its propriety. If you doubt the policy of sending it I will suppress the whole and leave the matter to take its course without explanation.

⁵ Samuel L. Gouverneur, President Monroe's son-in-law.

⁶ Charles E. Dudley and Nathan Sanford, senators from New York.

¹ Copy. Library of Congress, Van Buren MSS.

² The letter mentioned contained a statement that Jackson appointed Swartwout against the advice of Van Buren.

³ Jackson gave Van Buren the privilege of appointing the prosecuting attorney at Nashville in return for going against Van Buren in the Swartwout appointment.

TO SECRETARY VAN BUREN.¹

WASHINGTON, April 24, 1829.

My D'r sir, your note, inclosing one intended to be sent to Mr Camberli[n]g, has been recd. and read with attention, and I thank you for the perusal. I have not the least objection to your inclosing mine to Mr Camberli[n]g under the injunction imposed. Indeed, I think it proper that you should, and wish it. I would write my letter over again, but I have not time and my head is very painful, and as it is *only* for the *eye of friends*, I return it, correcting the omission you were kind enough to note. I herewith send the letters enclosed, yr friend

[*In Van Buren's handwriting is the following:*] The letter refered to in the above was intended for my perusal only M. V. B.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL RICHARD K. CALL TO JACKSON.

TALLAHASSEE, FLA., April 28, 1829.

. . . . I have read Dear General with great interest that part of your letter which relates to our friend Eaton, and hope sincerely that your impressions with regard to him may be correct. None would rejoice in the belief more than myself. You misunderstood me with regard to the person from whom I recd my information relative to the correspondence between Eaton and Timberlake. The Gentleman who gave this information is incapable of making a mistatement on any subject but he had recd it from one who said he had seen the papers. of this second person I know nothing, and he may have told a falsehood, I hope he did. I am sure Genl you cannot mistake my motives in mentioning this subject to you. I feel too deeply what ever concerns you not to speak when I believe you are imposed on, and I fear you are still deceived with regard to the Majors domestic relations. I do not wish to prejudice you against your friend, who I consider has one blemish and a thousand virtues. But I do believe Mrs. E is an unworthy associate for the ladies of your household. While living in the same house I had such evidences of her conduct, as to convince me of her want of virtue. You will pardon me Genl for speaking plainly to you on this subject. I do believe and I have the *most conclusive reason to believe*, that as early as 1824 an *aggreement* existed between the parties that they would marry in the event of the death of T. This added to other circumstances which I mentioned to you have left me without a doubt on this subject. I wish it were otherwise, but the convictions of my mind are too strong to be removed. Your friends all believe this story, but they do you the justice to believe that you entertain a different opinion. Yours is certainly the most charitable belief, and one which I would embrace if I could. I do fear Genl that this Lady will create a difficulty among some of the members of your cabinet. I tell you in confidence and I think you will find me correct. She will not be recd. in the families of the other members of your Cabinet.

¹ Van Buren MSS., Library of Congress

But I have trespassed to long on your time. I hope your health is restored, and that the blessings of heaven may descend on you is the sincere prayer of your friend¹

¹ The following letters, dated at Washington, Apr. 8 and 9, 1829, from Eaton to Mrs. Emily Donelson, wife of Maj. A. J. Donelson, and head of Jackson's family in the White House, give a clear idea of the point to which the Eaton controversy had progressed at this time, and they also throw some light on Eaton's character:

"Mrs. Donelson, I have understood that a certain family here, have gratuitously stepped forward to become your counsellors and advisers, to tell you what to do, and what not to do; and in secret whispers to slander all who are short of that standard of excellence which they deem the proper one. I have also learned amidst the variety of their gossiping tattle, that it has pleased this little nest of inquisitors, to offer some of their comments respecting me and my wife. I know not what effect they may have produced on your mind, tho I should presume, that some recent events which gave pain in your own bosom would lead you to forbear attaching any importance to tales of slander. If fire side whispers shall have influence on intelligent minds, it is questionable whether character be worth any thing. Under such an order of things, you yourself may presently become a victim to those meddling gossips.

"When your excellent aunt arrived here in 1815 (I have heard her tell the story) some of those busy folks, always and every where to be found, undertook to tell her of the people here; and amongst other things that a certain lady was not a proper character for her to associate with. Her answer as alike creditable to her head as to her heart was, 'I did not come here, to listen to little slanderous tales, and to decide upon peoples character.'

"You are young and uninformed of the ways and of the malice and insincerity of the world, therefore do I speak to you. You may take it for a certain rule that those whom you hear abusing others, will by and by when occasion offers, abuse you too. Let your Uncle from any cause get out of his place, and those butterflies who now infest you, will be amongst the first to find how entirely they have been deceived in you, and your character, and seek to reduce it to a level with their own. These people care nothing about you. They are eternally haunting your house, and bringing you tales and rules, only that your Uncle is in power, and they hope to give themselves consequence thro the smiles they may pick up in your doors. Rest assured one day or other you will have cause to repent that you ever recvd into your confidence such people as Mrs. Sim and Mrs. Graham, and some one or two others.

"Mrs. Sim like her husband is wholly underserving your confidence and you will after a while find it so. As for Mrs Graham I have uniformly contemned her, and ever shall. I believe she is despised by all who know any thing of her. I tell you as a friend, she deserves nothing of your friendship or confidence. If you regard your tranquility, hereafter forbear all intimacy and familiarity with such people; treat them politely; but never take them to your confidence. Were I a gossipier I could point to some of these who have basely and falsely assailed *one* whom you had cause to love. Now they would be your gracious friends forsooth.

"Now Mrs Donelson take these hints and profit by them. Lay them by, and my life upon it, you will one day thank me for what I have said. You have known me long and well, and well know that in nothing have I ever deceived you or your friends. Appreciate therefore what is written friendly as it is intended; for your own benefit, not mine. Let your uncle get out of office, and I greatly mistake if you do not have cause to repent that ever you nestled to your bosom such friends and such counsellors.

"In this matter I have no concealment. What is here said is not in confidence. I am willing, more than willing, that those whose names are mentioned shall know it, that they may tell it to their husbands."

"Mrs. Donelson, Yesterday I wrote you a letter, which I sent by the messenger, and hope it has reached you. On looking to the Copy, I perceive there is omitted, one of the great objects of writing it; to ask you, if you felt entirely at liberty, to state to me, what were the remarks of Mrs Sim and Mrs Graham made in your presence. If what has been said (slanderously) were made to you, under circumstances of privacy or confidence, in friendship to yourself I cannot ask that you shall violate that confidence; but if not, then have I to request, that you will disclose to me, what indeed it was. A letter from Dr. Sim utterly denying, any thing done, or said by his wife, is the reason why this application is made: it is merely for myself: your name shall not be used rest assured. Still I desire you to bring this request to the consideration of your husband, that he may decide if you can properly and with propriety afford me, what is requested. It is so

[*Indorsement in Jackson's handwriting:*] This letter to be filed with my private papers, as an evidence of the falibility of man and how far he will be carried by his prejudices. There was not an act of Mrs. T. for the whole time I lived about the h[o]use of Major Oneal, with Genl Call, that created the slightest suspicion on my mind of the impressions of Genl. Call as now expressed by him, and I have been and ever will remain stedfast in the opinion of her innocence and the falshood of the charges
A.J

TO JOHN C. McLEMORE.¹

WASHINGTON, May 3, 1829.

. . . . I find my son made a mistake in the name subscribed to one of the letters I enclosed to you the other day, he mistook Lt. Elie A. F. Vallette, for Wollette the F being Joined to the V. You will please note this mistake and correct it. The letter is from Lt. Elie A. F. Vallette, a highly respectable Lt. in the Navy, and which gives the lie direct to the slanders circulated about Major Eaton and Mrs. Eaton. If you see Genl Desha, or any other who has been thus speaking, you are at full liberty to shew them the copies of the letters I enclosed to you. Major Eaton is now popular, and will become one of the most popular of all the heads of Departments. Indeed I am highly pleased with my executive council, they are able amiable men, and the greatest harmony prevails. The prime movers of the secrete slanders against Eaton have been silenced by the firm and energetic stand taken by Eaton. he has never yet been able to trace it to a gentleman, it has been circulated by females, and he took the stand to make husbands answerable for the sayings of their wives, and called upon two of them, when both the wife

farcical to me, to dream of madam Graham lecturing on *character*, that it constitutes an additional reason for pressing this request."

With the reply to these notes by Mrs. Donelson went a note by her husband to Eaton, Apr. 10, 1829, as follows:

"Dear Sir, Upon my return home last night from Genl Macomb's, Mrs Donelson shew me two letters, which you had addressed to her, requesting a disclosure of the allegations against the character of Mrs Eaton and yourself supposed to have been raised by a family in this city. This request is doubtless based upon the impression, that Mrs D had given credence to these allegations, and of course the communication of them to you, was but an act of justice which you had a right to expect from her, and lest she may not have been explicit enough in the avowal of it, I have taken the liberty to accompany her note herewith enclosed, with this explanation.

"And I take pleasure in adding as an individual that no one can be more ready than myself to pay to yourself and to Mrs Eaton every proper mark of respect, and by my example to recommend the sentiment which justifies it to my family.* But beyond this my regard for them, and my duty to society does not require me to go. Upon this principle perceiving that the circle in which Mrs D had been accidentally thrown when she arrived in the city had embarrassed little her disposition to be social and free with your lady, I thought it better to rely on that corrective which I knew would be found in a longer acquaintance with society here, than on that which by seeking to oppose the sentiments of others, would have drawn her into endless disputes."

* From this point to the end the writing has been crossed out in the original. No trace of Mrs. Donelson's reply to Eaton has been found, but, as she held firmly out against Mrs. Eaton, it may be assumed that it was not complaisant. These three letters are from the Donelson Papers in the Library of Congress.

¹ N. Y. Hist. Soc.

and the husband declared that they never had heard or knew any thing disrespectful of Mrs. or Major Eaton. Now I do know that one of them was the first originator of the falshood, and I have no doubt were the source from whence Houston, Desha and others got their information. But these satelites of Clay, who has duped some of our Tennesseens, are falling into the pitts dug for Major Eaton, and their slanders are recoiling upon their own heads. There is no respectable strangers who do not call upon Mrs. and Major Eaton and Major Barry is now living with them; the cloud is blowing over, altho it has cost me some pangs. But the world was mistaken in me. The attempt was made to induce me to abandon my friend, *it failed*. I would sink with honor to my grave, before I would abandon my friend Eaton. I will support him, he is a well tried friend, and now, an efficient aid to me, in the administration of the Govt. I have no fear but it will be found that I have around me as able a cabinet as ever administered this government. Give my respects to my friend Judge Overton, say to him, I will write him soon, give my compliments to Mr. Hume, Earle, Purdy, Barryhill, Armstrong, Parish and all friends, present me affectionately to Betsy and all yr sweet children, we are all getting well here. Yr. friend

P. S. Rumor says here, you are going to Have Genl Hall a candidate for the office of Governor, and that East Tennessee is going to bring him out. is this true.

TO T. L. MILLER.¹

WASHINGTON, May 13, 1829.

D'r Sir, I have recd. your letter of the 4th inst., and must plead my numerous and varied engagements as an apology for not responding to it at an earlier period. The remarks you have offered, require no explanation or apology on your part—they are of that friendly, frank character as to deserve my thanks. Mr. Tazwells reasons for declining the mission offered him, were of so candid a nature, that while the loss of services so valuable were matter of regret, it was impossible for me to do otherwise than appreciate the motives which induced his decision.

Upon other matters touched upon in your letter, relative to the appointment of Editors to office, I am constrained to disagree with you. It is true as suggested, that the press being an important essential in the maintenance of our republican institutions, its freedom and purity can not be too carefully guarded. But while we are reasoning upon the policy of a measure, it is proper that all the circumstances in connection with it, should also be duly weighed. I agree with you, that considerations of no sort, neither hopes nor fears, should be held out by Government to Editors of papers, nor indeed to any discription of men, to induce a course of conduct not sanctioned by principle, and by their unbiassed judgement. But is this the case under the present posture of affairs?

You will recollect that in the recent political contest it was said and truly said, to be a struggle between the virtue of the american people

¹ Seems to be in the handwriting of A. J. Donelson.

and the corrupting influence of executive patronage. By no act, by no solicitation of mine; and apart from any interference of myself, did the people in their kindness, present me as their candidate. The different presses of the Country acting upon their own impulses, espoused one side or the other, as judgement or other causes operated. Those who stepped forward and advocated the question termed the side of the people, were a part of the people and differing only in this that they were the proprietors and conductors of the press—in many cases purchased by themselves expressly for the purpose of aiding in the “grand cause”. And to what motive other than the love of country and the exercise of a sound judgement could their course be ascribed[?] I was not abroad seeking popularity, nor did I trammel or commit myself by pledges to reward partizans in the event of success. no one has ever accused me of doing so, and hence we are bound to believe that they were disinterested in their support of me. Many maintained and believed, and especially the politicians of the Country, that no efforts of the people, would be found sufficient to counteract the subsidizing influence of government. Upon this ground then, whatever motive could arise founded on self, was of a character to invite chiming in with the powers that were then in existence. Yet many Editors did not, and hence can we resist the impression that they were actuated by the same generous and patriotic impulse that the people were?

If these suggestions be founded in truth, why should this class of citizens be excluded from offices to which others, not more patriotic, nor presenting stronger claims as to qualification may aspire?

To establish such a precedent would I apprehend, have a powerful tendency to place the control and management of the press into the hands of those who might be destitute of principle; and who [were] prosecuting their profession only as means of livelihood and hence, would become mercenary, and to earn their penny would abandon principle, which ought to be their rule of action.

The road to office and preferment, being accessible alike to the rich and the poor, the farmer and the printer, honesty, probity and capability constituting the sole and exclusive test, will I am persuaded, have the happiest tendency to preserve, unimpaired, freedom of political action; change it and let it be known that any class or portion of citizens are and ought to be proscribed, (and) discontent, and dissatisfaction will be engendered. Extend it to Editors of papers, and I reiterate, that men of uncompromising and sterling integrity will no longer be found in the ranks of those who edit our public journals. I submit it then, to your good sense and calm reflection, what must be the inevitable result of things in this country, when the press and its freedom shall become so depressed and degraded as to be found altogether under the control of men wanting in principle and the proper feelings of men!

I am very respectfully yr. mo. obt. Sevt.

TO REV. HARDY M. CRYER.¹

WASHINGTON, May 16, 1829.

My D'r Sir, Your kind letter of the 20th ult, has been some days before me. The great press of business has prevented me from attending to it sooner, and even now I can only say to you as it regards our mutual friend Mr Gwinn that he had better remain where he is, untill you hear from me again, There is more distressed people here, than any person could imagine who were not an eye witness to the various applications for relief. My feelings have been severely corroded by the various applications for relief, and as far as real charitable objects presented themselves, I have yielded my might to their relief. would you believe it, that a lady who had once rolled in wealth, but whose husband was overtaken by misfortune and reduced to want, and is, and has been an applicant for office, and well recommended, applied to me with tears in her eyes, soliciting relief, assuring me that her children were starving, and to buy them a morsel of bread she had to sell her thimble the day before. an office I had not to give, and my cash[?] was nearly out, but I could not withhold from her half of the pittance I had with me. I name these things to bring to your view that from the extravagance of this place how small a prospect is \$1000 per annum for the support of a family here, and the moment they are out of office, starvation presents itself to view.

We have not had leisure yet, to make the necessary arrangements of reform—we are progressing, and such is the press for office, and the distress here that there are for the place of messenger (for the Departments) at least twenty applicants for each station, and many applicants who have been men of wealth and respectability. still if our friend Gwinn wishes to come on here, when we finally organise the Departments, and turn out the spies from our camp, I will preserve an office for him, but we are now having a thorough investigation of all Departments, and the enquiry will be made how many, if any clerks, can be dispensed with.

I wrote my overseer the other day on the subject of sending my mares to Stockholder. I would like to hear how many colts I have from Sir William. I learn that the cotton mare and Major Donelsons, has not proved with foal.

In the day I am laboriously employed, and it is only when late in the night I retire to my chamber, that I have time to think of, or write to, my friends. It is then I feel the great weight of the late affliction of providence in the bereavement I have been visited with in the loss of my dear wife; I find myself a solitary man[?], deprived of all hope of happiness this side the grave, and often wish myself at the Hermitage there to spend the remnant of my days, and daily drop a tear on the tomb of my beloved wife, and be prepared, when providence wills it, to unite with her in the realms above. But providence has other wise ordered it. to his will I must submit.

Present me affectionately to your amiable wife and family and believe me yr friend

¹ Tenn. Hist. Soc.

TO SECRETARY VAN BUREN.¹

WASHINGTON, May 18, 1829.

The dress of an American Minister as fixed by the mission to Ghent,² and adopted by the Department of State being extremely ostentatious and probably equal in expense to one eighteenth part of the outfit allowed to a minister of the highest grade, the order prescribing it is henceforth abrogated. But as it is considered necessary that our ministers should be distinguished by their dress while at Foreign courts from unofficial personages, I am willing to prescribe one which shall conform to the simplicity of our government founded upon, and guided as it is, by pure republican principles.

I therefore direct when the minister thinks proper to wear a court dress, that it shall be a Black coat with a gold star on each side of the collar near its termination—the under clothes to be black or white at the option of the wearer—a three cornered Chapeau de Bras, a black cockade and eagle, and a steel mounted sword with a white scabbard³

TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL RICHARD K. CALL.

WASHINGTON, May 18, 1829.

Dear Genl, yours of the 28th ult. has been received, I hope before this reaches you, your dear wife may have been safely delivered, and have presented you with a fine son, or daughter. I am anxious to hear of your safe return from the Havanna, with such documents as may enable the United States to detect all frauds, that have been attempted against her in Florida.

you will have seen from the Public Journals that we have been ferretting out some gross frauds practised against the United States in the Navy Department by the late 4th auditor Mr Watkins. The Grand Jury altho 18 out of 23, Mr Seaton of the number, are the most violent partizans of the late administration, have found a presentment against him, but I have no doubt, if they could they would shield him from disgrace. Whether this investigation may not produce facts well calculated to throw around the late Sec. of the Navy, strong suspicions of a participation in the guilt of Watkins, a few days will determine.

On the subject of our friend Eaton I will make a few remarks, to shew how you must have been imposed upon by the information you have recd. and how unfounded must be the rumors of a hostile correspondence ever having taken place between Mr Timberlake and major Eaton. The Proof which I now inclose you (Lt Vallette and Thos. Normans letters) with those heretofore referred to must be conclusive to prove to all unprejudiced minds the falshood of the statement. The friendly separa-

¹ Handwriting of A. J. Donelson, signed by Jackson.

² Memorandum printed in Moore, *Digest*, IV. 761. Van Buren's circular issued in pursuance of the present letter is *ibid.*, pp. 762-763.

³ In the draft the coat and nether garments were to be blue, and American artillery buttons were to be used. But the text shows that "black" was substituted for "blue", and the allusion to the buttons was omitted. Ed.

tion between Mr Timberlake and his family to which I was an eye witness 1824—This was conclusive that they parted on the most friendly and confidential terms. The power of att. Executed at Giberalter in Novbr. 1826, shew that until that period, no diminution of friendship and confidence could have taken place. The purchase of the Tobaco pouch and Turkish pipe but two weeks before his death and sent to me "Through his friend major Eaton," was conclusive to my mind, that until that period no information could have reached him that could have lessened his confidence in major Eaton. The copies of two letters from gentlemen of high standing in the Navy, now inclosed, men who sailed with him, and remained with him, until they closed his eyes in death, gives the lie direct, to the information of your secrete informant—nay more, his leaving all his estate to his wife and two children shews that your informant has been imposed upon, or like those that you, and Govr. Houston first obtained your information from, when called on the other day, has positively declared, that they neither ever knew, or said any thing disrespectful of Mrs. Timberlake, now Mrs Eaton, or major Eaton, and I have very little doubt whenever your informant is called upon he will be like those above alluded to, or like my friend Mr. Ely, who got his information, from a clergyman, whose name is not given, and who had his information from an unnamed dead Doctor, and from one of the clerks in the Department, whose name is not recollected, but who I suppose was Mr Henshaw, who it is believed, when he found an enquiry was set on foot, cut his throat. whether this was in part or in whole the cause, you will understand is only conjecture, as it is believed, he had an agency in circulating this foul and unfounded slander. I will add one notorious fact—it is this, that major Eaton by his disinterested friendship to Mr Timberlake, has saved by his advances out of the wreck of his Mr T. fortune the sum of \$25,000, which is willed to Mrs. Timberlake and her two children. now let me ask, should any thing but the most positive proof, when the moral character of Eaton stands throughout life so fair when standing in the relative situation that he did to Mr Timberlake and major oneal, be received, as evidence even to raise suspicions against him—and my Dear Call *you* have a right to believe that Mrs. T. was not a woman of easy virtue. your own declarations is proof of this, and if you have said any thing to the contrary to Genl Polk or Mr Ely, it is due to yourself and to major Eaton upon the receipt of the Testimony I now inclose you, which as stated to me, are both gentlemen of high standing in the Navy to say to them, that from proof furnished you lately believe your information was incorrect. you ought at once to reflect how unjustifiable your informants were to give you such information of your friend and enjoin you to secresy—the very injunction, with the slanderous information, that cannot be true, is criminal in the highest degree, and the man that would be guilty in one case, would traduce you or me secretly if it entered into his wicked designs

As to my female family I exercise no control over them. They have visited Mrs. Eaton. But you are badly advised as to those who visits Mrs Eaton. Major Barry as one of his family. I well know Mrs. Hamilton and her daughter visitted her. Miss McLean from Dalaware by the

instructions of her father⁴ visited her, and The lady of Major Bendor,⁵ visited her, and all respectable strangers visit her as I am informed. I happened to be present at the parting between her and Mrs. Bendor which was most affectionate and friendly, and the character of Mrs. Bendor stands as fair as any lady in America. Justice to truth and to my friend, and your friend, Major Eaton requires this statement. Major Eaton has taken a proper stand and his firmness, we both know, are equal to the task, and all my wish is that my friends may not in the investigation, be found acting incorrectly, or on secrete information, the weapon of all detraction.

TO MAJOR FRANCIS SMITH.¹

WASHINGTON, May 19, 1829.

Dear sir: This will be handed to you by my son,² by whom I take occasion to tender to you my thanks for your kind attention to him on his late tour to the north. I am fearful he has committed an error; if he has, I trust you will ascribe it to his youth, diffidence and inexperience, and allow him to make atonement for it for which purpose I send him to you. He has made known to me, since his return, the attachment he has formed for you[r] amiable daughter, which he informs me has been expressed to her and if not reciprocated, has at least won her favorable opinion. He has erred in attempting to address your daughter without first making known to you and your lady his honorable intentions and obtaining your approbation, but he has been admonished of this impropriety and he now awaits upon you to confess it. I find his affections are fixed upon her, and if they are reciprocated, with your approbation, that he looks upon the step which would follow their sanction as the greatest assurance of his happiness; mine, since the bereavement that the loss of my dear wife has inflicted upon me, has almost wholly vanished, except that which flows from his prosperity.

He has been reared in the paths of virtue and morality by his pious and amiable Mother, and I believe has walked steadily in them; the only hope by which I look to the continuation of my name; and has a fortune ample enough with prudence and economy, and more than enough without them. With these prospects he presents himself again to your daughter. If you have any objections I am sure you will with frankness communicate them to him, when he will withdraw from any further suit and desire only to be classed with your and her friends. I mistake your character if in thus approaching you either he or myself run the least hazard of being misunderstood. It has been a rule with me through life not to permit the forms of ceremony to prevent a frank expression of my feelings upon a subject which touches those of others.

I will soon be left alone as Major A. J. Donelson and family are preparing to go to Tennessee upon a visit to their disconsolate mother. In

⁴ Louis McLane.

⁵ Maj. George Bender, quartermaster.

¹ *Historical Outlook*, XIV. 12 (Jan., 1923). The original is in the possession of Andrew Jackson, Esq., of Los Angeles, Cal.

² Andrew Jackson, jr., son of Mrs. Jackson's brother, Savern Donelson.

their absence I cannot bear to be separated long from my son. Should his anticipations not be disappointed, any arrangements for their completion will be at your pleasure, and upon his return to me he will be prepared to meet them.

With a tender of my saluta[t]ions to your amiable lady and daughter, believe me most respectfully

Your servant

FELIX GRUNDY TO JACKSON.

NASHVILLE, May 22, 1829.

(private)

Dear Sir, On the subject of the National Bank, you have in view, I admire the project and beleive, that the president of the U States, who shall accomplish it, will have atcheived more for his Country, than has been effected by any act of Legislation, since the foundation of the Government. I will furnish as early as I can my views at large on that subject agreeably to your request.

You ask, If I will come to the Senate? ¹ I answer, I will If I can, and when I tell you truly, that I have more strength, than any man who can or will oppose me, it would seem strange that any doubt should exist—still there is doubt. I account for it in this way; Wm E Anderson, your friend and mine who is the very last man, I should have expected to oppose me, has been prevailed on to be a Candidate. he has resided in East Tennessee, which gives him an advantage in that quarter, and should Judge White aid him, he will get an almost unanimous vote in that end of the State. In the western District, Pleasant M Miller, will do what little he can for him—that will not amount to much. There are at all times, you know a few dissatisfied men in the Assembly, who would most probably unite on any other man rather than myself.

MRS. SUSAN DECATUR TO JACKSON.

UNION HOTEL, WASHINGTON, May 26, 1829.

My Dear General, I have requested the favor of Major and Mrs Donelson and the other members of your family, to come and take a social cup of Tea with me tomorrow afternoon, or the first afternoon that might be more convenient to themselves; and I shou'd be parti[c]ularly gratified if you wou'd have the kindness to class me among the few friends whom you permit yourself to visit. The late Administration, in consequence of the *political* sentiments of my intimate friends and associates, not only broke of[f] their acquaintance with me, themselves, but they moreover endeavored to prevail upon my friends of the Diplomatic Corps to drop my acquaintance also, and finally succeeded with the French and the Dutch Ministers; and it wou'd be a satisfaction to me to be able to shew them that I am in some degree restored to Executive favor!

I beg you to believe me, My Dear General, very sincerely and respectfully Yours

¹ Grundy was elected in the place of Eaton, resigned, and served until July, 1838, when he became Attorney General, and served until 1840. He was again elected U. S. senator, but died a few days later.

TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOHN COFFEE.¹

WASHINGTON, May 30, 1829.

(Private)

Yours of the 7th and 12th of May are just recd. I have had no recent intelligence from my little ward Hutchings. I recd a letter from him dated in April and wrote advising him of my wishes, that he might forthwith repair to Frankling and enter himself as a student with Mr Ote. I also wrote Capt John Donelson Senr[?] to see and admonish him on the propriety of his yielding to my request, and forthwith to repair to the school at Franklin. I also wrote Mr William Donelson to have the goodness to go with him and enter him with Mr Ote. since the date of these letters I have heard nothing from him, nor have I recd a single line from one of my friends, but yourself and Mr McLemore since I left home

I am happy to learn that Hutchings crop of cotton is sold. The proceeds except the amount of Thompson and Albert Ward, I wish you to take care of in such way as you may believe will be most profitable to Hutchings, and I wish you to write to William Crawford to have the debt collected from Griffin and the amount advanced for me to Thompson and Ward refunded, so that the accounts with the estate may stand closed. please, in your next, to inform me whether a recovery has been had against Mr Griffin and what prospect there are to obtain the debt. . . . I have given a spur to industry in every department, and I hope the nation will soon feel the benefit of the change. The war Department is better filled *now*, than it has been since the days of Genl Knox. But my dear Genl, I have to thank my god for that energy with which he has endowed me. There never was a more insidious attempt to intimidate me and to destroy a man, than there was to destroy Eaton, and with him myself, and strange to tell, the act of Clay, whose project it was, brought into action many who had ostensibly been his, Eatons bosom friends, and who he had often served, some of our Tennessee friends in the ranks. The most unblushing and unfounded slanders were daily, in *confidence*, circulated against his wife. I took a stand worthy of *friendship*, and I hope, I may be permitted to add, worthy of myself, and he will triumph over his enemies and become, if not already, one of the most popular members of the cabinet. The Major has taken a stand such as he ought, and I am happy to say to you, that every charge that calumny has set on foot against Mrs Eaton has vanished on enquiry and those who has secretly proposed them has denied ever hearing or knowing any thing improper ascribed to her and she has the respect, and is visited, by every reputable lady who visits this city, and Major Barry is now living with Major Eaton as one of his family and the calumnies are recoiling on the heads of her caluminators. I have had an arduous, and difficult duty to perform, in organising the government; but I trust in a kind providence to direct me, and pursuing that judgt that he has endowed me with, and

¹ Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.

acting with deliberation, and great caution, taking principle for my guide, and the prosperity of our country my end, I hope I shall pass through my administration of the government with satisfaction to myself, and the approbation of the people. My first object is, *in all things that I may possess an approving conscience*, and then, if the acts of my administration, meets with the approbation of my country, it will be a gratification to me, and tend to hand me down to my grave in peace.

The most disagreeable duty I have to perform is the removals, and appointments to office. There is great distress here, and it appears, that all who possess office, depend upon the emolument for support, and thousands who are pressing for office to it upon the ground, that they are starving, and their families, and must perish without they can be relieved by the emolument of some office. These hungry expectants, as well as those who enjoy office, are dangerous contestants[?] over the public purse, unless possessed of the purest principles of integrity, and honesty, and when any and every man can get recommendations of the strongest kind, it requires great circumspection to avoid imposition, and select honest men.

You will see from the public journals we have begun reform, and that we are trying to cleans the augean stables, and expose to view the corruption of some of the agents of the late administration. But whether from the defect of the law, or the malladministration of the law, Watkins may escape that punishment that his acts merit, is not for me to decide. that the grand jury and court would shield him from that just punishment that his conduct merits is believed by many here, and should he escape, it will be at once saying that every fraud may be practiced on the Treasury that any of its officers have the power to commit, and it can only be viewed as a breach of trust. The act of congress is as broad as language can make it, and still, the grand jury could not be brought to present the acts, as contrary to the statute. With such a grand jury, and court, vigilance can drive the rats from their nests in the treasury, but cannot punish them, and being worth nothing, the government must loose the amount of which it has been defrauded, and the culprit go unpunished. The court has not yet decided on the demurrer, but as the Telegraph is publishing a report of the case *at length* you may rest assured, it is believed by him[?] that the court will shield Watkins if it can find a legal shield to cover them from that indignation that must fill the breast of every honest man, be his preferences in politics, what they may.

My health has not been good, my mind has been sorely afflicted, with the bereavement I have met with. added to this the labour and scenes that have surrounded me, has been as much as the best fortitude I could muster could sustain. My days have been days of labour, and my nights, have been nights of sorrow, but I look forward with hope once more to return to the Hermitage and spend some days near the tomb of my dear departed wife. this is now the only thing that makes life desirable added to the hope, that I may in some small degree, realise the expectations of my country, and by reform lay a foundation upon which the liberty of my country may be perpetuated. . . .

MRS. F. POPE TO JACKSON.

FRANKFORT, KY., [May 30, ?], 1829.

To General Andrew Jackson President of the United States. You will no doubt be surprised, to be again addressed by me in an epistolary way; but such is my confidence in your good feelings and highmindedness, that I cannot for a moment believe, my letter addressed to you last winter ever reached you: or the President of the United States would even condescend to have taken notice of a letter addressed to him, in so good a cause as I then embarked in, and still conceive it is not presumable that the President can be acquainted with the private character of every subaltern that fills the different offices under government: but at the same time let me assure you, you can have no idea of the integrity, honesty and good principles of the man you have prostrated, and literally taken the bread out of the mouths of a helpless wife and two small children. Such unfortunately has been the lot of Mrs: Hawkins! Yet for [no?] cause, not even now, can she be tempted to turn against you, or utter a word of disapprobation against your course, whilst her eyes are swimming in tears, she adds "I cannot turn against Genl. Jackson!"

I who was the cause of my husband's¹ many and powerful exertions in your favour (which he has long since acknowledged) could not be made to believe, you would not have granted me one small request. When in fact and reality it would have been a step greatly in your favour to have retained Mr. Hawkins in his petty office, which his highmindedness would have long since made him resign, had it not been that it was a support for his helpless family.

If charges have been alleged against Mr. H. and sent on to your Cabinet, rest assured they have originated in the imaginations of designing sycophants: for never has a similar circumstance come under my knowledge, that has excited more universal sympathy than this one, even among your own ranks: and I may also venture to say it has and will turn many Jacksonians.

I still must believe that my letter of last Winter was not recd. by you, or your general politeness, for which you have ever been characterized, would, notwithstanding your power and preferment, induce you to retain the common courtesies of life, to a Lady, who was induced by the best feelings of philanthropy to address you last Winter: and should I not receive an answer to this, through some medium I must still suppose my epistles are intercepted, or kept from your eyes, again I repeat it, if I do not receive an answer to this, I must resort to some other conveyance than that of mail. I must intrust some friend to present my next to you personally. I expect to remain in Frankfort until the first of July.

I have the honour to subscribe myself with all due Respect and Regard.

¹ Probably John Pope, whom Jackson appointed governor of Arkansas.

TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOHN COFFEE.¹

WASHINGTON, May 31, 1830.

My Dear Genl, Congress has this day adjourned, after a very stormy session, and on saturday night and sunday morning, after they knew the Treasury was exhausted by former appropriations, passed many laws appropriating nearly one million of dollars, two of which, containing upwards of half a million, I have retained under consideration until next session of congress, having before put my veto upon one and today upon another.² the reason assigned by me I herewith inclose you, with my best wishes for your happiness and that of your family. we are all well here and all join in kind salutations to you and family. we hope to be able to visit Tennessee this summer, but it is yet a pure hope with me,
your friend

TO CAPTAIN JOHN DONELSON.¹

WASHINGTON, June 7, 1829.

My D'r Sir, Your letter of the 29th ult is just received. What satisfaction to me to be informed that you and Mr Hume had visited the Hermitage and Tomb of my dear departed wife. how distressing it has been to me to have been drawn by public duty from that interesting spot, where my thoughts delight to dwell, so soon after this heavy bereavement to mingle with all the bustle, labour, and care of public life, when my age, my enfeebled health and constitution forwarned me, that my time cannot be long here upon earth, and admonished me that it was time I should place my earthly house in order and prepare for another, and I hope a better world. My dear wife had your future state, much at heart, she often spoke to me on this interesting subject in the dead hours of the night, and has shed many tears on the occasion. your reflection upon the sincere interest your dear sister took in your future happiness are such as sound reason dictates. yes, my friend it is time that you should withdraw from the turmoils of this world, and prepare for another and better. you have well provided for your household, you have educated your children and have furnished them with an outfit into life sufficient, with good management and oeconomy, to build an independence upon. you have sufficient around you to make you and your old lady independent and comfortable during life, and when gone hence, perhaps as much as will be prudently managed, and if it should be imprudently managed, then it will be a curse, rather than a blessing to your children. I therefore join in the sentiments of my dear departed and beloved wife, in admonishing you to withdraw from the busy cares of this world, and put your house in order for the next, by laying hold "of the one thing needful". go read the Scriptures, the joyful promises it contains, will be a balsome to all your troubles, and create for you a kind of heaven here on earth, a consolation to your troubled mind that is not to be found in the hurry and bustle of this world.

¹ Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.² Vetoes of the Maysville Road bill and of the Washington Turnpike bill; Richardson, *Messages*, II. 483-494. The "pocket vetoes" were of a bill for building lighthouses, etc., and of a canal bill. See also p. 137n., *post*.¹ Tenn. Hist. Soc.

Could I but withdraw from the scenes that surround me, to the private walks of the Hermitage, how soon would I be found in the solitary shades of my garden, at the tomb of my wife, there to spend my days in silent sorrow and in peace from the toils and strife of this world, with which I have been long since surfeited. but this is denied me. I cannot retire with propriety. when my friends draged me before the public, contrary to my wishes, and that of my dear wife, I foresaw all this evil but I was obliged to bend to the wishes of my friends, as it was believed, it was necessary to perpetuate the blessings of liberty to our country, and to put down misrule. My political creed, compelled me to yield to the call, and I consoled myself with the idea of having the council and society of my dear wife, and one term would soon run round, when we could retire to the Hermitage and spend our days in the service of our god. But, O, how fluctuating are all earthly things. at the time I least expected it and could least spare her, she was snatched from me, and I left here a solitary monument of grief, without the least hope of any happiness here below, surrounded with all the turmoil of public life and no time for recreation, or for friendship. from this busy scene I would to god I could retire, and live in solitude. . . .

P. s. Mr Steel has written me but one letter, say to him to write me how much crop he has in, how many coalts, lambs and calves and how my last years coalts are, and of the health of my negroes. I learn old Ned and Jack are both dead. Jack was a fine boy, but if he was well attended to, I lament not. he has gone the way of all the earth.

TO MRS. F. POPE.

WASHINGTON, June 8, 1829.

Dear Madam, Your letter of the 30th ultto. has been received, and I embrace the first leisure moment since, to explain to you the reasons which produced the removal of Mr Hawkins. Acting upon the information Contained in your first letter on the subject, I felt a pleasure in the supposition that he could be retained without violating a proper regard for the duties of my office, or for the opinion of the great body of the people interested in that which he filled. This pleasure I assure you, madam, was heightened by the respect which I entertained for your wishes; and it was not without much pain that I felt constrained to act upon the belief that you had mistaken his true character. Unquestioned authority has been lodged in the department of the Postmaster General for the assertion that Mr Hawkins habits disqualify him, in a great degree, for the personal discharge of the duties of the office, and that he had been in the custom from this cause, of intrusting its keys to an individual, obnoxious to the community in many points of view. an extract of the memorial on this subject I inclose for your satisfaction

I have thus candidly stated the considerations which compelled me to approve of the removal of Mr. Hawkins; and hope that you will have no difficulty in reconciling them to a sincere indulgence of those sentiments of friendship and respect, which are due from me both to yourself, and to your distinguished husband.

It is a painful duty to be the instrument of lessening the resources of a family so amiable as that of Mr Hawkins; but when the public good calls for it, it must be performed. As a private individual, it would give me the greatest happiness to alleviate their distresses, but as a public officer, I cannot devote to this object the interests of the Country

Accept the assurance of my great respect and Esteem, and believe me D'r madam yr mo obdt. Servt.

TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOHN COFFEE.¹

WASHINGTON, June 13, 1829.

My D'r Genl, I have recd your letter of the 25th ult marked confidential, with the one inclosed in favor of your voluntary aid at New-orleans. The office solicited had been filled before the receipt of your letter. on a future occasion, his merits will be duly considered.

I have recd a letter from my little friend Hutchings and answered it today. he requests to be permitted to go to Mr Williford at Columbia. he appears to have great objections to go to Mr Ote. should he not have entered with Mr Otte let him go to Mr Williford least he might run away from Mr Otte which would ruin him forever but if entered with Mr Otte, on no account let him leave that school until his session is out.

I write you at Nashville expecting it will meet you there on your way hither, with your daughter, we are all delighted here with the thought of seeing you and Mr McLemore with your two daughters here shortly. we will have rooms for you prepared, and hope Mr Earle is with you. Present us to all friends, affectionately, and believe me yr friend—I have been writing for four hours and am obliged from debility to stop.

MRS. MARY BARNEY TO JACKSON.¹

BALTIMORE, June 13, 1829.

Sir, Your note of the 22 April addressed to me through your private Secretary accompanying the return of my papers, which expresses your "*sincere regret that the rules which you had felt bound to adopt for the government of such cases, did not permit the gratification of my wishes,*" affords no palliation of the injury which you have inflicted on a meritorious officer and his helpless family. It is dark and ambiguous. Knowing that the possession was not alone sufficient justification for the exercise of power; unwilling that your character for firmness should suffer by the imputation of caprice, or that your reputation for humanity should be tarnished by an act of wanton cruelty, you *insinuate* a cause; you *hint* at a *binding rule*, and *lament* that my husband is within its operation.

¹ Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.

¹ This remarkable letter shows the state of mind of persons who were removed from office in Jackson's administration. Mrs. Barney, as she says, was a daughter of Samuel Chase, the bitterly partizan judge whom the Jeffersonian Republicans impeached in 1804, but without convicting him. Her husband, William B. Barney, a son of Commodore Joshua Barney, had been naval officer of the port of Baltimore since 1818. This letter, with one by her husband, was published in 1830 in pamphlet form, as evidence that Jackson was misusing the patronage.

If it were not unworthy the character of *Genl. Jackson*, I ask you, was it not beneath the dignity of the *President* of these United States to *insinuate*, if bold assertion had been in his power. When you had adopted for your government this *inexorable rule* was it not cruel in you to conceal it from those on whom it was to operate the most terrible calamities? Why should the *President* of a free country be governed by *secret rules*? Why should he wrap himself up in the black robes of mystery, and like a volcano, be seen and felt in his effects, while the secret causes which work the ruin that surrounds are hid within his bosom? Is this *rule* of which you speak a law of the land; is it a construction drawn from any articles of the constitution, or is it a section of the articles of War? Is it a rule of practice, which having been acted upon by any of your illustrious predecessors, comes down with the force of *authority* upon you? Did it govern the conduct of that great Man in whose mould (according to your flattere[r]s[]) *you* were formed? If so, why should you conceal it? The constitution and the laws, civil and military, will justify you, and all who obey *them*; and the robes of power which *you* wear cannot be stained by an act which finds a precedent in the conduct of any of your predecessors. Is it any old principle of new application in the art of government which having escaped the searching mind of Washington and the keen vision of succeeding Presidents, has been grasped by your gigantic mind? Or is a new, wholesome principle patented to you and for which you alone are to receive all the rewards of (glory at least) which succeeding ages never fail to bestow on the first inventor of a public blessing?

The Office Harpies who haunted your public walks and your retired moments, from the very dawn of your administration, and whose avidity for office and power made them utterly reckless of the honorable feelings and just rights of others, cried aloud for *Rotation* in Office. Is that magical phrase, so familiar to the Demagogues of all nations, and of all times, your great and much vaunted Principle of *Reform*? If it be, by what kind of rotary motion is it, that men who have been but a few years, or a few months in office, are swept from the boards, while others (your friends) remain, who date their official Calends, perhaps from the time of Washington? What sort of adaptation of skill to machinery is that which brushes away those only who were opposed to your election, and leaves your friends in full possession?

Your official Organ would impose upon the public the belief that you had adopted the Jeffersonian rule of honesty, and capacity, and that incumbents, as well as applicants were tested by that infallible touchstone. The alleged delinque[n]ci[e]s of one or two public officers have for this been made a colour; and the dye of their avowed iniquity has been spread with industrious cunning over the skirts of every innocent victim. Even of those few who have been thus charged, their misconduct (reported) was unsuspected, until the prying eyes of their *successors* came to inspect the official records of their proceedings, when *their delegated ingenuity* as in duty bound, could do no less, than find them guilty, and therefore could not have been the *cause* of their dismissal. Your's therefore is not the Jeffersonian Rule. You ask respecting incumbents

and applicants *other* questions, than, "is he *honest*, is he *capable*"? and the answer to your questions decides the applicability of your Rule. By thus ascertaining what your secret rule is *not*, we may easily come to the discovery of what it is. Supposing you serious when you say you are *controulled by a rule* and that you do not move blindly like other storms, but that you have eyes which see, and ears which hear, and hence that I have not yet described your rule; there remains however but one motive which could possibly have governed you, "*punishment of your political opponents and rewards for your friends*". This is your *rule* and however you may wish to disguise it, or to deceive the world into the belief that your secret principle, is something of a nobler sort, the true one is visible to every eye, and like a red meteor beams through your midnight administration, portending and working mischief and ruin. It was prescribed to you before you had the power to pursue it, by one to whom you are allied by a happy congeniality; whom you have neither the ability nor the wish to disobey, before whose omnipotent breath your presidential strength lies nerveless as infancy; who, while he suffers your heart to pursue its wonted palpitations, seems to have locked up the closet which confines your *intellect*. In this imprisonment of your mental powers, you see with his eyes, and hear with his ears. It is a misfortune for this great nation that *You* were born for him, and *He* for you. At one and the same time he is your minion and your Monarch; your priest, and your demon; your public counsellor and your bosom friend. I blush for my country when I see such unnatural formations, such a cancerous excrescence fastened upon the body politic, and the footstool of the President converted into a throne for a slave.

The injustice of your new Principle of "*Reform*" would have been too glaring, had it been at once boldly unfolded, and hence is it, that it was brought out by degrees. At first it was pretended that those only who had made use of office as an engine for electioneer[ing] purposes, were to be "*reformed away*". But when it was discovered that there were in place very many of your own friends who had been guilty of this unconstitutional impropriety as you have been pleased to call it, who contrary to any feeling of gratitude or sense of duty, had stung the bosom which warmed and the hand which fed them, making use of their office in the gift of Mr. Adams as the means of furthering your designs upon the presidency to his exclusion, and that *your rule* was a "*two edged sword*" which if honestly born would "*cut upon both sides*;" it was soon carefully withheld, and finally gave way to a much more comprehensive scheme of *reform*.

It was next declared that those in office who in violence of opposition had offended you in one particular (I need not name it) should meet with *condign punishment*. Indeed you intimated in your private conversation with my husband that those who had passed that Rubicon had sealed their destruction. But the misfortune attending that rule was that there were none in office upon whom it *could* operate. Has the charge alluded to been fixed upon any individual of the multitude of those who have been *reformed away*? Was it ever even whispered in regard to my unfortunate husband. You know that it was not.

But I boldly declare that such a rule is altogether unworthy the Presidential office of a magnanimous nation! What! wield the public vengeance for your private wrongs? Hurl from the armory of the nation the bolt of destruction on your private foes? Was the power, dignity, and wealth of the Union concentrated in your person to be so misused? Had a foreign Prince or Minister committed a like offence, with the same propriety might you have made it a cause of public quarrel, and sent from the ocean and the land hecatombs of appeasing ghosts.

The whole circumference of your *rule* at length expanded itself full to the public view; the reign of terror was unfolded, and a principle unprecedented even in the annals of tyranny, like a destroying angel, ranged through the land blowing the breath of pestilence and famine into the habitations of your enemies. Your *enemies* Sir, No. Your political opponents? You called them *enemies*, but were they so? Can there be no difference of opinion without enmity? Do you believe that *every man* who voted for Mr. Adams and who had not receiv'd from you some personal injury preferred him because he hated you? Think you, Sir, that there is no medium between idolatry and hate? It is not because you think there is no such medium, but because your elevated ambition will allow of none. This makes you look upon all those who voted against you, as your bitter foes. I most firmly believe that, saving those whom you had personally made your enemies, every honest man in giving his suffrage to Mr. Adams, obeyed the dictates of his judgement, and that many did so in violence to their warmer feelings towards you.

My husband, Sir, never was your *enemy*. In the overflowing patriotism of his heart, he gave you the full measure of his love for your *military* services. He preferred Mr. Adams for the Presidency, because he thought him qualified, and you unqualified for the station. He would have been a traitor to his country, he would have had even my scorn, and have deserved yours, had he supported you under such circumstances. He used no means to oppose you. He did a patriots duty in a patriots way. For this he is proscribed—*punished*, Oh how punished! My heart bleeds as I write. Cruel, Sir! Did he commit any offence worthy of punishment against God, or against his country or even against you? Blush while you read this question; speak not, but let the crimson negative mantle on your cheek! No, Sir, on the contrary, it was one of the best acts of his life. When he bared his bosom to the hostile bayonets of his enemies, he was not more in the *line of his duty* than when he voted against you; and had he fallen martyr on the field of fight, he would not more have deserved a monument, than he now deserves for having been worse than martyred in support of the dearest priveledge, and chartered right of American freemen. Careless as you are about the effects of your conduct, it would be idle to inform you of the depth and quality of that misery which you have worked in the bosom of my family. Else would I tell a tale that would provoke sympathy in any thing that had a heart, or gentle drops of pity from every eye not accustomed to look upon scenes of human cruelty "with composure". Besides you were apprised of our poverty, you knew the dependence of

eight little children for food and raiment upon my husbands salary. You knew that advanced in years as he was, without the means to prosecute any regular business, and without friends able to assist him, the world would be to him a barren heath, an inhospitable wild. You were able therefore to anticipate the heart rending scene which you may now realize as the sole work of your hand. The sickness and debility of my husband now *call upon me to vindicate* his and his childrens wrongs. The natural timidity of my sex vanishes before the necessity of my situation, and a spirit, Sir, as proud as yours, although in a female bosom, demands justice. At your hands I ask it—return to him what you have rudely torn from his possession, give back to his children their former means of securing their food and raiment, shew that you can relent, and that your rule has had at least one exception. The severity practised by you in this instance is heightened, because accompanied by a *breach of your faith solemnly pledged to my husband*. He called upon you, told you frankly that he had not voted for you. What was your reply? It was in substance this, “that every citizen of the United States had a right to express his political sentiments by his vote”. That no charges had been made against Major Barney, if any should be made, he should have justice done, he should not be condemned unheard. Then holding him by the hand with *apparent* warmth you concluded “be assured, Sir, I shall be particularly cautious how I listen to assertions of applicants for office.” With these assurances from you, Sir, the President of the United States, my husband returned to the bosom of his family. With these, rehearsed, he wiped away the tears of apprehension. The President was not the Monster he had been represented. They would not be reduced to beggary, haggard want would not be permitted to enter the mansion where he had always been a stranger. The husband and the Father had done nothing in violation of his duty as an officer. If any malicious slanderer should arise to pour his poisonous breath into the ears of the President, the accused would not be condemned unheard, and his innocence would be triumphant, they would still be happy. It was presumable also that possessing the confidence of three successive administrations (whose testimony in his favor I presented to you) that he was not unworthy the office he held, beside the signatures of a hundred of our first mercantile houses, established the fact of his having given *perfect satisfaction* in the manner he transacted the business of his office. In this state of calm security, without a moments warning, *like a clap of thunder* in a clear sky your dismissal came and, in a moment, the house of joy was converted into one of mourning. Sir, was not this the refinement of cruelty? But this was not all. The wife whom you have thus agonized, drew her being from the illustrious Chase whose voice of thunder early broke the spell of British Allegiance, when in the American senate, he swore by Heaven, that he owned no alligiance to the British Crown; one too, whose signature was broadly before your eyes affixed to the Charter of our Independence. The husband and the father whom you have thus wronged, was the first born Son of a hero, whose naval and military renown brightens the page of your Country’s history from

seventy six to 1815, with whose achievements posterity will not condescend to compare your's; for he fought amidst greater dangers, and he fought for Independence.

By the side of that Father in the second British War fought the Son, and the glorious 12th of September bears testimony to his unshaken intrepidity. A wife, a husband thus derived; a family of Children drawing their existence from this double revolutionary fountain—You have recklessly, causelessly, perfidiously, and therefore inhumanly, cast helpless and destitute upon the icy bosom of the world, and the children and grand children of Judge Chase and Commo[do]re Barney are poverty stricken upon the soil which owes its freedom and fertility in part to their heroic patriotism.

Sir, I would be unworthy the title of an American Matron, or an American wife, if I did not vindicate his, and my children's wrongs. In this happy land the panoply of liberty protects all without distinction of age or of sex. In the severity practised towards my husband (confessedly without cause) you have injured me and my children. You have grievously injured them, without achieving any correspondent good to individuals, to your country or yourself. Silence therefore would be criminal even in me, and when the honest and regular feelings of the people of this country (who cannot be long deluded) shall have been restored, and when Party Frenzy, that poison to our national happiness, liberties and honour, shall have subsided, I have no doubt that the exterminating system of "Reform" will be regarded as the greatest of tyranny, though now masked under specious names, and executed with some of the formalities of Patriotism and of liberty. It is possible this communication from an unhappy Mother, and from a female, who until now had many reasons to love her country, will be regarded by you as unworthy of notice; if otherwise, and your inclination corresponds with your power, you have still the means of repairing the injury you have done.

I am Sir

TO STEPHEN SIMPSON.¹

WASHINGTON, June 27, 1829.

Sir, I received your confidential note of the 18th inst in due time, and designed to have answered it immediately but incessant calls upon my attention prevented me until now.

You desire to know whether any thing has passed between us which I consider as precluding you from my friendly consideration. I answer, nothing. In my public and private capacity, bound in both to take care of the interests of the country, and my own character, you must perceive the necessity for cautious deliberation in every step which I take concerning either. Responsible to the country, I must look for information to all fair sources, reserving at all times the right to weigh it, and the independence to follow the dictates of my best judgement in the course of action which may be the consequence of it. But feeling that you had not been disposed to accord to me this freedom of action, I indulged no other

¹ Copy. Handwriting of a clerk. For Simpson, see vol. III., p. 297.

sentiment on account of it than that of regret, that one who expressed so much disinterestedness of support for me should be among the first to menace me with consequences injurious to the country, and threatening to the purity of my motives. If I misunderstood you, be assured I am ready to revive the same intercourse which formerly prevailed between us. I cherish no unfriendly feeling toward you, and will always be glad to hear of your prosperity, and when I can, to promote it.

Very respectfully, yr. obt. sevt.

REV. EZRA STILES ELY TO JACKSON.

PHILADELPHIA, July 3, 1829.

. . . . In the midst of your important national affairs, I feel confident that your immortal soul frequently visits, intellectually, the pious dead, and that you derive more pleasure from anticipating future communion with one of the saints in light, than from all your worldly greatness. I lend you, venerable friend, the enclosed letter, for a few days, when I beg you to return it to me; for I should be very unwilling to part with it. The friendly *left* hand which wrote it, is, indeed, motionless, for the present, in the cold grave; but, blessed be God, the truly Christian spirit which dictated to that hand what sentiments to express is full of holy thought, activity and bliss.

The spirits of the departed friends of Christ are as the angels, and there is joy among them at our repentance and improvement in piety: I flatter myself, therefore, that one celestial being [clo]ser to you than any other, except her [*mut.*] Saviour, knows, with gratitude to the God of all grace, that you are a different being in relation to spiritual and eternal matters, from what you was in 1819; and that you have since that time, begun to be one of the humble followers of Christ; more distinguished by any one Christian virtue, than by the Presidency over the happiest and most flourishing nation on the globe.

May the peace of God be your pillow in sleep; your staff in old age; and your portion for ever.

[*Indorsement:*] Dr Ely of Phila. Private to be carefully preserved and filed away A J

TO ANDREW JACKSON, JR.

WASHINGTON, July 4, 1829.

Dear Andrew, I have Just returned from my visit to Fortress Monroe, the Navy yard at gossport etc and recd a letter from Colo. Charles J. Love of the 27th ult. advising me of the death of my negroman Jim, and the manner of it. I pray you my son to examine minutely into this matter, and if the death was produced by the cruelty of Mr Steel, have him forthwith discharged. But as you are young, advise with Col Love upon this matter. My negroes shall be treated humanely. When I employed Mr Steel, I charged him upon this subject, and had expressed in our agreement that he was to treat them with great humanity, feed and cloath

them well, and work them in moderation. if he has deviated from this rule, he must be discharged.

Since I left home I have lost three of my family. Old Ned, I expected to die, but I am fearful the death of Jack, and Jim, has been produced by exposure and bad treatment. Your Uncle John Donelson writes, that *Steel has ruled with a rod of iron*. This is so inconsistent to what I expected, that I cannot bear the inhumanity that he has exercised towards my poor negroes, contrary to his promise and has impaired my confidence in him. Unless he changes his conduct, dismiss him, and employ another.

I write in haste that it may go by to night's mail and meet you at Nashville. Consult with Colo. Love and Doctor Hogg about Mr Steel and whether he ought to be discharged. I am your affectionate father

TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL RICHARD K. CALL.¹

Private

WASHINGTON, July 5, 1829.

My D'r Sir, Your letter of the 12th Ultimo has been rece'd. To that part relating to your journey to Cuba I have to refer you to mine in answer to your former letter. From it you will find that we have no wish you should endanger your health by proceeding to the Havana during the sickly season, unless the suits should be attempted to be brought on this Fall at St. Augustine. Whenever these suits shall be tried, it is believed by Mr. Wirt, as reported to me, that the documents and papers named in my former letter to you, are absolutely necessary for the safety of the U. States. To that letter you are referred for your government on this subject.

The other part of your letter, as you observe, refers to a very delicate subject; as such I always viewed it, and thought silence ought to have been observed by all justly app[r]eciating female character, or who had any regard for me; taking into consideration the circumstances with which I was surrounded at the time the communications were made to Dr Ely and Lady, who I know, had previously entertained a good opinion of both Major Eaton and his Lady, Dr Ely having in a note recommended the appointment of Major Eaton in the warmest terms. On Sunday they told me they intended to visit them the *next day*, and you can judge of my astonishment after Mr. Ely's having expressed the most favourable opinion of those two individuals, and his determination to visit them, when I received his letter from Philadelphia stating to me numerous base acts attributed to Mrs. Eaton which had been *confidentially* communicated to him, and in confirmation of these charges the declarations of my dear departed wife had been referred to, but which I knew she had never uttered. This brought from me a reply to Dr. Ely, such as truth and justice required and respect for the memory of my dear wife demanded, whose name had been so unjustly associated with a set of vile and secret slandere[r]s.

¹ This copy is in the handwriting of Maj. W. B. Lewis, who seems to have been particularly active in the Eaton affair.

From the tenor of the Doctors letter to me as well as from other sources it was intimated that *some* of the information he had received from you, and believing that in all probability an investigation would take place, and if you were implicated in giving information to Mr. Ely it might lead to an exposure of your own declarations with respect to Mrs. Eaton, which you made to Major Lewis in 1824 shortly after our return to Tennessee. These declarations, made known to me by Major Lewis on my requesting him to inform me upon what grounds you rested your belief of the guilt of Mrs. Eaton, so far as he had heard you speak upon the subject, I did believe, would place you, in the discussion before the public, should one take place, in a very unpleasant situation. But you say you never made such declarations. Now my dear friend, what an unpleasant predicament this denial would place you in, if investigated; for you certainly did make to Mr. Lewis shortly after our return to Tennessee, substantially the following remarks—"that you and Mrs. Timberlake were one day alone, and believing that she and Major Eaton were *unwarrantably* intimate, and having no doubt but she was a woman of *easy virtue*, you made propositions to her of a certain description, which she with seeming indignation rejected etc etc", and you must recollect that from the day you and she had the quarrel, she never again appeared at our table and complained, as well as some other members of the family, that you had grossly insulted her. Knowing these things as I did and foreseeing the angry passions that might arise, I thought it my duty to bring them to your recollection. In doing this I thought you would be sensible of having injured your friend Major Eaton, and would have magnanimity and liberality enough to have informed Genl. Polk and Mr. Ely that the rumors of an angry correspondence, Timberlake having cut his throat from jealousy, directing locks to be taken off doors at boarding houses in New York, and passing for man and wife etc etc, were all vile slanders so far as you knew or believed; and it was to give you correct information with regard to a part of these things that I sent you copies of two letters from Officers who sailed from this country with Mr. Timberlake and were with him until his eyes were closed in death.

Genl. you cannot regret more than I do that you assisted in giving currency to any reports about Major Eaton and his wife at the time you did.² That the hired slanderers of Mr. Clay should have attempted to

² Maj. Wm. B. Lewis, writing to Jackson July 2, 1829, said that General Call told him in the spring of 1824 that he, believing that Mrs. Timberlake was approachable and guilty of improper conduct with Eaton, had made advances himself which she rejected with "seeming indignation". Her resentment, he thought, was only affectation, "and did not change his previous opinion of her". Lewis added that, in 1824, he was convinced of Eaton's guilt by the rumors and wrote him a letter advising him to come home to Tennessee, but, hearing from Jackson that Eaton was about to leave Washington, he did not send the letter. A story derived from other sources represents Mrs. Timberlake as highly incensed at Call's approach and driving him from the room with the tongs. It goes on to relate that she appealed to Jackson, then in the house, to protect her from a renewal of such suggestions. See also Jackson's letter to Lewis, Sept. 10, 1829, p. 72, *post*.

destroy Major Eaton and through him to reach me, was neither astonishing or unexpected; but that my own personal and confidential friends should have aided in such an unhallowed work by lending their countenance to such unfounded falsehoods as were put in circulation about Mr. and Mrs. Eaton and when it was well known too he was to form a M. of my C[abinet] I must confess that I was both astonished and mortified. But my dear Genl however much I may regret your course, on this occasion, you and I will not quarrel about it. You well know that we always differed about these slanders, circulated to the prejudice of Mrs. Timberlake now Mrs. Eaton. I have ever believed her a virtuous and much injured Lady—it appears you have thought differently, but as you have given me no evidence, entitled to any weight, in support of your opinion, I must be excused for still adhering to my own opinion.

Several letters have passed between Mr. Ely and myself upon this unpleasant subject. He caused the most minute enquiry to be made about the New York story, and in his letter of the 30th May last he says, "It gives me pleasure to inform you that I have ascertained to my satisfaction, that most of the reports against Mr. Eaton and Mrs. Timberlake, in relation to some board'g houses in New York *are untrue*; and that nothing more than some imprudent familiarities could be asserted against them, and that perhaps by a Lady who may have been fastidious. Major Bradford of Phila. who made the enquiry at the request of Dr. Ely, informs me that the Lady who kept the boarding house referred to, told him the report was an unfounded falsehood, that no improper conduct had ever taken place in her house, and the only impropriety, as she conceived, was their travelling together in a steam boat from New York to Albany and back again, leaving Mr. T. who was indisposed; but who insisted on his wife's taking the trip. Major B. also informed me that the lady related a circumstance of Mr. Timbe[r]lake that did her much honor, and would do honor to *any wife* in any Country or age. Thus you see every charge, when investigated, vanishes; and I have no doubt but that the balance of the information given to Dr. Ely is equally unfounded, and if enquired into will be traced to *dead Doctors*, or *other nameless* persons. I will name another report put in circulation a few days ago. It is this—a short time ago Mr. Lewis McLane and his daughter visited this City. While here Miss McLane, with the approbation of her father, waited on Mrs. Eaton, but that on her return home studiously concealed it from her mother. Mr. and Mrs. McLane were in Washington for a few days, and as they passed through Baltimore Mrs. McLane for the first time learned that her daughter had called on Mrs. Eaton, and so great was the shock that she had well nigh fainted—*this is the story*. Mrs. Eaton must surely bear about her some unaccountable charm, for this same Mrs. McLane, who *fainted* at hearing her daughter *had visited* her, also called to see her while here; so also has Mrs. Rives. What a ridiculous attitude must the conduct of such ladies as these place those in, who think *they* are too *good* to visit Mrs. Eaton. I assure you sir, that there are few respectable ladies who visit this city, that do not call on

Mrs. Eaton; and I repeat does it redound to the credit of any gentleman or lady, to have his, or her name associated with such a group of gossips as I have described, and whose principal business it is to run about the country and point to the mote in their brother or sister's eye without being conscious of the beam that lirks in their own.

Having done what I conceived to be my duty as the friend of yourself and Major Eaton, I will drop this delicate, and, I assure you to me, unpleasant subject, with this remark. I will never abandon an old and well tried friend for new ones, for slight or trivial causes, nor will I ever be *silent* when female character is wantonly assailed and my name, or those of my family, falsely introduced to give weight as to the truth of the charge.

I am happy to have in my power to assure you that your fears are groundless with regard to Major Eaton's appointment having a tendency to embarrass my administration. The War Department is conducted with more ability than it ever has been since the days of Knox, and the Head of that Dept. is gaining popularity daily. I am entirely satisfied with the way, manner, and ability with which it is conducted; and as all the members of the Cabinet are acquainted with each other and approved the appointment of each, no cause can arise for dissatisfaction among them that did not exist at the time they took their seats in the Cabinet. But if I am, or should be mistaken in this, I have, I assure you, still energy enough to relieve myself from any such embarrassment, let it arise from what quarter, or source it may. I am not so blind as to believe that there are not other men in the U. States possessing as clear heads and as true h[e]arts as those, or a part of those, who compose my Cabinet.

Present me affectionately to Mary and the sweet little children and as usual believe me,

Your friend

GENERAL RICHARD G. DUNLAP¹ TO JACKSON

KNOXVILLE, July 12, 1829.

Dear Sir, A few days since I received a letter from Gover. Houston of the 29th of May last from the Osage nation. He was on a visit to this tribe and was to return (to his adopted father's Jolly, the King of the Arkansas Cheerokees) in *one mon*. He speaks of his *exile* from society with the mild and elevated calmness of a phylosopher. I mourn his fate. 'Tis the wreck of more than fair hopes, and has to some extent deranged our state matters. Majr McClellen, the agent for the Osage nation, is dead. will this place not suit Houston? He solicits nothing in his letter, but *past* friendships urge me to mention to you this fact. While I well know your hearts yearns over his misfortune with the kindness [*sic*] sorrow; I still feel assured that *Houston* is *one* of the *men* in this nation that you would like to rescue from almost promised ruin. If he will

¹ A lawyer in Knoxville; see Caldwell, *Bench and Bar of Tennessee*, p. 101. Ten years later he was minister of the United States to the Republic of Texas.

again begin the discharge of publick duties, hopes of better times may dispel the gloom that seems to surround his fortune. His letter shews no despondency but his *change* foretells much, I fear. I hope you will excuse this importunity for my friend. He deserves a better fate and a higher destiny than to be the agent of a savage tribe, according to the friendship of my views. He directs me to write him at Cantonment Gibson Arkansas Territory. We have a most shamefull canvass between Lea and Arnold. This foolish and wicked disorganiser seems to have inspired the *people* with the promise of great things and that he is the chosen agent to bring them to pass. . . .

TO ANDREW JACKSON, JR.

WASHINGTON, July 20, 1829.

My D'r son, I am gratified by the receipt of your affectionate letter of the 16th instant, Just recd. I was fearful from information received of the low state of water in the ohio river, that you would be compelled to travel overland thro' Ohio to Kentucky—your letter has dispelled this fear and shews that you have been fortunate in getting a Boat to Cincinnati. from there to Louisville you will no difficulty in getting a Boat, and I trust you will reach home in safety without much injury to your Horses.

I have recd. since you left me a letter from Col Charles J Love informing of my negro man James death. I was fearful that his death might have been produced by the illtreatment of the overseer and wrote you immediately on the subject to enter upon an enquiry and if you found it did, to remove him. This letter you will have recd. before this reaches you, and as I have received another letter from Col Love which speaks of Mr Steel in warm terms, I wish you to consult with him and Dr. Hogg upon this subject. I hope Mr. Steel will treat my negroes with humanity as I have requested him I have confidence in him, have no wish to remove him, if he will only treat my slaves with humanity.

On the other parts and objects of your visit home I pray you to act with circumspection. you are young, and now for the first time distant from me, but I have confidence that you will steer clear of evil company, and all kind of disapation. Our family enjoy health, and you will be particular in presenting us to all our friends and relatives affectionately. We had a pleasant tour to the Point¹ and all have returned in good health. . . .

TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOHN COFFEE.¹

WASHINGTON, July 21, 1829.

Dear Genl, I have recd your letter of the 24th ult. on the subject of my ward Hutchings, and his conduct has filled me with sincere regret. I know not what to do with him. I cannot think of letting him be lost, and have concluded to bring him here, and place him at the college at George Town under the controle of the Catholics. it is an excellent institution,

¹ Old Point Comfort, Va.

¹ Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.

and perhaps under my own eye, I might be able to controule him and convince him of the impropriety of his ways. when I reflect on the charge given me by his father on his dying bed, and the great anxiety he had about him, I am truly distressed, and have determined to make the trial by directing him to come on with my son, who has left me some days ago, for Tennessee, and to whom I write by this mail on this subject. It will be, perhaps, more expensive to have him here, than in Tennessee but it appears, if left to himself there, he must be lost. If it therefore meets you[r] approbation I have to request that you will furnish him with the means to bring him on²—my son will be able to give you the amount of the expence of his travel to this place, and you will be able to judge of what will cloath and school him for one year, after which I hope to be able to share as much from my other expences as will meet his expence whilst here. I have given out all idea of giving him now a liberal education, and will direct the professors of the college to confine his studies to Arithmetic, Orthography, and Mathematics, and by the time he is of age I hope by counseling him I can bring him to the knowledge of the benefit of a proper course of conduct. If left to himself at the Hermitage he must be lost. here, I will have the aid of his uncle Judge Smith senator from the state of South Carolina³ to controule and govern him. five hundred dollars I think will bring him on, and meet his expences for one year.

I have read your letter respecting the gentlemen, engineers, ordered to the Mussle Shoals to lay out and locate your canal, with much pleasure. I have had an interview with the secretary of war and the chief engineer and they assure me the report and plan shall be made out with the estimate of the expence of the work, at as early a day as possible, and forwarded to you. It is grateful that the citizens on both sides are well pleased with the location of the canal. The report will reach you in due time for the Legislature. . . .

TO ANDREW JACKSON, JR.

WASHINGTON, July 22, 1829.

My son, In my last I forgot to say any thing about my little ward Hutchings. I have wrote Genl Coffee if he still refuses to go to school there, to furnish him the means to bring him on to me. you will consult my little ward Hutchings who I learn is still at my house, whether he will go to school there or prefer coming on here. If he prefers coming on here, you will write Genl Coffee advising him thereof and requesting the Genl to forward you the means, to bring him here—five hundred

² Jackson was Andrew J. Hutchings's legal guardian. He had invested the young man's fortune in lands near General Coffee's plantation, not far from Florence, Ala. Coffee acted for Jackson as supervising manager of the boy's plantation, selling the crops, directing the overseer, etc. Hence he frequently had on hand funds held to the credit of Jackson as guardian. Later on Andrew Hutchings married Polly Coffee, daughter of General Coffee, and became a steady and exemplary member of society.

³ William Smith, senator 1817-1823, 1826-1831.

dollars will bring him here and meet his expences I think for one year. This sum if furnished by Genl Coffee you will recollect I am chargeable with and you will keep an account of how it is expended, and take receipts for all payments made for A. J. Hutchings so that I may be able to settle with the court.

I am not well, I have been severely attacked with head ache since I returned from old point from which I am not entirely free, and it has affected my vision. I wish you to return to me as early as you can. But you must await the convenience of old Mrs. Eaton—you must attend to her as a mother if she consents to come on here. say to Hutchings I would have wrote him but he has not answered my letters therefore I have not wrote him believing it useless. Say to him I never expected that he would prove ungrateful to me—I have spent many an anxious thought about him. I, together with his deceased aunt, has often admonished and counselled him for his good, and I still hope he will not disgrace himself, but will be advised, and adopt, and follow a course that will eventuate in his respectability and prosperity. If he consents to come on here with you this fall, you will write Genl Coffee to furnish you with \$500 for his use. Hutchings and Mr Earle will come with you. If the ohio is not up you will have to send Hutchings by the mail stage. However, when I return from Mr Carrolls of Carrolton whither I go to day I will write you again on this subject, expecting on your arrival at the Hermitage you will loose not a moment in writing me. My Dear give me a true relation what attention has been paid to your mothers Grave, whether any Flowers, as I requested, has been planted. let me know how the Servants are and how they have been treated, how my stock have been attended to and particularly my Coalts etc. etc. etc.

I have but one word to add on the subject you communicated to me. As you have fixed your affections on Miss [blank] say to her, you have known each other from your childhood and it is useless to delay. an answer you expect and a candid one, to which you [will] submit without murmuring[. If it] should be adverse to your wishes [you have] too good an opinion of her to be[lieve] she would wish to coquett you [and] put it not in her power—have a [fin]al answer. Present me to Mrs. M[blank], Doctor Shelby's family and all our [dear] friends. your affectionate father

TO ANDREW JACKSON, JR.¹

July 26, 1829.

(Confidential)

My son, Having your happiness at heart more than my own, for since I have been deprived of your dear mother, there is no happiness or contentment for me this side of the grave, none but what your society, and your welfare and prosperity, and that of your family, should you have one, can afford, added to the love I have for yr cousin Andrew and his, who I have raised as a child. You can Judge of the anxiety I have that

¹ N. Y. Pub. Lib., photostat copy.

you should marry a lady that will make you happy, which would add to mine, seeing you so. You are very young, but having placed your affections upon Miss Flora, I have no desire to controule your affections or interfere with your choice, early attachments are the most durable, and having been raised together in the same neighbourhood, I have only to remark that no good can flow from long courtship. Therefore I would recommend to you to be frank with her, say to her at once the object of your visit and receive her answer at once. Under your situation this I think will be right, and you have a claim upon her to meet you with Frankness, and should her reply be adverse to your wishes, you ought not to be offended, but continue to treat her as a friend. So soon as you see and converse with her write me and write me with candor the truth on this important subject to yourself and no less to me as your father and friend. Should Miss Flora not favour your wishes, then my son, I have one request to make of you, that is that you will give out all idea of Marriage for the present, until you see and advise with me. Yr affectionate father

TO SECRETARY VAN BUREN.¹

WASHINGTON, August 12, 1829.

D'r sir, I have decypered the Genls. Smiths letter as well as a severe head ache will permit. I am pleased with the arrangement and choice of Sweden by mr Hughes.² There is no difficulty in removing the present incumbent. I concur with you that it would not be proper to send the Commission before a positive acceptance. The precedent would be one, out of which, much inconvenience and mischief might arise. any arrangement you may think proper to make respecting his return to america, I will approve, expecting that no additional expence to the U. S. states may be incurred thereby.

I am pleased with the document you sent me respecting Texas, and will be happy to see you and Colo Butler whenever it may suit your convenience. The constitutional question can be easily gotten over, two millions added to the one already offered will amend the Mexican Constitution, and to obtain it to the west of the Nueces to the grand prairie or desert, I would go as far as five millions rather than leave a foreign power in possession of heads of our leading branches of the great mississippi on its west; as it appears, and has always so appeared to me, that the whole of the western branches of the M. was necessary for the security of the great emporium of the west, Neworleans, and that the god of the universe had intended this great valley to belong to one nation.

yr friend

P. S. I return Genls Smith letter that it may remain on file.

¹ Library of Congress, Van Buren MSS.

² Christopher Hughes of Baltimore, chargé d'affaires in Sweden 1817-1825, 1830-1841, in the Netherlands 1825-1830, 1842-1845. The "present incumbent" was John J. Appleton of Massachusetts.

NOTES ON POINSETT'S INSTRUCTIONS.¹

August 13, 1829.

The inducements to be presented to the mexican government for the cession of Texas to the United States.

- 1st. The advantage of having a natural boundery over the one which is now imaginary and unsettled.
- 2nd. The aid which the consideration she will receive for it, will give her in repelling such attempts upon her sovereignty as that recently organized at Havanna; in providing a Navy, and the means of vigorous defence.
- 3rd. The removal of those collisions which must grow out of the intercourse of her citizens with ours, seperated as they will be from the efficient control of their respective governments: and liable to the neighbourhood of conflicting laws, habits and interests.
- 4th. Its real necessity to us as a guard for our western border and the protection of Neworleans, furnishing a motive for the cession which will be honorable to the republican Character of Mexico, and worthy of that reciprocal spirit of friendship which should forever characterise the feelings of the two Goverments toward each other
- 5th. The Probability of its being settled chiefly by the citizens of the united States, who under a different system of Govt. may become turbulent and dificult of controul, and taking advantage of their distance from mexican authority might endeavour to establish one independant of it—an event that will be sure to make this Govt. the object of jealousy, and in conjunction with other causes unavoidable on an imaginary line of boundery of manny hundreds of miles might seriously weaken those bonds of amity and good understanding which it is the interest and duty of both Republics to cherish

Objects of the United States in obtaining it.

1st.

The safety of Neworleans. The present boundery would enable an enemy on the Sabine, Red, and Arkansas rivers, to organise a force which by a *coup de main* might reach the mississippi and thereby

¹ These "Notes" are in Jackson's and Donelson's handwriting. They are in the Library of Congress, Van Buren MSS., along with Jackson's letter to Van Buren, Aug. 12, 1829, in which he speaks of the purchase of Texas. It seems that he prepared them, probably after seeing Anthony Butler, for Van Buren's guidance in sending instructions to Poinsett, who was still our minister to Mexico. Along with them, in the Van Buren MSS., are some notes from Anthony Butler to Jackson, on the acquisition of Texas, from which place Butler had recently returned. These notes cover eleven pages and set forth: (1) that the boundary between Mexico and Texas is either the River Nueces or the desert between it and the Rio Grande; (2) that the Mexican finances are in a low state; (3) that the Mexican claim to Texas is of doubtful strength; (4) that the state of the government in Mexico is unsettled; (5) that Mexico would like to be relieved from supporting garrisons in Texas; (6) that four insurrections had occurred in Mexico since 1823; and (7) that Mexico was jealous of the United States and suspicious of their motives. These notes had much influence in leading Jackson to send renewed instructions to Poinsett, and in urging the purchase of Texas through Butler himself after Poinsett returned. On this subject see also J. S. Reeves, *Diplomacy under Tyler and Polk*, p. 65, and W. R. Manning, *Early Diplomatic Relations between the United States and Mexico*, pp. 335-337.

- prevent the interposition of one by us sufficient for its protection. This disadvantage can only be overcome by having within our possession all the Territory washed by the branches of the Mississippi.
- 2nd. The acquisition of additional territory for the purpose of concentrating the Indians, adopting a more effective system for their Government, and relieving the states of the inconveniences which the residue within their limits at present afford.
- 3rd. The procurement of a natural boundary—one that cannot become the subject of dispute hereafter, and near to which a dense population on either side can never be settled.

These purposes will be accomplished by obtaining a cession to the Grand Prairie or desert west of the Nueces, beginning at the Gulf, and following the courses of the centre of that desert, north to its termination on the mountain, thence with a central line on the mountain, dividing the waters of the Rio del Norte from those that run Eastward of them in the Gulf, to the 42d degree of north latitude until it strikes our present boundary on that Parallel. This line is a natural separation of the resources of the two nations. It is the centre of a country uninhabitable on the Gulf, and on the mountain so difficult of access and so poor as to furnish no inducement for a land intercourse, and of course no theatre for those causes of difference that belong to a neighbourhood of commercial interests. An advantage which would be lost if we were to stop short of it, either at the Brazos or the Trinity. Beyond either of these rivers and this line on the Gulf is a section of fine land.

For these reasons I wish Mr Poinsett to be instructed to open a negotiation for the purchase of this Territory, and be authorised to offer as high as five millions subject to the conditions mentioned in my former note

[Signature.]

Note The condition alluded is, that he shall consider five million as the maximum, and in the event of success to obtain first the ratification of their constituted authorities, before it is submitted for ratification to this Govt., and to get it as low as possible, and if the limits cannot be obtained, To obtain to the Brazos or to the Trinity agreeable to the ratio of the maximum stated, and if cash should be preferred to payment by instalments (*and cash I suppose would be a great inducement,*) let cash be stipulated to be paid after ratification by our government, as we can in a few days raise it by creating stock

The² line agreed upon in the Spanish Treaty with the U States, leaves New Orleans unprotected in a state of War. Its defences can be turned by approaches to the Mississippi thro the La Fourche and other bayous to the west. To counteract the evils growing out of the surrender of that part of Louisiana West of the Sabine, and East of the Rio del Norte or Grand river, it is proposed to open a negotiation for the retro-

² From this point onward the "Notes" are in A. J. Donelson's handwriting.

cession of the same to the U States, upon a plan of which the following is the outline.

Instruct Mr. Poinsett to feel the mexican Govt upon the subject. The threatened invasion of Spain, connected with the deranged condition of the finances of Mexico, makes the time a very propitious one for the ascertainment of her views in regard to the territory, as Mr P can give his enquiries the character of individual solicitude for her welfare, and a desire to relieve her embarrassments, rather than turn them to the advantage of his own country. He might say to her, I see the depressed situation of your revenue, and in the course of a discussion upon the impracticability of defending the republic against foreign invasion without it, or even preserving the harmony of its own citizens who have numerous claims upon its common treasure; he might find occasion to suggest, as an evidence of his reliance upon the friendly disposition of this Government towards that, a project for their relief embracing the retrocession of the territory mentioned. In support of which might be added the fact that a portion of our citizens from a misapprehension of the range of the eastern boundary line, as defined by the Treaty with Spain, are already located beyond it; and the confident anticipation that this Government for the double purpose of advancing Mexican interests, and guarding in future against all causes of collision between the two countries, on account of the unsettled state of their boundary lines, would with great pleasure accede to a plan so well calculated to attain these desirable objects. Governing himself by the drift of feeling and sentiment which these suggestions may elicit, he might in the event of their favorable character go further, and propose to guarantee the payment of bills for the purchase of the Territory drawn at 1. 2. and 3 years for 3 millions, and at 1. 2. 3. 4. and 5, for 5 millions of dollars, to be paid after and subject to the ratification of the President and Senate. Or as it is probable that tho' unwilling to surrender as far as the Rio Grand, and yet willing to do so as far as the district running west of the river Nuecis Mr. P. in that event might close a favorable bargain making the middle of that district which is a desert, the dividing line until it strikes our south Boundary running west to the Pacific as defined in our treaty with Great Britain, in 1783, and the Treaty of Ghent in 14. and 15: ³ The maximum limit of purchase in both cases to be 5 millions.

This acquisition is all important to the United States. If ever the present boundary is run, it will be found to approach us much nearer on the West than was anticipated at the time of its establishment, and the effect of a discussion to which it will give rise, will be to augment the value of the Territory in the eyes of the Mexican Govt. And in proportion to its necessity to us, will be their unwillingness to cede it: In the present state of that frontier, many of our citizens being already on the Spanish side of the line, and near whom will be gradually concentrated the most of our Indian tribes, it is easy to percive that the causes of collision with the Mexican authorities, will be constantly increasing,

³ Neither of these treaties defined any such boundary.

and if they are not obviated in a short time by the purchase of the Territory as far as the desert west of the Nueces, our national safety must pay for it hereafter an immense price, peaceably or forcibly. Believing however that this is the most favorable time to obtain it on reasonable terms, I would propose such an instruction to Mr Poinsett as that which has been recited.

He ought to be able to make a strong argument on the case. The friendly feelings of the U States to that Government, the deranged condition of their revenue, the unsettled boundary between us, the real security which both Governments would derive from a desert on their frontier that will afford no population, and forever banish those sources of discord which so uniformly attend a crown population on an imaginary line, are all points which he can use with force and sincerity. The distance from our boundary to the river Nueces is supposed to be about 450 or 500 miles, on the west of which is the desert spoken of.

TO SECRETARY VAN BUREN.

WASHINGTON, August 14, 1829.

My D'r sir, I forgot in my note of yesterday to bring to your view the necessity of instructing Mr Poinsett, if he obtains a cession, that the United States shall not be bound to ratify or confirm any grant or grants in the Territory ceded, the conditions of which has not been complied with. This I think necessary for the safety and peace of our country.

I gave you a memorandom the other day on the subject of Mr Shaler having been appointed commercial agent to Cuba, in 1810, and of his removal from that place at the instance of the Spanish authorities; for enquiry to be made. I would like to see you about one or two o'clock if convenient, and I would thank you to have the enquiry made about Mr Shaler so that we could converse on that and other subjects.

yr friend

P/S. Say in answer whether it will be convenient for you to see me today and at what hour

TO MR. MONTGOMERY.¹

WASHINGTON, August 17, 1829.

Sir, I have received the letter inclosing me the amount of money which I gave you early in the spring to enable you to reach Tennessee.

My only object in writing to you is to correct the impression that Mr. Donelson has endeavored to injure your character, or to prevent the success of your application for an office. Such is not the fact. If you apply to Mr. Branch, you will ascertain from him that his disposition to serve you grew out of the friendly statements of Mr. Donelson in your behalf: And that his determination not to give you the office named in your letter

¹ Library of Congress, Donelson Papers. The draft is in A. J. Donelson's handwriting.

was the result of a conviction that you were not qualified for it. Mr. Donelson has on all occasions expressed the greatest concern for your situation; but it has not been in his power to serve you.

Your letter is in other respects a tissue of falsehood. I was never under obligations to your Father. He was my companion and friend in our early life; and as such I have always cherished for him the most favorable regard. Neither am I under obligations to you, altho it would have given me pleasure to have been instrumental in advancing your interests. I have only to add that your whole letter is sufficient proof of the correctness of the opinion of you and decision upon your case by Govr. Branch

In haste
yr. etc. etc

TO ANDREW JACKSON, JR.

WASHINGTON, August 19, 1829.

My Dear son, I have this moment recd. your letter of the 1rst instant from the Hermitage, being the first I have recd. from you since you left Wheeling. My d'r I was very uneasy at your silence, and hope hereafter you will write every week even if it is only to tell me you are well.

I am pleased that you found all well at the Hermitage, and that Mr Steel has done his duty and has treated my negroes humanely. So long as he treats my negroes well, I have no wish to remove him. I have confidence in his honesty, and industry, and I well know negroes, will complain often, without cause. The death of Jim was a mortifying circumstance to me, and if it had proceeded from the cruel treatment of the overseer, he must have been discharged. It gives me pleasure to learn from you, that Dr Hogg and Mr Conkle have said, that jims death was occasioned by poison, and in nowise, by the chastisement given him by the overseer. You have not informed me how much cotton Mr. Steel has this year in culture—nor have you told me which of the mares colts, has got injured by the Conduct of Dunwadie. I hope it is not my oscar bay mares colt. in your next, inform me on these two subjects, as well as all others interesting.

I am about to leave here this evening for the Rip Raps to spend some days in sea bathing. I have been unwell but am recovered but a little debilitated, therefore must close this letter with a request that you will present me affectionately to all our relations, and particularly to James, John, and Thomas, who, I am glad to hear, are at the Hermitage. Make them comfortable my son, and particularly your sick brother James. Was your mother alive she would attend to this. yours affectionately

TO ANDREW JACKSON, JR.

ON BOARD THE STEAMBOAT *Potomac*, CHESAPEAKE BAY,
August 20, 1829.

My D'r Son, I wrote you yesterday a hasty scroll, being then pressed with business and surrounded by a crowd; being retired on board this boat I have sat down to day again to write you.

In your letter altho' you have informed me of your visit to your dear mothers tomb, still you have not informed me of its situation, and whether the weeping willows that we planted around it, are growing, or whether the flowers reared by her industrious, and beloved hands, have been set around the grave as I had requested. My D'r son inform me on this subject, you know it is the one dearest to my heart, and her memory will remain fresh there as long as life lasts.

You say, you will return to me soon, I therefore shall not write you again until I am informed by you at what time you will leave Tennessee least you might have left there before my letter would reach you.

In your letter you have not given any information of the health of my neighbours, or whether Col Ward has moved to the Western District etc. Should this reach you and you not be on the eve of setting out on your return, inform me on this subject and of the health of all my neighbours, and whether Miss Flora is still living with Col Ward, her guardian.

I have heard that Mr J. Martin has become deranged etc. please advise me, correctly, on this unpleasant subject. Present me to Col. Love, and Dr Hogg, and both their families, and request them, both, to write me. Say to Mr. Earle it would afford me great pleasure to hear from him, I would be glad to see him at Washington. give me a distinct account of the situation of my stock, and farm; the amt. of horses, and cattle, that have died, and the amt. of cotton, and corn etc. etc. cultivated, whether any, and if any, how much timothy, Mr Steel has sowed, and how much grass he has cut, and if any, how many brick he has made. Urge him to attend to the getting out his cotton, by setting all hands to picking, the moment each hand can pick thirty pounds a day, keeping them at it, until the crop is Housed. I would like to hear how you have settled you matter with Miss F. she is a fine girl, but you being young she may try to keep you within her toils, without giving you a definitive answer. Permit this not to be the case. have a final and positive answer, and let it be as it may, close the matter finally with her. if favorable, Marry, and bring her on with you, if unfavorable, wish her happy, cherish her as a friend, but have it understood that hereafter you remain her friend without any other views. and I beg you my son, that you enter into no more love affairs, until you see me You have many years yet for the improvement of your mind, and to make a selection of a companion. Remember my son, that you are now the only solace of my mind, and prospects of my happiness here below, and were you to make an unhappy choice, it would bring me to the grave in sorrow. *My Dear and Sincere friend Major Eaton is with me, he is worthy to be called friend.* See my friend Judge Overton and McLemore and greet them kindly for me, attend to *James*, yield him all the comfort you can. Present me to all friends and believe me affectionately yours

JACKSON'S HOUSEHOLD ACCOUNTS.

August 21-31, 1829.

Amount of Sundries furnished The President of the U. States by
Marshall Parks

1829

Aug: 21	2 loaves sugar 14 lbs at 18 3/4c.	3.12 1/2
	1 Doz London Porter	6.00
	Fish 25c. Bread 25c. Butter \$1.25	1.75
	Ice 25c. Eggs 25c. Tea 3/4 lb at 1.12 1/2	1.62 1/2
	Milk 6c. 6c. 2 lbs Coffee 37 1/2c	.50
	8 lbs Lard 80c. 2 lbs Ham 25c.	1.05
	7 " Ham 87 1/2c. 1 Sheeps head 75c.	1.62 1/2
	Lamb 75c. 4 lbs Cheese 62 1/2	1.37 1/2
	1 Gall Whiskey \$1.00. Chickens 75c.	1.75
	Bread 13c. 13 lbs Ice 25c.	.38
22	Ice 13 lbs 26c. 1/2 Bls Meal 38	.64
	23 lbs Flour \$1.15. Potatoes 25	1.40
	Spermaceta Candles \$1.50. fish 13	1.63
	4 lbs Sugar 50c. 1 Ham 13 lbs \$1.62	2.12
	Salt 25c. Fish 25c. Bread 12c.	.62
	1 Bottle sweet oil \$1.00. Milk 13c.	1.13
23	Mustard 50c. Cake \$2.00. Fish 19c.	2.69
	Milk 13c. Chickens 37c. Eggs 25c.	.75
	Lemons 25c. Ice 32c. Cutletts 38c.	.95
24	Bread 12c. 3 lbs English cheese \$1.50	1.62
	Turtle Soup 50c. Bread 12c. Fish 19c	.81
	Veal 38c. Ice 34c. Ducks 50c.	1.22
25	2 lbs Coffee 37c. Ice 28c. Bread 13c.	.78
	Milk 12c. 1 Bottle Ketchup \$1.00	1.12
	Milk 13c. bread 12c. Veal \$1.50	1.75
	Ice 16c. Vinegar 19c. Bitters 37c.	.72
	Sheeps head.	1.00
	1 Ham 10 lbs \$1.25. Chickens 50c	1.75
26th	Fish 12c. Ice 30c. Bread 13c	.55
	Steaks 31c Milk 12c. Eggs 25c.	.68
	Sweet Potatoes 25c. Cabbage 6c	.31
	Fish 19c. Ducks 50c. Biscuit 50c.	1.19
	Mellons 25c. Butter \$1.25. Ham \$1.43	2.93
27th	Milk 13c. Chickens 37c. Ducks 50c.	1.00
	Ice 38c. Bread 12c. Lard \$1.00	1.50
	Sheepshead 87c. Soup 25c. Veal 38c.	1.50
	Veal 25c. Chickens 25c.	.50
28th	Bread 19c Eggs 50c. Ice 31c.	1.00
	Cabbage 12c. Fish 50c. Ice 19c.	.81

Amount Carried up \$53.84

1829	To Amot. Brot up	\$53.84
Aug 29th	Cucumbers 6c. Fish 37c. Ice 38c.	.81
	Bread 12c. Milk 13c. Vinegar 12c.	.37
	2 lbs Butter 50c. 3 lbs sugar 38	.88
	3 " Coffee 56. Potatoes 25c. Melons 25c.	1.06
30th	Ice 25c. Milk 12c. Bread 13c.	.50
31	" Fish 25c. Steaks 31c. Bread 12c	.68
	" Milk 12c. Ice 25c. Eggs 25c	.62
	" Cash paid washing 2 1/2 Doz. Pieces	1.88
Recd payment		\$60.64
MARSHALL PARKS		

TO ANDREW J. DONELSON.¹

RIP RAPS, August 22, 1829.

D'r Andrew, Since I have left Washington, I have understood that our Steward does all his business with a man by the name of Coburn, a former steward of mr monroes, and who, it is believed, did him much injustice. Be this as it may, there is a mr. Bartcroft who lives opposite to Major Barrys who is represented to be a very honest, and excellent man, by whom our wants can be supplied faithfully. As soon as the present month is out, go to mr Bartcroft and make an ingagement with him for a supply of such groc[e]ries as we may want, and direct the st[e]ward to apply to him for our supplies. furnish the steward with a book similar to a bank book, and instruct him to make mr Bartcroft enter every thing in that book, that is got, and at the end of the month it will be a check by which our account can be settled with him, and a check upon our steward.

The beef account I expect has been too high, and more than the markt. The capt of the steamboat informs me that the choice pieces has not been over from 6 to 8 cents this season, if we at any time have paid more, he says, it must be an imposition. on board his Boat, we had as good beef as I ever saw in markt, for which he had paid six cents. I name this that you may examine our account, and if charges are made higher than 6 and 8 cents, have our Butcher changed. It is easy for you to send Gowen to markt, and let him enquire of the prices and report to you. From what Major Eatons marketting has cost, and his Groceries laid in at mr Bartcrofts, we must have been paying at least a third more than him, and worse fair. By making our steward keep a small book as before stated, which is the proper rule, we will save at least \$200 pr month. major Eaton does not think Coburn an honest man, if so, it is easy to account for our heavy bills, each month. Therefore at the end of the month, let our Grocer be changed, and a trial made with mr

¹ Library of Congress, Donelson Papers.

Bartcroft, who major Eaton says he knows to be a very honest man, we will save much by it.²

If the funds in major Lewis hands are not sufficient to meet the expence of the current month, please inform me, and I will send you a blank check. I cannot yet determine whether I will be benefitted by the salt water bath—it is very cold, tho' this day is clear and fine. present me affectionately to Emily and mary, to major Lewis and the heads of Depts. and if any thing occurs worthy of note please communicate it to me, and believe me very affectionately yrs

TO JOEL R. POINSETT.¹

RIP RAPS, VIRGINIA, August 27, 1829.

Sir, Col Butler² an old acquaintance and friend of mine proceeds to the Capital of Mexico, charged with dispatches to you The business on which he comes, renders it unnecessary to remark to you, that he is entitled to your entire confidence The instructions you ordered will shew you what is desired. It is a matter of high consideration that you should be successful; and full confidence is entertained of your zeal and caution in bringing about a treaty. You will find Col. Butler well informed as to the topography of the country and may prove of material service to you in the negotiation with which you are charged

Wishing you success; and health and happiness I am with great respect.

² The following paper on the size of Jackson's personal menage is introduced here for lack of a better place. It exists in the Jackson MSS., without date:

"PRESENT STATE OF THE PRESIDENT'S SERVANTS."

"House Steward and House Keeper.....	2	
Butler	1	} 18
Door Keeper	1	
Odd man	1	
Cook, wive and Two Maid.....	4	
House maid	1	
Hall maid	1	
Landry maids	2	
Messenger and valet	3	
Coachman and Horsler	2	
and to make the house a little more comfortable should be as folow		
House Steward and House Keeper.....	2	} 18
Still room maid, steward, room etc.....	2	
Butler and under butler.....	2	
Groom of the chamber, mesenger and valet.....	3	
Door Keeper	1	
Odd man	1	
Cook and Two maids.....	3	
Landry maids	2	
House maid, and under House maid.....	2	

"But the president should let me have the choise of them and the power to dismiss them when reasons should acord."

¹ Hist. Soc. of Pa., Poinsett Papers.

² Col. Anthony Butler.

TO REV. EZRA STILES ELY.¹

Private

WASHINGTON, September 3, 1829.

My D'r sir, On the 1st instant, the Revd. Mr. Campbell² requested an interview with me, and to my great astonishment, informed me that he was the Presbetarian Clergyman who had given you the information derived from the dead Doctor, respecting the miscarriage etc. etc. Never having suspected, or even heard it lisped that the Revd. Mr Campble was the individual, I was truly astonished for reasons I will give you when we meet. The more this thing is investigated the more I am convinced, of the wicked combination to slander, and to destroy the female alluded to. In the course of Mr Cample's relation of the information given him by this dead Doctor, I found it necessary for my satisfaction to ask Mr Campble what date was given by this dead Doctor of this transaction; viewing the date altogether important to the guilt, or innocence of the female concerned. Mr Campbell gave me the year 1821. I then brought to his view, the dilemma that the information given to him by this dead Doctor and which he had propagated and become the avowed author, if it should turn out upon investigation that mr Timberlake, was not absent in the year 1821 from the u states; the statement being that Mr. T. had been so long absent from Mrs. T. that he could not be the father—and I assured him such was my opinion and impressions. mr Campble replied he, Mr. T. from the information, must have been absent. I again repeated my opinion that he could not and gave him my reasons; that about that time he had been sued by the United States, judgt recovered and that he was petitioning congress for relief etc. etc. etc. Still Mr Campbell insisted that he certainly was absent in that year. We parted. I made a memorandum of the date that I might make the necessary enquiry into this fact so important to the truth or falshood of this slander, believing if I found the fact as I believed it was, that upon communicating the proof to Mr Campble he would be convinced of the wickedness

¹ With this letter it is well to have the following letter from Maj. A. J. Donelson, Jackson's secretary, to the Rev. E. S. Ely, September, 1829:

"*My Dear Mr. Ely.* I recd. in proper time and manner your two communications, which I consider confidential the first explaining a part of your action here upon the *object of your visit*, the last giving your views upon some topics of national concern. In reference to the last, I offer you my sincere thanks, without the power to assure you whether I shall be able to apply them in the manner contemplated. If I shall due credit will be given to their disinterested source. No doubt your mind has been much disturbed by the apprehension of mischief possibly to grow out of the controversy between Mr. C[ampbell] and Mr. E[aton]. I wish I could say that there was no cause for it; but I cannot to you. Its combustible qualities can be ignited in so many different ways, the keys to some of which are in the hands of our enemy, that sooner or later, we must anticipate an explosion; and all that wisdom can now do is to give it as much as possible the direction which a private affair ought to have; to separate it as far as possible from the Governmt. and to rely on Providence for the aversion of the individual calamities which both sides may sustain. I beg that you will pardon my delay in answering your letters, and ascribe it to any thing else than a want of confidence in your sincere regard for the Genl, and tender concern for me. These ties are strengthened by the trials to which you have been recently exposed."

² Rev. John N. Campbell, minister of the Second Presbyterian Church.

of the slander, at once say to Mrs. Eaton, and acknowledge to the world, that he was now convinced of the injustice done her, and that he regretted ever having named it even confidentially.

On the 2d instant, so soon as my public engagements would permit I entered on the enquiry, and found that Mr. T. had been engaged in merchandize here and that his Books were in possession of Mrs. Eaton. I applied for a sight of the Books and upon examining them found entries in Mr. T. own handwriting, as was stated by those whom I asked the question, and was present; I took a copy of two entries with the dates, to shew Mr. Campble to convince him of the dilemma he was in, and the wickedness of this secrete slander. I had an interview this morning with Mr Campble, in the presence of Col. Towson and major Donelson and when I had made the statement and produced copies of the entries with the dates as proof to shew that Mr. T. was here he then said I must have mistaken him as to dates. I told him I could not for I had called the date given by him to his view, and pointed out the dilemma he would be in upon proof of this fact. He still had the hardihood to state I must have mistaken him, I again assured him I could not, and called upon him then to name the time given to him by the deceased Doctor: but no, no date could be named. You can as easily Judge of the impressions such conduct made upon my friends as tho I were to repeat them. Mr. Campble said he had employed council and would defend himself—poor deluded man, he has forgot that he has assumed the affirmative, and if he do not produce other proof, that his reputation as an ambassador of christ is gone forever. What course major Eaton may adopt I know not, but I have often heard him say, that my Christian mothers advice was a good one, never to sue a man or indict him for slander.

The object of this letter is to give you hint how matters are here, is to say to you, that I wish it, and I think it necessary that you come on here as soon as you can—it is proper that you should for many reasons—and one, tho last not least, you may save Mr Campbell from public exposure. I have your promise that you will visit me and shall expect you on as soon as your convenience will permit and I shall expect you to stay with me. With compliments to your amiable lady and all yr family and connections and believe sincerely your friend

MEMORANDUM BY ANDREW J. DONELSON.¹

WASHINGTON, September 3, 1829.

Memorandum of an interview held by Genl Jackson and Mr. Campbell, in the presence of Col. Towson and Andrew J Donelson on the 3d September 1829

This interview being the result of a previous disclosure by Mr. Campbell of certain transactions implicating the character of Mrs. Timberlake, now Mrs. Eaton, made on the evening of the 1st September to Genl Jackson, it is proper that I should state the substance of a conversation previously held with me by Mr. Campbell on the same subject,

¹ Library of Congress, Donelson Papers. The memorandum is in A. J. Donelson's handwriting. Another copy is in the Jackson MSS., vol. 73.

on the night of the 29th of August at my office, as giving a more full view of the understanding and motives of all the parties to this interview.

Mr. Campbell called upon me, and stated, that as I was the relative and intimate friend of Genl Jackson he felt it his duty to say in confidence to me, that during Mr. Ely's visit to Washington City last winter, governed by feelings of the most sincere friendship for the public and private character of the Genl, as well as a sense of duty to religion and the interests of the society in which he was performing the services of a Pastor, which he apprehended were about to sustain an injury by the appointment of Majr Eaton to the Cabinet; he was induced to relate to Mr. Ely a fact, which, in connection with the general belief of Mrs. Es bad character, if communicated to the President, might satisfy him, or enable him to judge, of the justice of that apprehension. This fact was this. That some time after he settled in this city, Mrs. Timberlake visited his family, some member of which returned the call as was usual; but soon hearing reports unfavorable to the character of Mrs. Timberlake who then lived in the family of Mr. Oneale, he was induced to make application to Dr. Craven to ascertain their cause, when the Dr gave him the following information—that he, the Dr, had on a certain occasion been called upon as he Mr C understood in his medical character to go to the house of Mr. Oneale, which he obeyed, and, upon entering it, was met and saluted by one of the ladies in the presence of Mrs. Timberlake in language like this, *you have lost a job Dr.—Mrs. T had fallen from her carriage, but it is now all over*, to all which Mrs. T assented.² Mr. Campbell continued, that the respectability of Dr. Craven, and the great confidence which he reposed in his integrity and goodness of character, left him no alternative but the belief of these circumstances, and that from the knowledge which he seemed to possess of dates and the situation of the family, it was impossible they could be true, and Mrs T be a chaste and virtuous lady. that adopting this conviction he had determined henceforward to have nothing to do with the subject, and would have adhered to this determination had he not been well apprised that the community from various other reasons had formed and long acted upon the same opinion of her want of character. that meeting with Mr. Ely whom he knew to be a valued friend of Genl Jackson, and full of the same apprehensions and fears that disturbed him, this *remote cause for his* was mentioned to him, with the expressed understanding that it might be disclosed before the formation of the cabinet, and that he never had been informed, until now told so by me, that it had not been till long after that event.

² Mrs. Mary B. Randolph, sister to Mrs. Eaton, was said to have been present when Dr. Craven made this professional visit. On Sept. 28, 1829, she sent the following statement to Jackson:

"I do not understand what Dr. Ely means by 'this admitted instance of miscarriage', as there was nothing passed on the subject but what I told you, and I have the most distinct recollection, of our, (Mrs. and myself) mentioning no other than that referred to before Mr. Eatons acquaintance with the family. Upon a trip to Blad. [Bladensburg] with Mr. Tim. [Timberlake] the horse took fright and she jumped from the Carriage, was carried to the Toll House and sent for by Her Father, on her return home Dr. Sim was called, but the feared accident prevented. I also perfectly recollect that Dr. E. remarked the conversation with Mr. Campbell and Himself was in the presence of Mrs. Ely and Her Brother. Dr. Craven's name was to[?] me first mentioned."

He added in conclusion that Mr Ely had now called upon him to give up his name, at the instance of Mrs. Eaton who had been lately to Philadelphia for this purpose, which he had been always ready to do, and indeed had authorised Mr. Ely so to do originally. And he wished me to apprise the President of these facts, and to appoint an interview at as early a period after his arrival from the Rip Raps, which was on the first of September, as would be convenient. I declined a conversation with the President on the subject, but concurred in the propriety of his waiting upon him, and making such explanation of his motives as he thought due to them, and the delicate situation in which he was placed. This call he made on the 1st of September.

The interview which succeeded in the presence of Col Towson and myself on the 3d was introduced by the President, who, in referring to the subject of his last conversation with Mr. Campbell, remarked that he understood the facts in regard to the miscarriage to be located some time in the year 1821; and that he had been therefore particular in looking over some accounts which were thought to be in the handwriting of Mr. Timberlake, and if so, proved that he was in Washington during that year—that there was besides strong reason for the belief that he did not leave the city until sometime in the year of 1824, as he had seen him in the winter of '24 and was informed he did not go to sea for some period after. Mr Campbell replied that the President had misunderstood him—that it was impossible from the time of his own arrival in the city, and the delay to which he was subject in furnishing his house which was in 22, that he could have located these facts in the year before, or at any time preceding the occupation of his house, in the parlour of which the conversation with Dr. Craven occurred. The President reiterated his conviction that he had been positive in fixing the transactions in the year 1821. Mr. Campbell remarked that he did not give any dates to the transaction and tho asked by the President at this time would not say positively. The circumstances were however again related by Mr. Campbell, with some memoranda from the sea books placing dates in the year 1822, which he thought would determine Mr. Timberlakes absence for at least a sufficient time to give to the statement of Dr. Craven, the possibility, if not the certainty of truth.

The President then went further; and alluded to the improbability of the Dr not having left with his family some impressions of his distrust of Mrs. T's virtue; mentioning also the substance of an interview which Mr. Eaton and lady had with the old lady and her daughter, wherein they had disavowed any knowledge of such a circumstance as that related by Mr. Campbell. Mr. Campbell replied that Col. Towson and himself had a description of that interview from those ladies, which the Col. related in these words—that, Mrs. Eaton went privately to the bed chamber of the daughter, and referring to Col Towson as having requested the interview she was about to hold, proceeded to state the transaction ascribed by Mr Campbell to the authority of Dr. Craven. After having done which she mentioned the importance of her denying it, as otherwise blood might be spilt, a challenge having already passed; and at least a

suit would grow out of it which might embarrass their estate, that the lady answered she knew nothing about law, but in the event of her being called upon to speak in court she would tell the truth. That the old lady told Majr Eaton, that Mr. Timberlake had been in the habit of unbosoming himself to Dr. Cravan, that he had left impressions not favourable to the character of Mrs. T, that reports of this kind had long existed, and that it was singular she should now be called upon to do away prejudices which he must know had been of long standing and that in this spirit Mr. Timberlake had said to him he must go to sea. And that Mr. Eaton said in reply that "man born of woman is full of trouble."

Mr. Campbell also related the substance of an interview with Mr. and Mrs. Eaton at which Col. Towson was present. In this Mr. Eaton expressed his determination to punish Mr Campbell's levity, contradicted Mr. C's account of the conversation they had previously held together, but not until Mrs. E had asked in terms of much surprise if he permitted any one to speak thus. Mr. Campbell maintained the accuracy of his recollection and his determination not to be driven from the truth by terrors of blood. etc.

The President concluded a very animated comment upon the delicacy of Mr. Cs situation, the danger of listening to the reports of the malevolent, or to the verbal statements of dead men when they intended to injure the character of the living; remarking to Mr. C that he had done his duty; that he had confidence in Majr Eaton not to be shaken by any thing but the most unquestioned evidence, that he would now leave to his own reflection the course which his sense of justice to himself, to Majr Eaton, and to christianity, recommended.

Col. Towson also brought to the Presidents recollection a conversation held with him previous to the formation of the cabinet in which he stated his conviction that in consequence of reports in circulation³ injurious to Majr Eaton his appointment would be a most unfortunate one, that such was his own opinion and that of the Presidents friends generally. Col. Towson also remarked that he had expressed the same sentiment personally to Majr Eaton at a party given by Mr. Vaughan.⁴ Mr. Campbell also remarked that he was ready and anxious to vindicate himself before any competent tribunal, that he had conversed with Mr. Key, that he had taken his advice who had no doubt of his being able to sustain himself, and who entertained great fears from the prosecution as likely to disturb the administration, and do infinite injury to the reputation of Mr. Eaton.⁵

³ Note on margin: "Col. Towson did not assume the truth or falsity of the charges."

⁴ Charles R. Vaughan, the British minister.

⁵ The following note from Eaton to Jackson, Sept. 6, 1829, with Jackson's endorsement, appears in the Jackson MSS.:

"Yr opinion is always of more value and consideration to me, than that of any other in the world. I shall accordingly act as you have requested."

Indorsement, in Jackson's handwriting: "Major Eatons answer to my note of the 6th Sept 1829 requesting him in consequence of an interview I had with mr. Key, who waited upon me, as the friend of peace to try to have the matter between major E. and the Revd. mr Campble settled. I wrote major E. the note to which the within is an answer. A. J."

In this detail the substance and meaning of the parties are written as accurately as my memory would permit me. The particular speech, and the many repetitions and interruptions that would occur in a dialogue of this nature have not been preserved.

[Signature.]

TO MAJOR WILLIAM B. LEWIS.¹

WASHINGTON, September 10, 1829.

D'r Sir, Your note of the 8th instant is before me. To the inquiry in your note whether, "in the Spring of the year 1824 at the time when myself Major Eaton and Genl. Call were boarding at Major ONeals, and before Congress adjourned, Mrs. Timberlake who lived at her fathers at the time, complained to me of being grossly insulted by Gen. Call etc. etc. I reply Mrs. Timberlake did, one day before Congress rose in the Spring 1824, come to me much agitated and overwhelmed in tears, and complained with much feeling and bitterness that Genl. Call had grossly insulted her, by making to *her and urging upon her*, very indelicate propositions, and attempting to inforce them by *great rudeness*, which she was compelled to extricate herself from, by seizing a pair of tongs, or shovel, etc. etc. I endeavoured to calm her into silence, by assuring her, I would speak to Genl. Call and put an end to a repetition of such conduct, etc. etc., on which she became calm and promised to be silent. Accordingly, the first opportunity I had, I did speak to Genl. Call, and *admonished him* upon the *great impropriety of his conduct*, and from that period Mrs. T. and Genl. Call, as far as I know, never spoke to each other. Before this happened, Mrs. T. and Miss Mary ONeal, now Mrs. Randolph, alternately sat at the breakfast table, and dished out the coffee and tea, for us. After this, Mrs. T. never appeared at our table.

When I spoke to Genl. Call on this matter he did admit, that believing she was a woman of easy virtue and familiar with others, *whom he named* he had made the advance upon her, which she had firmly resisted, but *he believed* her resistance was merely from *mock modesty*, and not from a sense of virtue, on which, I gave him a *severe lecture* for taking up such ideas of *female virtue* unless, on some positive evidence of his own, of which he acknowledged he had none, only information, and I inforced my admonition by refering him to *the rebuff* he had met with, which I trusted for the future, would guard him from the like improper conduct.

Thus, the matter, as far as I was concerned, rested in my own bosom, until after my return to Tennessee in the Spring 1824, when you made certain inquiries of me about Major Eaton and Mrs. Timberlake, and

¹ N. Y. Pub. Lib., Ford MSS. This letter is in the handwriting of A. J. Donelson, along with a letter from Lewis to Jackson, dated at Washington, Sept. 8, 1829. In it Lewis said that he had heard that in 1824 Mrs. Timberlake complained to Jackson that Call had insulted her, and asked Jackson to give him an account of what happened. There is little doubt that Lewis's note to Jackson was written with Jackson's previous knowledge and consent, in order to get the General's account of the affair in written form. It should be remarked that the incident here related as happening in 1824 did not impair Jackson's opinion of Call from that time to 1829, as letters in the preceding volume of this work will show.

after asking you wherefore you made the inquiry of me, and being informed by you that it was occasioned by information you had just recd. from Genl. Call, I then told you and have ever since repeated, that I had never seen or heard aught against the chastity of Mrs. Timberlake that was calculated to raise even suspicion of her virtue in the mind of any one who was not under the influence of *deep prejudice, or prone to Jealousy*. That I believed her a virtuous and much injured female, and upon your having communicated to me the intelligence given you by Genl. Call, I related to you the complaint made to me by Mrs. T. of the attempt upon and rudeness of Genl. Call to her, substantially as I have heretofore stated, and the admonition I had given him, by which I had calmed her feelings and kept Mrs. T. silent on that occasion, as she had threatened to expose him. From the time of that conversation with you, until the late cruel and unprecedented persecution by a combined few to destroy Major and Mrs. Eaton, I have never named it to any one, but lately, first by letter to Genl. Call, and then to yourself, and very lately to two or three individuals in confidence.

Yr. mo. obdt. servt.

TO JOHN RANDOLPH.¹

WASHINGTON, September 16, 1829.

Dear Sir, The office of Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Russia will soon become vacant and I am anxious that the place should be filled by one of the most capable and distinguished of our fellow citizens. The great and rapidly increasing influence of Russia, in the affairs of the world renders it very important that our representative at that Court, should be of the highest respectability, and the expediency of such a course, at the present moment, is greatly increased by circumstances of a special character. Among the number of our Statesmen from whom the selection might with propriety be made, I do not know one better fitted for the station, on the score of talents and experience in public affairs, or possessing stronger claims upon the favorable consideration of his Country than yourself. Thus impressed, and entertaining a deep and grateful sense of your long and unceasing devotion to sound principles and the interest of the people, I feel it a duty to offer the appointment to you. In discharging this office I have the double satisfaction of seeking to promote the public interest whilst performing an act most gratifying to myself, on account of the personal respect and esteem, which I have always felt and cherished towards you.

It is not forseen that any indulgence as to the period of your departure, which may be required by a due regard to your private affairs, will conflict with the interests of the Mission: and I sincerely hope that no adverse circumstances, may exist, sufficient to deprive the Country of your services.²

¹ Copy. Hist. Soc. of Pa., Buchanan Papers.

² Randolph accepted the post in a letter dated Roanoke, Sept. 24, 1829.

SAM HOUSTON TO JACKSON.

CHEROKEE NATION, IN ARKANSAS, September 19, 1829.

My dear Sir, I am verry feeble, from a long spell of fever, which lasted me some 38 days, and had well nigh closed the scene of all my mortal cares, but I thank my God that I am again cheered by the hope of renewed health. I would not write at this time but that I can not deny myself the pleasure of tendering to you my heartfelt acknowledgement for your kind favor, which reached me, when I was barely able to peruse its contents. It was a cordial to my spirits, and cheered me in my sickness. From the course which I had pursued in relation to the cause of my abando[n]ment of society, my absolute refusal to gratify the inquiring world, my entire silence, because it comported, with my notions of honor, and a willingness to sacrifice myself, rather than do violence to my principles, I had a right to suppose that, the world would acquiesce in the sacrifice, nor could I of right claim of you, a departure from what I supposed the general influence of my destiny. You have acted upon the great scale which prescribes no limits to true greatness, but boundless benevolence, and universal philanthropy. Had a sceptre been dashed at my feet, it would not have afforded the same pleasure, which I derived from the proud consciousness, not only that I deserved, but that I *possessed your confidence*! The elevation of your Station, and your renown, which could acquire no additional lustre from official distinction, contrasted with that of a man, who had ceased to be all that he ever had been, in the worlds eye; was such as would have justified you, in any inference, the most damning, to his character, and prejudicial to his integrity of heart! You disregarded the standard calculations of mankind, and acted from an impulse, peculiar to yourself!

The solicitude which you have so kindly manifested, for my future welfare cannot fail to inspire me with a proper sense of additional obligation to you. To become a missionary among the Indians, is rendered impossible, for a want of that Evangelical change of heart, so absolutely necessary, to a man who assumes the all important character, of proclaiming to a lost world, the mediation of a blessed Savior! To meliorate the condition of the Indians, to suggest improvements to their growing institutions, to prevent fraud, and peculation, on part of the Governments Agents among them, and to direct the feelings of the Indians in kindness to the Government, and inspire them with confidence in its justice, and magnanimity towards the Red People; have been objects of my constant solicitude, and attention, since I have been among them!

Your suggestion on the subject of my location in Arkansas has received my serious attention, and I have concluded, that it would not be best for me to adopt the course. In that Territory there is no field for distinction—it is fraught with *factions*; and if my object were to obtain wealth, it must be done by fraud, and peculation upon the Government, and many perjuries would be necessary to its effectuation! Were I disposed to abandon my present seclusion, I would submit to you, if it

would not be more advantageous, for me to locate in Natchez. I am well known to the first men of that state. I was presented there under your kind auspices, on your last visit to that country, and I would rally around me very many Tennesseans who have migrated thither! You can think of all the advantages presented by me, and the many more, which will present themselves to your mind!

When I left the world I had persuaded myself that I would lose all care, about the passing political events, of the world, as well as those of my own country, but it is not so, for as often as I visit Cant.¹ Gibson, where I can obtain News Papers, I find that my interest is rather increased than diminished. It is hard for an old Trooper, to forget the *note* of the *Bugle*! Having been so actively engaged for years past in politics, it is impossible to lose all interest in them for some time to come, should I remain in my present situation! I am not so vain as to suppose, myself so important to the world, or to my own country, as to believe that my location on earth can, have any important influence upon its destinies, and therefore the claims, of Patriotism and duty to the land of my birth rest easy!

If we are to judge of the future by the past, it might so happen, were I settled in a state; that I might render my aid in some future political struggle between usurpation, and the rights of the people, in wresting power from the hands of a corrupt Userper, and depositing it, where the spirit of the constitution, and the will of the people would wish it placed. These considerations are not without their influence, for I must ever love that country and its institutions, which give Liberty and happiness to my *kindred*, and *friends*! And these blessings can only be preserved by vigilance and virtue!

I am rejoiced that you have cleaned the stalls ² of Washington, as well as others! Get rid of all the *wolves* and the barking of Puppies, can never destroy the *fold*! It amuses me to see the leaden pointed arrows shot at you by Gales and Co.³ I trust in God, the Edifice which you have so nobly reared, and are now finishing, will receive, your own peculiar impress, and be worthy of your renown!

I pray you to salute your family for me, and be assured, of my sincere devotion and friendship.

Truly your friend

P. S. I hope to take, and send you, between this and Christmas, some fine Buffaloe meat for your Christmas dinner, or at furthest, by the 8th of Jany.

¹ This word has been crossed out and "Fort" written above it in red. It is however plainly "Cant", *i. e.*, Cantonment.

² It was a common assertion of the Jackson men in the campaign of 1828 that it was necessary to have a new administration in order to "clean the Augean stables", meaning to remove incompetent officials and place honest men of the people in their places.

³ Gales and Seaton, editors and publishers of the *National Intelligencer*.

TO ANDREW JACKSON, JR.

WASHINGTON, September 21, 1829.

My D'r son, I had the pleasure this morning to receive yours of the 18th instant, and am happy to find that you and Mr Earle will be on about the 18th Proximo, and that all things on my farm are going on well. I regret to hear the great loss of horses and oxen, I would like to have a full statement on this subject, for if it has happened from neglect in the overseer, I will have a Just deduction from his wages. if not from neglect, but from unavoidable accident, then am I willing to submit to it, but if from mr Steels neglect, he as a Just man, will voluntarily make an offer of such deduction of wages, as he thinks this neglect has produced to me. god forbid, that if his neglect or acts has not been the cause of the losses sustained, if he offered it, I should not accept it. Therefore I have written mr Steel some time since on this subject and requesting a Just statement of the horses and oxen lost. This I want him to furnish, and you to bring on with you, that I may Judge myself of the matter. Stockly Donelson says his neglect produced this loss, as some of the oxen fell dead in the waggon halling grain from Winstons place.

I expected the result you name with Flora—she is a fine little girl, the daughter of my deceased friend and I esteem her much, but as I told you she has give herself up to coquetry and I warned you of the fact. treat her with all kindness, but I assure you I am happy at the result, as I seldom ever saw a coquett, make a good wife, and when you marry, if ever, I wish you to marry a lady who will make a good wife, and I, a good daughter, as my happiness depends much upon the prudence of your choice. Therefore I am happy you are clear of your little engagement with Flora, and all I have to request is, that you will ingage in no other without first obtaining my advice. I had no wish to interfere with your choice, and particularly when you stated, there had been some little engagement. you know I have counclled you from your childhood, to make no promises, or engagements, but what you punctually perform, therefore before engagements are formed, or promises made, it ought to be on mature reflection, and when made religiously performed. I will only add I am happy you are now free from all engagements and I trust you will keep so untill you advise with your father on this interesting subject on which your peace and happiness thro' life so much depends.

I have recd. a letter from *my friend* Genl Coffee This morning, which makes it necessary that Hutchings be brought on. he cannot be governed there, and he has got into such company as I am sure will not profit him much by their council. I have therefore said to Genl Coffee [to] furnish you \$500 for his expence here and his education during the ensuing year. I wish you to give Genl Coffee a special receipt as my agent as guardian for this five hundred dollars and when you give to Hutchings any Pockett mony out of it take his receipt and keep an exact acct of his expences hither. This is the last letter I will write you to Nashville. present my respect to Mr Earle and say I shall certainly expect to see him on with you next month. . . .

TO SAMUEL D. INGHAM (SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY).¹

WASHINGTON, September 24, 1829.

D'r Sir, Mrs. McPherson sister in-law of the late clerk, Mr. Lewis, deceased, waited upon me last evening with a tale of woe and distress [that] aroused all my sympathy. She says her brother in law Mr. Lewis has left to her charge two small orphan children without any means of support, and applied for the office vacated by the death of Mr. Lewis to be filled by her brother Robert T. Washington. I had just recd. your letter, upon which I told her that office would not be filled. She requested me to make known to you her distress and ask your influence in behalf of her brother who says if he can get in office, he will take and raise the children. Judge Anderson speaks well of the young man, but it appears that his father and brother are both in office here and there is difficulty in the way as our rule is not to permit any family to monopolize office—still charity speaks aloud in favour of these little orphans, and I have said if we cannot appoint this young man, that until some provision can be otherwise made, if she will make known to me their wants, I will supply them. Having promised, I have here made known their situation to you, and will join with you in any arrangement for their support

yr. friend

TO SAMUEL SWARTWOUT.¹

WASHINGTON, September 27, 1829.

My D'r sir, In your letter of the 21st instant, marked confidential you are pleased to inform me, that information has reached you through a channel on which reliance can be placed, that a "few ladies of this place, Washington with a Reverend Gentleman at, their head, has formed a determination to put Mrs. Eaton out of society, and who for that purpose are circulating by themselves, and *their secrete agents*, the most foul and malicious slanders, some, if not all, I know from investigation to be basely false, and that my family have attached themselves to this secrete inquisition, who are to admit, or not admit into society in this place, such Ladies, and only such as they may think worthy", and enquire, *and hope*, it is not true, as it respects my family. To which *I answer, as to my family I believe, and trust, it is not true*, and pledge myself, so far as my advice can govern, that it shall not be the case.

you do me but Justice when you say, that I took major Eaton into my Cabinet of my own free choice, *where*, but for his friendship for (you) [me] he would not have gone into it, that all the Cabinet was harmonious in the whole selection, and to abandon him, before *all sides are heard* would be so injurious to him, and to me, that my friends believe I am incapable of such a course. *And you have so declared, that Eaton is the last man on earth I ought, or would abandon*. You have Judged rightly of me. The world in truth, cannot say that I ever abandoned a friend,

¹ Hist. Soc. of Pa.

¹ This letter was addressed to "Mr. S— N. Y."

without on such grounds, that a righteous course founded upon the principles of that gospel, which I not only profess to believe, but do religiously believe, or when they abandoned me without cause.

You know my opinion of the purity of Eaton. I believe, and ever have believed that his morale character was without a blemish, and had the other day the pleasure to hear the clergyman who give currency to the *tale* of the dead Doctor and the Revd. Gentleman from Philadelphia to whom you allude declare in the presence of the Sec of State, of the Treasury War, Navy, atto. Genl, Postmaster General, Major Lewis, and Major Andrew Donelson, that in all their enquiries, they were free to declare, there was nothing to impeach the moral character of Major Eaton, and I am sure from the Testimonials I have seen, that there is nothing that *can*, or *ought* to *attach the least stain upon his virtue*. I am free to declare to you, that I do think major Eaton, and Mrs. Eaton more unjustly, and cruelly slander[ed] than history has ever recorded in any other instance and a short time will prove it, and all this by tales circulated in the most secrete manner and under strict confidence. How then could the unjust world for a moment suppose I would abandon him—I would soner *abandon life*. I have long knew the vallue of the man, and his high standing both in New York, Pensylvania, and the west, and as far as Justice, and truth, will authorise, I will sustain him.

You could not shudder more at the depravity of morales, than I have, that would sanction a system, that a clergyman detailing the *tale* which he says he received from a deceased Doctor, and who has been dead nearly if not upward of six years, unsupported by any other testimony, should be sufficient to destroy female character. I am too well acquainted with the religious part of our country and the high minded and honorable, to believe the moment this slander is placed before the world, and the manner of its being circulated, but, the whole people will spurn the wicked slander, and prostrate the slanderers.

I will only now add—That if this combination of which you speak, is really in existence, The virtuous, morale and religious world will begin and inquire, by what authority These ladies with their clergyman at their head has assumed for themselves this holy alliance and secrete inquisition to pass in secrete upon the conduct of others, and say, who shall, and who shall not be permitted into society. If it does exist, the inquiry will go farther, it may extend to the inquiry into their own immaculate characters, and their divine right to assume such powers, and I would not for the Presidency be in their places. The indignation is arising here, as well as with you, and the moment it is known, must arise over the christianised world—for the matron, the daughter, the father will all cry out, where is the safety for our character, if it is placed within the pale of a vindictive clergyman, who from the act, shews he has no religion, who may get displeased with a fair and virtuous female, who has nothing to do, but put forth the saying of a dead man, and the female character is gone forever. I can assure you that the morales and virtue of our country is not prepared to support or countenance such things as this, and I am happy to hear, that the indignation of your citizens has

become so much aroused at the mere recital of the conduct here. it will have a good effect, it must in the end, put down gossiping here, and chasten society every where, and give a greater respect to female character, and an utter detestation of slandere[r]s. Then will society enjoy peace, and harmony, and character be secure from secrete and unfounded calumnies—*our society wants purging here*. When you write to your distant friends present me to them kindly and believe me yr friend.

[Indorsement:] papers to No. 15th were handed to Mr. Van Buren

TO COLONEL ANTHONY BUTLER.¹

WASHINGTON, October 10, 1829.

My dear Sir, From the late advices forwarded by Mr. Poinsett exhibiting the state of parties at Mexico, in which the Secretary of her Foreign relations is understood to have adopted the factious feelings of those who pretend to be jealous of the views of this Government and who, of this account, have treated with great indecorum Mr. Poinsett, we have determined to recall him, unless the instructions which are transmitted with this letter should find him successfully engaged in the prosecution of the views of which you were the bearer. Those instructions will be shown to you by Mr Poinsett, who, in the event of his determination to return, will hand you a commission of charge de affairs with full powers to conclude, with the Govt of Mexico, A Treaty of commerce, and also one of *Limits*, according to the instructions to Mr Poinsett, by which you will be governed.

Unless the aspect of affairs should be very much changed at that Court, when this letter reaches you, we suppose Mr Poinsett will gladly avail himself of any opportunity to leave it, and that you will accordingly enter upon the delicate, and highly important negotiations, with which he was charged. In doing so, it will be scarcely necessary to say to you, that the utmost prudence and caution should mark your conduct. A careful avoidance on the one hand, of every thing calculated to keep alive the jealousies of the party opposed to us, and a discreet exhibition, on the other, of the respect due to the governing Majority of the Republic, with which it is our wish, and interest, to cultivate the most friendly relations, may enable you to win the confidence of both, or at least, to favor the return of better feelings as it regards themselves, as well as us. A spirit of contrition generally succeeds the indulgence of bad passions, and unless Mr Poinsetts conduct has been greatly misunderstood by us, there is but little doubt that his withdrawal will furnish an abundant occasion for the operation of this spirit. It will be seen that his mighty agency in their political concerns had no foundation in fact, and that the consequences

¹ Univ. of Texas, Butler Papers. In a letter dated Oct. 19, 1829 (*ibid.*, and printed *infra* under that date), Jackson informed Butler that the Mexican government had specifically asked for Poinsett's recall, and added that the request was to be complied with, and that Butler was to enter on his duties as chargé d'affaires. He was our representative in Mexico until 1836. See also vol. I., p. 207n.

of his fancied influence, are only the natural effects of their own institutions with which he had nothing to do. It will be your business to watch this spirit.

With the Minister of Foreign relations you must remember, you will be obliged to negotiate, and, in order to win and retain his good graces, that it will be necessary to study the character and the influence of the minority, which he is understood to direct. Let a listening ear, a silent tongue and a steadfast heart, the three jewels of wisdom, guard every advance which you make on the subject of *Texas*. The acquisition of that territory is becoming every day an object of more importance to us, and if any reliance can be placed on the illiberal speculations which they already ascribe to us, in connection with it, a still stronger argument, for the cession can be based upon them; for it is obvious, if they really believe that we have ten thousand troops on that frontier, watching an opportunity for the conquest of the territory, any attempt to chastise the Indian hostilities there hereafter, may endanger the peace of the two countries. A conjecture so idle can only emanate from a consciousness of their weakness, and inability to assert their power in that province—a disposition upon which the arguments contained in the instructions, furnished to Mr Poinsett, may be pressed with every hope of success; for nations, like individuals, are never nearer a bargain, than when its conclusion can be clearly proved to be to their interests.

Their complaints, also, upon this subject, inform us of the danger to which we shall be exposed, in the event of an effort, on the part of the inhabitants of that province, to set up an independant Govt—one which they undoubtedly look to as problematical, and the responsibility of which, it seems, they are anxious before hand to ascribe to the agency of the United States. The indulgence of such a calculation, and the unwise publication of such unjust reflections upon this Government, you cannot but perceive are likely to hasten the very event which it should be, and no doubt is, their interest to avert. Unless they are determined upon breaking off all harmonious intercourse with this Government, I can put no other construction upon such conduct than a wish to create a negotiation by which they hope to effect a transfer of the country, before the power of disposing of it, is lost by the course of a revolution, in which event they may anticipate our possession of it, in some other manner than by that of purchase.

These suggestions are thrown out for your consideration. I will only add another, which has occurred since the arrival of Commodore Porter who has informed me, that the Mexican Minister for Foreign affairs or the Secretary of the Treasury, perhaps both, has obtained a large grant of land in Texas, 20 leagues East and west, by three degrees North. *This circumstance may be made to favour the negotiation for the cession*, by stipulating for the surrender of this grant to the United States, *at a fair price*, as a part of the five millions proposed to be given for the whole province. This must be an honest transaction however, not a violation of your general instructions, to regard no grant as legalized,

which at the time of the cession, shall have any condition to be complied with. A provision of this character will be absolutely necessary to prevent fraud—The want of such a one in the Florida Treaty, made that country the theatre for fraud and corrupt speculations. I scarcely ever knew a Spaniard who was not the slave of avarice, and it is *not improbable* that this *weakness* may be *worth a great deal to us, in this case*.

Be cautious, and while you profess great confidence in them around you, and with whom you have to act, be the possessor of your own secrets.

P. S. The general instructions which will be forwarded by the Secretary of State, and handed over to you by Mr Poinsett, you are at liberty to show, *very confidentially*, and as a mere voluntary act of your own, to The President of Mexico, or other high functionaries of that government. When you read them you will discover there is nothing said about the purchase of Texas—You are referred to the instruction sent out by you to Mr. Poinsett for your Government on that subject, and being left out of your general instructions, nothing but good can grow out of confidentially showing to the president these general instructions as a mark of your own confidence in him. It is all important that these instructions are shown to them of your own mere *will*, and begging at the same time that it may not be known to us—but in such a manner as to induce a belief that it must be kept a profound secret from you[r] own government, as on that event, it would destroy you.

When you have read this P. S. and my private letter you will burn them both, first, if you please taking notes from them—not being accustomed to diplomacy these might be stolen from you and made a handle against this government.

[Indorsement by Butler:] “Gen Jackson. Remarkable communication”

TO CAPTAIN JAMES GADSDEN.¹

WASHINGTON, October 12, 1829.

. . . . You may rest assured that I shall adhere to the just and humane policy towards the Indians which I have commenced. In this spirit I have recommended them to quit their possessions on this side the Mississippi, and go to a country in the west where there is every probability that they will always be free from the mercenary influence of White men, and undisturbed by the local authority of the states: Under such circumstances the General Government can exercise a parental control over their interests and possibly perpetuate their race. . . .

TO THE MARSHAL OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.¹

October 15, 1829.

The President with compliments to the Marshal of the District of Columbia informs him that complaints have been made, that the Keeper

¹ Copy. Handwriting of A. J. Donelson.

¹ Tench Ringgold was marshal of the District of Columbia.

of the prison in this District have placed individuals *convicted on criminal charges*, in rooms in the prison, other than those assigned for *criminals*, and these persons are seen in the debtors apartments, which have been assigned for the honest, but unfortunate individuals who are unable to pay their debts. it would seem from the complaints made that these *convicted criminals* are treated as the honest debtor, altho condemned as *criminals*, and confinement, as *such, awarded*, as part of their punishment.

The Marshall will make report to the President whether any persons *convicted upon a criminal charge*, have been, or are now confined in any other apartment of the prison other, than those, set apart for the confinement of *convicted criminals*.

TO COLONEL ANTHONY BUTLER.¹

Confidential

WASHINGTON, October 19, 1829.

My Dear Sir, On the eve of the departure of our messenger to Mexico with the dispatches referred to in my private and confidential letter to you of the 10th inst, Mr. Montoya² has communicated to us a request from the President of Mexico, couched in the most friendly terms, for the recall of Mr. Poinsett. This, on a full view of the whole subject, we have determined to gratify. Mr. Poinsett under existing circumstances could not possibly effect the object we have in view and as these are no doubt with him as they are with us paramount to any private feeling, we have accordingly by the messenger requested his recall and you will of course enter upon the high and important duties which have been embraced in the previous instructions to Mr. Poinsett, and those which will be borne by the messenger on this occasion. That you may be well known to President Guerrero, I have enclosed to you a letter to him unsealed, which you will please after reading, seal and deliver on your introduction in your official character as charge de affaires.

With this introduction, and the hints contained in my letter of the 10th, I confide much in you[r] ability to conduct the negotiation for the purchase of Texas, which is very important to the harmony and peace of the two republics. Unless we obtain that territory we shall be in constant danger of the jealousy which the nature of its population is so well calculated to create. Its inhabitants will make an effort to set up a free Government the moment they have the power, and we shall be charged with aiding this movement altho all our constitutional powers may be employed to prevent it. Keep these consideration[s] constantly in view, and if Mexico *understands well* her true interest, they will prevail

You know the confidence I repose in you, and I am sure that you will endeavor to merit a continuation of it.

Your friend, and obt. sert.

¹ Univ. of Texas, Butler Papers.

² José María Montoya, chargé d'affaires for Mexico, 1828-1830, and again 1831-1833.

FELIX GRUNDY TO JACKSON.

NASHVILLE, October 22, 1829.

Dear General, Unless I were to prepare a Bill in all its details I doubt whether I can make a single suggestion which has not occurred to you on the subject of a National Bank. The following however would be the outline of a plan I should prefer.

The basis should be, the revenue of the U States. Say the Capital should be forty millions, the principal Bank located in Philadelphia, with all the powers, over the Branches, usual in such institutions. The Directors of the principal Bank to be elected by Congress. the power placed either in the Executive or elsewhere would be dangerous. Divide, for example, twenty millions of the Capital among the States, according to their representation in Congress, and establish a Branch in each State—here arises a great difficulty, how are the Directors of these Branches to be appointed? To authorise the Directors of the principal Bank to appoint them, would be to give them an alarming power. To say that the whole Congress should do it, would destroy every thing like accountability, in making the selections. To say that the State Legislatures should do it, is a very unstatesmanlike Idea, because over and above the imprudence of putting the money of the U States into the hands of others to manage, in times of emergency the very means necessary to sustain the Genl. Government might be withheld or used to its injury, by reason of the disaffection of some of the States.

I would therefore say, that the representation in Congress from each State, should choose the Directors of the Branches, of the respective States. The profits arising from this portion of the Capital might be applied to making such internal improvements in each State, as might be directed by Congress and agreed to by each State respectively, so that none of the profits of any Branch would be withdrawn from the State and in all cases of such internal improvements being made, the sovereignty and ownership to be in the States respectively. The seat of Government in each State, would generally be fixed on in the Charter for the location of the Branches, not in all cases. The other twenty millions, allowing Philadelphia first to retain a sufficient amount, should be used by Branches established in the large Cities to aid the Commerce of the Country, and its revenue. The Directors of the Branches last spoken of, might be appointed by the Directors of the principal Bank.

The above is a mere outline. If I go further, I shall have to go into matters, which the Congress alone and not the Executive has to regulate.

I hope to be in Washington a week or ten days before Congress convenes, and will lose no time before I see you. I intend to set out to Richmond on the 25th instant to see the Virginia Convention in Session thence to the City. So soon as you receive this, will you be so good as to drop me a line to Richmond, stating the condition of your

health. it is a subject which gives us all uneasiness in this quarter. . . .¹

JACKSON'S MEMORANDUM ON BIDDLE'S LETTER.¹

[November?] 1829.

Biddles letter.

Repeats their good feelings to the new administration and their great aid afforded to it in the payment of the late sum of Public Debt. ? Why this so often mentioned—answer for political effect—and newspaper slang etc. ?

The act of Congress their guide—true, but if that charter is violated, is there no power in the government to inquire and correct if true. The duties exclusively, the directors without contrôle of the Executive or any of his officers etc. etc. etc. (Trusting to the variety of the directors)

The Bank is strong enough to sustain itself and officers.

See answer. The reply as to the purity of the Branch directors *well said*. The suggestion of purity of all judicial bodies Banks included. Extract from P. of the Bank. I deem it my duty to state to you in a man-

¹ Thomas H. Benton sent Jackson letters that he had received from John Randolph and Stephen Simpson, containing views of the writers with reference to a bank as a substitute for the Bank of the United States. Randolph's letter, written Dec. 12, 1829, is as follows:

"You will search in vain 'Congressional History' for the *project* mentioned by Hall, to whom I spoke of it more than once. It was a creature of my own devise—shewn only to two friends, one of whom is long since dead, but never brought forward in publick.

"Soon after Mr. Jefferson's accession, looking forward to the termination of the United States' Bank, and being much opposed to that, or any similar institution, I turned my thoughts to the subject and devised a plan which, as I conceived, would supply all the duties and Offices of the United States' Bank so far as Government was concerned. It is obvious that the discounting of private paper has no connection with the transfer of public monies, or a sound paper currency. My plan was to make the great custom houses branches of one great National Bank of deposit, a sort of Loan Office if you will. Upon the deposits and monies received for duties, Treasury notes receivable in all taxes etc. of the U. S. to issue. The details you can easily conceive. The whole under the Secretary of the Treasury and other great Officers of State.

"At the time I speak of, the Land Offices were not in the receipt of sufficient sums to make them depositaries similar to the Great Custom Houses, but whenever large dues to Government were payable the plan would be extended. This would give one description of paper bottomed upon substantial capital, and whensoever Government might stand in need of a few millions, instead of borrowing their own money from a knot of Brokers, or the credit of said Brokers, it might, under proper restrictions, issue its own paper in anticipation of future revenues, or taxes to be laid, such notes to be cancelled within a given time. I have written with much difficulty and hope you may be able to read it and to supply my omissions."

Jackson's indorsement: "Extract of a letter from Mr. Jno. Randolph to Tho. H. Benton, dated Dec. 12th '29, in answer to an enquiry upon the subject of a *National Bank of Deposit* in place of a Bank of the U. S."

¹ The reference is to Biddle's letter to Secretary Ingham, Sept. 15, 1829, growing out of the controversy over the conduct of Jeremiah Mason, president of the branch bank at Portsmouth, N. H. It was a foolishly severe letter, and Ingham sent an extract to Jackson. See R. C. H. Catterall, *Second Bank of the United States*, p. 179; also Bassett's *Jackson*, II. 594-597. The whole correspondence was brought to light in John Quincy Adams's individual report as a member of the committee of 1832 to investigate the condition of the bank. This report is in *Reports of Committees*, 22 Cong., 1 sess., IV. 437 ff.

ner perfectly respectful to your official and personal character, yet so clear as to leave no possibility of misconception that the board of directors of the Bank of the U. States and the boards of directors of the Branches of the Bank of the U. States, acknowledge not the slightest responsibility of any description whatsoever to the secretary of the Treasury touching the political opinions and conduct of their officers—that being a subject on which they never consult and never desire to know the views of any administration.

Note—The Secretary must note, and reply to that part of the P. which relates to Mr Hills note and the N. H. memorial, and to relieve the executive from any interference with the Bank, but remark, he reserves his constitutional powers to be exercised through Congress, to redress all grievances complained of by the people of the interference by the Branches with the local elections of the states, and all their interference with party politicks, in every section of our country, where those complaints have reached the Executive.

TO GRAVES W. STEELE.¹

WASHINGTON, November 7, 1829.

That an overseer is accountable to his employer *for all losses sustained through his neglect*, and I do assure you, I would not if I could, make you answerable for any thing else. Nor can you believe that I am very suspicious, when you take into view the great losses in stock and negroes I have lost since I left my plantation under your charge and management. Therefore you see the necessity of forwarding to me agreeable to your obligation, and instructions, a full account of your guardianship with the loss of my property, and with the cause that has lead to it.

I have been truly astonished to hear my beacon was nearly gone, this to me was unaccountable, because I stood by and saw a large Supply as usual for my White and Black family salted in my smoke house. In your Statement I have asked you to forward, I shall expect you to furnish me with an explanation how this has happened. There can be no mistake in the quantity, for I took it down as weighed. I have wrote you before to advise me whether we would have a sufficient supply of Pork for the plantation for the next year—my son informs me, he is very doubtful whether you will raise a sufficient supply of Pork. It will surely be an evidence of bad management, if such a stock as I left, will not support the plantation and if that turns out to be the fact, the sooner I break it up, the better must it be, for my interest.

I have been advised by some not to continue you, by others to try you another year. The latter I have concluded to do, as I am aware the injury it would be to you to leave the business under present rumors. But when I say I have concluded to retain you another year, it is on the express conditions that you treat my negroes with humanity, and attention when sick; and not work them too hard, when well—that you feed and cloath them *well*, and that you *carefully attend to my stock* of all kinds,

¹ Draft.

and particularly to my mares and colts, and see that they are well taken care of and the colts kept in good growing order, and the mares in good condition to raise and suckle their colts. This I have a right to expect from you for the wages I give you. I have been offered here a first rate overseer for \$350 pr year. I have been offered in Tennessee a well experienced, and well recommended overseer, for four hundred dollars. I give you five hundred which is equal to \$1000 when cotton was at 14 cents pr pound. I engaged to give you this liberal wages because I had confidence in your honesty, your industry, your care and vigilance, over my stock and every other matter belonging to my business and farm. I gave it to you, because I expected you would treat my negroes with that humanity and care, that you by your articles was bound to do, and I now engage you again, because I believe what property, if any that has been lost for want of proper care, that you, as an honest man, will truly report, and pay for, and that another year you will in all things, strictly comply with your engagements in every respect. I shall expect to receive your answer to every part of this letter in all respects on its receipt and shew to all that my confidence in you was not misplaced

I am very respectfully yrs

P S. send me the amount of the cotton picked out and the probable amount you will make this crop

SECRETARY INGHAM TO JACKSON.

[November 23, 1829.]¹

My dear Sir, I have examined the Statement you were so good as to put into my hands, it does not contain any distin[c]t proposition from the bank, except so far as one may be inferr'd from the Statement of the amount of debt to be paid in 1830 viz.

5 per cent subscribrs. Stock.	\$7.000.000	
3 per cent	13.296.249.45	
Six per cents	3.581.665.26	
Interest	1.770.210.02	
	<hr/>	
total to be paid in 1830	25.648.124.73	
To pay this sum The Govt. has at command of		
Surplus Revenue,	12,000,000	
Bank Stock	\$ 7.000.000	
	<hr/>	
	\$19.000.000	19.000 000 00
	<hr/>	
to be provided for	6.648.124 73	

¹ This letter is not dated, but it seems to have been earlier than the "additional remarks" submitted on Nov. 24, 1829. For that reason the date here given has been assumed in order that it may appear in this publication before the letter of Nov. 24, 1829.

The Statement does not shew how this sum is to be provided, I am left therefore to suggest how it may be met. If the Bank is rechartered the U. S. Stock in it is worth 40 per Cent advance instead of 24 per Cent the present price.

40 per Cent on \$7.000.000 is	2.800.000
a new Bonus for Charter of not less than that of 1816	1.500 000
	<hr/> 4.300 000

which deducted from \$6.648 124.73 leaves	\$2.348.124.73
to be provided for	

It may be observed that the payt. to be made in 1830 exclusive of the 3 per Cent and Subscription to the Banks are viz 6 pr cts.

	\$3.581.665 26
Int.	1.770.210.02

leaving unexpended of Sinking fund

\$5 351 875.28
<hr/> \$6.648 124.72

\$12.000 000 00

This sum being paid to the bank together with the advance on sale of B. stocks and the Bonus viz.

6.648.124.72
2.800 000 00
1.500.000 00

10.948.124.72

The Bank may assume to pay the whole of the 3 per Cents without any advance of money provide[d] they can be redeemed at 82 3/10—and if the Bank were merely to assume and only pay at pleasure, the 3 per Cents could no doubt be had for even less. The present price 88 is supported by the expectation that the Govt. will with its powerful sinking fund be soon obliged to redeem them at Par.

The payments for the succeeding years viz 1831. 32. and 33 are I presume correctly stated, they only contemplate the employment of the actual Surplus revenue viz \$12.000 000 a year.

This operation would leave the 3 per Cents not *paid* but *assumed*, by the bank. the Govt. cannot be divested of its obligation to pay the debt nor can it properly be taken off the Try [Treasury] books. it would also leave the Govt. without any interest in the Bank.

Should it be thought advisable to dispose of the Surplus revenue before the 3 per cents are paid, and to appropriate money enough to pay the Interest and a small sinking fund to be conditionally applied to pay the Principal, this stock could no doubt be redeemed at less than 80. If 4 per Cent be a regular interest for a perpetual stock, and I think it quite low enough, the stock should sell for 75—if 4½ per Cent be a fair interest it should sell for 66 ⅔.

There can be no doubt if the price were limited to 80 under permanent arrangement of the sinking fund as proposed the whole could be obtained in a short time.

TO JOHN C. McLEMORE.¹

WASHINGTON, November 24, 1829.

My Dear Sir: By this days mail you will receive the papers which I long since promised to send you relating to the cruel persecution of Mrs. T. now Mrs. Eaton and the Major. These are but a part, and if you can rise from Perusing them without the greatest horror and disgust for a Clergyman, who professes to be the ambassador of christ, but who, has, under the hypocritical cloak of religion become the secrete slanderer of his neighbour, I can only say I will be much Surprised.

You will discover, that every rumor has been traced, and to this day there has not been one individual who has said the[y] knew of their own knowled[ge] one fact that could tarnish her virtue, and as for myself I have no doubt but the clergyman raised the villanous falshood about the abortion himself, no one else ever heard such tale from the lips of Doctor Craven, and the Revd. Mr. Campbell I know will *lie*, and when you read Genl. Duff Greens letter in reply to the Doctor, you will see there that he will not only lie, but state falshoods for the basest purpose. I will add, the letter to Genl Green was to screen himself and his high chivalrick friend from a dilemma into which they were placed with Major Eaton, from which this hero of the Revd. preacher, never will be able to extricate himself. Major Eaton in this instance has taken a stand worthy of himself, and will relieve him at least from the secrete slanders of Gentlemen worthy of his notice, as it is now understood, that they must account.

I wish you to let Judge Overton see them, Mr. Charles J. Love and the family, Mr. Barryhill and his, as from some whispers here, it may be, that as Miss *Harriet* only mixed with those who had been, and still are inimical to Major Eaton and his lady, and was in the midst of some of those who originated the slanders, and who, are interested in still having them believed, for their own credits sake, may have given false impressions, and indeed it might be well that Mr. H. Hall should also see them.

You will find that the first letter from My friend Dr. Ely is private and confidential, this letter is only to be shewn to those who will view it as such. the others are not confidential, may be shewn to any one, but is not intended for the press, as a time will come, but that is not yet, when these things will, as a part of the history of the times, be placed before the nation.

This persecution was founded in political views, looking to the future. Jealousy arose that Eaton might not be a willing instrument to those particular views, that his popularity was growing and it was necessary to put him out of the Cabinet and destroy him regardless what injury

¹ N. Y. Hist. Soc.

it might do me or my administration. But I thank my god, that truth is mighty and will prevail and it has recoiled upon the heads of the wicked engaged in it. the recoil is great, in New York the other day Mrs. Eaton was toasted at a public table at a dining given by the Mayor to Major Barry at which Mr. James Brown and Mr. James Barbour with many others were present. from this you may infer that the attempt *here* to put them down, has failed.

Present me to Betsy and your amiable little family, let me hear how my son is coming on and believe me yr. friend

SECRETARY INGHAM TO JACKSON.

WASHINGTON, November 24, 1829.

My dear Sir, I have the honor to enclose herewith Mr B's statement ¹ with the additional remarks.

Very respectfully yours

[*Indorsement in Jackson's handwriting:*] mr Ingham on the plan of mr B for paying the public debt etc etc.

¹ Biddle made a visit to Washington in November and talked with Jackson and Ingham in reference to a charter for the United States Bank, of which he was president and whose charter would expire in 1836. On this incident, see Catterall's *Second Bank*, pp. 188-193, and Bassett's *Jackson*, II. 598 ff. The paper referred to as "Biddle's statement" seems to have been the table herewith presented as an insert. At the end of the table is the following note by Biddle: "By which it appears that the whole of the public debt will be paid off or absorbed by the Bank on the 1st of Jany. 1833 except \$2,145,036.04, which might be paid to the Bank in Jany or Feby 1833, and thus discharge the entire debt. N B."

MODE OF DISCHARGING THE PUBLIC DEBT BEFORE THE 4TH OF MARCH, 1833.

Dates.	Payments by the Govt.	Yearly appropriation to the Sinking Fund.	Of Principal of Funded debt.	Of Interest on successive balances.	Redemption of principal made or provided for.		Successive balances of debt unredeemed.
					Description of Stocks.	Amounts to be redeemed.	
1829 Dec. 31	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	48,522,869.93
1830 June 30	7,720,451.60	.....	6,648,124.72	.....	Subscription 5 pCents Three pCents	7,000,000.00 13,296,249.45	20,296,249.45
Dec. 31	4,279,548.40	.....	3,581,665.26	1,072,326.88	Six pCts of 1815	.....	28,226,620.48
"	.....	12,000,000	.....	697,883.14	.....	3,581,665.26	3,581,665.26
1831 June 30	7,643,534.33	.....	7,953,101.15	.....	Remainder of 6 pCts 1815	.....	24,644,955.22
"	.....	.....	.....	.....	Two portions of Exc. 5 pCts	2,858,890.91	
"	.....	.....	.....	.....	Exchanged 4½ pCts	37,803.18	
"	.....	.....	.....	.....	Bank 5 pCts	1,539,336.16	
"	.....	.....	.....	.....	Bank 4½ pCts	1,265,495.99	
"	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,351,664.91	
Dec. 31	4,356,465.67	.....	.....	590,433.18	Third portion of Exc. 5 pCts	.....	7,953,101.15
"	.....	.....	3,949,425.99	.....	Five pCts of may 1820	18,901.59	17,591,854.07
"	.....	.....	.....	.....	4½ pCts	999,999.13	
"	.....	12,000,000	.....	407,038.68	.....	2,930,525.27	
1832 June 30	6,033,439.16	.....	5,717,809.82	.....	Remainder of 4½ pCts	.....	3,949,425.99
Dec. 31	2,414,342.59	.....	2,227,363.97	315,629.34	Exchanged 4½ of 1824	5,717,809.82	13,642,428.08
"	.....	.....	.....	186,978.62	.....	2,227,363.97	
"	3,552,218.25	.....	3,552,218.25	.....	{ Remainder of 5 pCts of 1821, paymt. of which may be as- sumed by the Bank Part of the residue of Exc. 4½ pCt of 1824- may be assumed also	.....	5,717,809.82
"	.....	12,000,000	.....	.....	.....	3,469,890.31	7,924,618.26
1833 Mar.	2,145,036.04	of the Treasury	receipts of the	1st quarter of	.....	82,327.94	2,227,363.97
					1833 would redeem the Remainder of Exch. 4½s. of 1824	.....	5,697,254.29
					.....	.....	3,552,218.25
					.....	.....	2,145,036.04
					.....	.....	48,522,869.93

SECRETARY INGHAM TO JACKSON.

[November 24, 1829.]¹

My dear Sir, I have carefully examined Mr Biddles whole project, and find it necessary to add very little to what has been already said.

He estimates the advance on the Bank Shares at \$1,500,000

which is about 22 ½ per Cent,

he also proposes a Bonus of 1,500 000

\$3,000,000

which sum the Govt. will make by rechartering the Bank,

and according to his proposition for redeeming the 3 per

Cents, upon receiving the above sum \$3,000,000

and ½ the amt of the 3 per Cents 6,648,124

\$9,648 124

the Bank will assume the whole of the 3 per Cents viz. \$13,296,249.45

from which deduct as above 9,648 124

gain to the Govt. \$3,648 125.45

by the redemption of the 3 per Cents, provided it shd be otherwise obliged to redeem them at par.

The total gain by rechartering the bank according to Mr

B.s project is viz

Bonus 1,500,000

advance on stock 1 500 000

Saved by the assumption of 3 per Cents 3,648 000

\$6,648 000

I am satisfied of the practicability of the operation so far as the bank

is concerned because it will make a profit on the Bank

Shares now held by U. S. of 40 per cnt \$2,800,000

instead of 1 500 000

gain 1,300 000

and save by redeeming the 3 per Cents at 80 a further sum of 2,659,249

total saved by bank \$3,959 249

The sum to be paid by the bank if the 3 per Cents were re-

deemed at par is, as before 3,648 000

the gain by the bank is \$ 311,249

Recapitulation

the Bank can therefore assume to pay one half the 3 per cents viz \$6.648 000—in consideration of the profit on the bank share

Bonus 2,800,000

1,500 000

4,300 000

and save by redeeming the 3 per Cents at 80 2,659 249

6,959,249

the sum assumed as above 6,648 000

gain to bank \$ 311,249

¹ This undated letter seems to be the "additional remarks" alluded to in Ingham to Jackson, Nov. 24, 1829, and for that reason it has been given the same date.

SECRETARY INGHAM TO JACKSON.

WASHINGTON, November 26, 1829.

My dear Sir, I had the pleasure of receiving your note last evening on the subject of the W. India trade. The clause referred to will of course be inserted in the report agreeably to your wishes.

I have been so engaged in examining the fiscal matter preparatory to ascertaining the balance in the Treasury that I have scarce had a moment to spare to think of the banks.

Your views as to promising a future message, are I think perfectly just whatever your purpose may be in that respect; you can select your own time unembarrassed by any commitment, as well or better than if a promise was given. The essential objects of a national bank are, 1. To preserve a sound currency *uniform* throughout the U. S. by which taxes shall be collected as well as levied *uniformly* thro the States. unless such a currency can be substantially maintained the Constitution is violated, and it will be impossible for the Union to be preserved. In a case of great public exigency the people will submit to many grievances; but such a grievance made permanent must dissolve the Union.

2. To enable the Government to transfer its funds at pleasure from one extreme of the Union to another or wherever the public service may require; This is necessary to the daily operations of the Treasury, but most essential in War.

3. That the Deposits of the Govt. should be safe; The outstanding debts due from state banks nearly all of which have occurred since the restoration of peace, prove that these banks are not safe depositaries. A National institution therefore seems indispensable; The Present Bank boasts that it has performed all these important functions. In the establishment of another, it will be highly important as well for the permanent character of your Admn. as to the nation, that it be equally as serviceable in all respects as the present bank, and not liable to the same objection in some particulars.

There are serious objections to placing the branches in the power of the States: a dissaffected State in time of war of which we have had examples, might frustrate a campaign or sacrifice an Army upon some frivolous pretext for refusing the payt. of the Treasury draft. The issues of paper by the branches to gratify the speculation of the Directors or their friends, might disturb the exchange between the various parts of the country and jeopardize the safety of the deposits. The Principle of responsibility in the head might be destroy'd by the want of Power to control the subordinate parts. It appears to me that a bank founded solely on Govt. Capital must be *a bank of deposit only*. to be safe, its influence should rather be directed to the restraining issues of paper by other banks than be tempted to make large issues of its own.

I have taken the liberty of suggesting these remarks, altho too crude and undigested to be regarded as throwing any material light on the question. The subject is one of great magnitude, and requires the most mature reflection, and I am obliged to acknowledge that I am not prepared to

propose even a detailed outline of a plan that wd deserve your attention as it ought. Opinions are so various on the subject of banking operations, and yet it is [so] necessary to compromise with public opinion in all such measures, in order to secure success, that it wd seem proper to reconnoitre the whole ground before any part is occupied. we must be able if possible when called on for a plan to present something like demonstration, that the great objects of the Govt. will be secured; you will excuse I am sure some appearance of solicitude on the subject and attribute it to the only proper motive, That the Dept which you have assigned to my charge should be able to sustain with success your admn and that all its and your acts shd be remembered and refered to by posterity as redounding to the happiness and safety and durability of the Republic.

I do apprehend Sir that we have not time to enter safely upon this complicated question. whatever may be said in a Message to congress, will be difficult to change and if it should not prove acceptable to public opinion it will increase instead of diminish the power of the present institution.

excuse this long hasty letter and accept the assurance of the great respect of yours

SECRETARY INGHAM TO JACKSON.

WASHINGTON, November 27, 1829.

My dear Sir, In the memorandum submitted yesterday for your examination on the subject of the bank, my only purpose was to embody what I understood to be your own views on the subject, and to avoid as much as possible those details that would be likely to present points of discussion in which your political friends would be irresistably thrown in the opposite side.

But I do not find myself prepared to say that a bank founded on these principles could be successfully established. It is a subject of great moment and wd require very mature reflections, to enter upon a system entirely new, for the disposition of so vast a sum of money as the public deposits. my time and thoughts have been so much given to other matters that I find myself wholly unprepared to render that assistance to you in this matter which you have a right to expect from the Dept which you have done me the honor to commit to my charge. I am fully persuaded that the fiscal affairs of the Govt. cannot be safely administered even in peace and much less in War without the U. S. Govt. can preserve a sound Currency and distribute its funds at pleasure at par with the Currency. Whether the present system could be so modified as to avoid the evils it is liable to and secure the benefits desired or whether it be best to make an experiment of a new and untried system are the first points to be considered. they are of great magnitude and your decision on them as well as the details of the plan that may be determined on, may involve at some future day the safety of the country.

It must be admitted to be a field of experiment, in which no certain results can be calculated upon. Much care is therefore necessary in the

preparation of a plan and not less in the effort to reconcile conflicting opinions, before any distinct ground is taken either as to the Principles to be adopted or the details. It therefore would seem advisable to have more time for that sort of reflection which is very necessary on such a subject, than can be now given before the message is prepared. I cannot therefore avoid indulging the hope that it may comport with your views of the public interest to defer a notice of the bank untill a future period.

I am with the greatest [respect]

ATTORNEY GENERAL BERRIEN TO JACKSON.

WASHINGTON, November 27, 1829.

The Attorney General presents his respects to the President of the United States, and Conforming to his request, has the honor to submit to his consideration the following suggestions.

The subject matter of the reference made to the Attorney General, includes two enquiries—one, which relates to the principles both of *constitutional law*, and of *finance*, connected with the *existing institution*, and *that which the message proposes to substitute for it*—and a *second*, which questions the *expediency* of making the proposed communication to Congress at this time.

The question of constitutional law which belongs to the first enquiry, relates to the power of the Federal Government, to establish a corporation for banking purposes, and to the right of the Legislature to grant exclusive privileges. It is not to be denied that this question has heretofore occasioned much diversity of opinion, and it is not doubted that this diversity still exists, although probably in a more limited degree. At the same time it must be admitted, that the existence of the power, has at various times, and in different forms, been affirmed by every department of the Government. If this power is not granted by the Constitution, it is very certain, that no series of usurpations can give it a legitimate existence in that instrument. Since however an ins[tit]ution now exists, which results from the exercise of that power, it seems to me that the question of constitutional power may be wisely left to rest on the footing on which anterior decisions have placed it, so far as the Executive department is concerned, until that department shall be called to do some act, which will necessarily raise this question. If this view of the subject should not accord with the determinations of the President, the attorney General will cheerfully submit his opinion on the question of constitutional power, whenever it shall be desired.

In the mean time I am bound to state respectfully to the President, my opinion that it is not expedient at this time, to make the proposed communication to Congress. If this would be considered as falling within the scope of Executive *duty*, the question of *expediency* would not arise. What the *former* enjoins, could of course not be yielded to considerations springing from the *latter*. The Attorney General does not believe that any such obligation exists.

The charter of the present institution will not expire until 1836. It is not proposed that the expression of the views of the President on this occasion, should interfere with that institution, except as they may affect the question of the renewal of the charter. Now it cannot be foreseen, as far as the Attorney General is advised, that the Executive and Legislature will be called to act upon that question, during the official term of the present President. The question may be raised in the course of the ensuing session of Congress, and the charter may expire during the continuance in office, of the present incumbent of the Executive chair. At this moment however, it is not believed that any fact is officially known, which calls for the immediate action of the Executive, or which renders it probable, that the Legislature will be called to the consideration of the subject.

Whenever that subject shall be presented to the Legislative body, it will without doubt occasion a strong sensation. It will divide many, who on other great questions, and indeed generally, are in harmonious concert of opinion. It will bring into active opposition to the administration, the institution whose legal existence is questioned, and those who from various causes, are interested in its welfare, or controuled by its influence.

I repeat the declaration. If the proposed communication were enjoined by duty, no considerations of this sort, could of course be permitted to interfere with its fulfilment. But since the question may not arise during the present official term of the Executive, and since if it does, ample time and opportunity will be afforded to communicate to Congress, the views of the Executive, it does not seem to me to be expedient, by anticipating the agitation of the subject, to command at this early day those exciting discussions, which unless they eventuate in the renewal of the charter, will without doubt be revived at each successive session, until some substitute institution exclusive in its character, shall be established.

The responsibilities of the administration must necessarily be great, and its indispensable duties during the approaching session of Congress, will be sufficiently arduous. As it advances in its official career, it will acquire by the judgment of a discerning people, on its zealous endeavors for the promotion of the public interests, an increase of strength, which will give increased effect to the first recommendations of the President, while a failure to obtain the support of Congress, to any measure which in this early stage he may recommend, may diminish its strength and capacity for advancing the great interests committed to its care.

Respectfully submitted by

TO ROBERT J. CHESTER.

WASHINGTON, Nov. 30, 1829.

My Dr. Sir: I have recd. your letter of the 8th instant and hasten to answer it. I seriously regret to hear of the persecution of your uncle and

your distress. But your fortitude must rise superior to the purpose. always keep in view that economy and industry will overcome any and everything and bring you triumphant over your misfortunes. I am sure your amiable wife will aid you with her smiles and her industry, and when I can with propriety, it will afford me pleasure to assist you with an office agreeable to your merit. The office you ask I cannot give with propriety—before your application reached us, the influence of the citizens of the vicinity of Columbia and Nashville, with many other members of Assembly and the Governor of the State were presented in favor of Col. Reynolds in such manner, that it has precluded any others, and at least twenty others have applied. The office is not yet vacant.¹

This may be fortunate for you, for if the Chikesaw Indians remove to the Mississippi as I expect, this Agency cannot be of long duration.

Upon the receipt of your letter I sent for the Secretary of War, whose feelings are of the most friendly kind to you, and the first office that presents itself you will not be forgotten, and it is probable ere long a better may.

Congress meets next Monday, and we will soon be able to judge what course it will adopt with regard to our Indian neighbours, and I expect soon to hear from Mexico, and as soon as I can see the whole ground I will write you again.

As the meetings of Congress Approaches, my labours increase. I am engaged preparing for them, and this with my other labours, employs me day and night. I can with truth say mine is a situation of dignified slavery. But my hope of hapiness fled with the severe bereavement I met with in the loss of my dear wife—the only consolation in this side of the grave, is, when I look forward to the time when I can again retire to the Hermitage, if God permits me, there to spend my latter days beside the tomb of the only solace of my life, set my house in order, and lay my bones beside her.

Present me kindly to my old friend, Mrs. Hays, say to her, that Saml. was to be married last tuesday, to a young lady of good family, and when she comes of age, of fortune, and every way accomplished—present me to Betsy, to Miss Norssee, Col. S. D. Hays and Lydia, Doctor Butler and Polley, and their sweet children. To Mrs. Hutchings and every branch of the family—We are all in health here, and all join in kind salutation to all friends including you[r]self and believe me

Sincerely yr. friend

¹ On Feb. 5, 1830, President Jackson nominated Benjamin Reynolds of Tennessee to be agent to the Chickasaw Indians, in the place of Benjamin Smith, resigned. The nomination was confirmed by the Senate Feb. 18, *Executive Journal of the Senate*, IV. 56, 62. So far as appears from the *Executive Journals*, the only occasion on which Jackson nominated Robert J. Chester of Tennessee to office was on Mar. 2, 1833, when he nominated him to be surveyor of the public lands under the treaty then lately concluded with the Chickasaws. The nomination was rejected by the Senate.

DRAFT OF THE FIRST ANNUAL MESSAGE.¹

December 8, 1829.

It affords me pleasure to congratulate you on your safe arrival at this city, to enter upon a discharge of these important duties which have been assigned by your country and I offer up to the almighty ruler of the universe my fervent thanks for the peace and prosperity he has been pleased to bestow upon our favored country, and implore him at a throne of grace for a continuation of these blessings, and that he may endow by his spirit the councils of the nation with wisdom to discern, and united harmony to enact all laws that may tend to promote the prosperity of his Kingdom, and the best interests of the union. In commun[i]cating with you for the first time, since I entered upon the execution of those high trusts which the people of this Republic have confided to me, it gives me great satisfaction to state, that nothing has arisen to inter[r]upt those friendly relations which it is our policy and shall be my constant anxiety to maintain with foreign nations. Acting upon what is known to be the wishes of the people of this country, I have not failed to offer

¹ This incomplete draft, in the Jackson MSS. (Presidential Messages, etc.), is in Jackson's handwriting. With it is an incomplete draft of about 3000 words, nearly like the message actually sent, in Van Buren's handwriting. In this draft the writing breaks off at the end of the discussion of foreign affairs and is resumed with the tariff. On that subject however the section by Van Buren is quite unlike that which appears in the message actually sent.

Col. James A. Hamilton, of New York, in his *Reminiscences* (pp. 149-151), says that he prepared the final form of the first annual message. Against this claim stands the draft in Van Buren's handwriting. In the disconnected papers relating to this subject and in the Jackson MSS. the pieces written by Hamilton are a draft of the bank clause nearly like the final form, and one or two other scraps of a trivial nature. The Hamilton draft of the bank clause, in his own handwriting, is as follows:

"As the Charter of the Bank of the United States will expire in 1836, and its Stockholders will most probably apply for a renewal of their privileges; in order to avoid the evils resulting from precipitancy in a measure involving such important principles and such deep pecuniary interests, I feel that I cannot in justice to our constituents and to the parties interested too soon present it to the deliberate consideration of the Legislature and the people. The constitutionality of this Law has been well questioned because it infringes State rights by controuling their illimitable power of taxing all private property within their Jurisdiction and because it grants to those who hold the Stock exclusive privileges of a dangerous tendency. Its expediency is denied by a large portion of our Citizens while others insist that its operation is extensively injurious to various parts of our Country and it is believed none will deny that it has failed in the great end of establishing a uniform and sound currency throughout the United States."

Two interesting observations can be made on this form of the bank clause: (1) Although it expresses essentially the same idea, it is not identical with the final form of the clause. For example, the allusion to "constituents" and the reference to state rights are not in the final form. The polishing off made it clearer and less likely to arouse prejudices. (2) The clause is not like that which Hamilton prints in a letter "to a friend" (*Reminiscences*, p. 150), which he says was written Nov. 29, the day after he reached Washington. In fact the clause quoted in that letter is the final clause. Now the message is dated Dec. 8, and it was doubtless revised in conference with several persons. It is hardly likely that the bank clause was in its final form Nov. 29. It appears near the end of the message, as though it were reserved for final decision. Why did not Hamilton put into the letter—if he wrote it a few hours after the clause was drafted—the form of the clause handed to Jackson in his own handwriting, instead of the final clause, presumably not prepared till a day or two later? The conclusion is such as to throw doubt on his assertion that he wrote the letter on Nov. 29. This fact, taken in connection with the Van Buren draft, makes us question the value of his allegation that he wrote any part of the message other than the bank clause.

in their behalf the assurance, of an earnest desire to cultivate a good understanding and to maintain peace and friendship with all.

The late period at which our ministers to England and France left the U. States, and which on several accounts was unavoidable, places it out of my power, at this early period, to communicate what has been done, in the matter of negotiation which have been directed to be brought to the consideration of those governments respectively: resting however upon the justice of the applications submitted, and on the reciprocal good feelings which are believed to be cherished, a hope is entertained, that every thing may eventuate in a manner satisfactory to all. At home there has been nothing to produce disquiet: every where peace and harmony has prevailed.

Acting in obedience to the requirements of the constitution to advise you from time to time of the state of the Union, I cannot forbear to bring to your consideration, as first in importance, the propriety of so amending the constitution of the U. States, as the choice of the chief magistrate of the country shall in no wise or in any event devolve upon the House of Representatives. After the numerous able discussions, which have taken place upon this subject on the floor of Congress and elsewhere, I might be excused for omitting any thing in detail on the subject; to enforce its necessity.

The government of the U. States was one of experiment; opening for the contemplation of more new and untried principles. Differing so widely from all other modes and forms which had preceded, it was not to be expected that the system could at once be rendered perfect. Our greatest cause of wonder is, that in a theory so new, our success should have been so ample! From time to time, as the science of our government is improved, disclosing to us imperfections not previously anticipated, does it become our imperative duty to guard and strengthen our posts, that every actual, or even expected danger may be avoided. A country so prosperous, and a government so well calculated to secure the happiness of the people, should leave nothing to chance and accident, but carefully guard every avenue, thro which possibly danger may be anticipated.

There is no point at which, perhaps, we are more at risk, than in the choice of a chief magistrate; and none at which stronger guards should be interposed. Looking to the nature, to the character, and feelings of the american people, one thing seems evident, that watchful and jealous of their rights, as they ever should be, they will never be satisfied with any ruler who is not the selection and choice of themselves; and he will never fail to have an unpleasant administration, who may obtain the direction of our national affairs, by any other means, than the free, unbiassed opinions of the people. For a single individual of the House of Representatives to give a decision in behalf of a million of people, which frequently may be done, apart from the suggestions of a sound Judgment, can seldom fail to excite suspicion jealousy, and distrust in the minds of a people vigilant, and attentive to the maintainance of their own rights. It is submitted therefore, to the consideration of congress to devise some mode by which this evil may be remedied for the future. It is

due to the people to place this subject before them for descision, while it should be a matter of solicitude to the Representative in congress to remove far from him the exercise of a trust which is so well calculated, to expose him to censure and reproach. The people, it is believed, desire these changes to take place—the quiet and interest of the country evidently demand it. Composed as our confederacy is, of so many independant states, and of worthy intelligent and qualified men, it is a reasonable inference, that in some future time, many, the favorites of particular sections of our Country, may be urged as candidates so that a majority of the whole people will seldom or ever be obtained; but if after the first trial a failure shall take place, let the amendment of the constitution be so framed as to demand a reference, under sufficient notice given of the two highest on the list, again to the people; and on their second attempt the descision will be certain. Connected with this subject, and which might be embraced as part of the amendment, is that of securing to the people the privilege of voting immediately, and by name, for the person preferred for chief magistrate. A fair expression of the public will, free from management, is of the highest importance in popular elections: Elections loose their value and purity, if by intrigue and fraud, the privilege of voting may be so affected as by possibility to change the result, and impair thereby the choice of the elector. There can be neither propriety or necessity, in requiring that to be performed by an agent, which can be as well done by the party himself at the polls.

But should Congress entertain adverse sentiments on this subject, and be indisposed to submit, those salutary alterations to the examination of the people, then it is worthy to be considered, if, in future when the question who shall be chosen President, is submitted and decided upon in the House of Representatives, it should not be prohibited to every one, being a member of that congress, from holding during the administration any office, whatever, of profit or trust, whereby to remove from them every suspicion or imputation, that his Representative vote was given from improper motives through considerations of self alone.

Resting in connection with this subject, is another worthy of particular examination; it is to limit the service of the President of the U. States to a single term; whether of 4 or 6 years seems not material—the latter might perhaps be preferable, as corresponding with the term of service for which the senate are chosen. The chief magistrate of a free people, should never be found seeking and manoeuvring to possess himself of the office. Full of care and responsibility, the merit of its possession is taken away, when obtained thro any channel or means, other than the voluntary expression of the peoples will. When any shall be thus selected, and the constitution of the country, inhibit an extension of the trust beyond a single term, every thing of management and motive will be removed and an honorable, honest and faithful discharge of the duties confided, will alone have influence, and constitute his motive of action. Nor is it, that the term of the chief magistrate only should be limited: it occurs to me, as matter worthy of reflection if every office bestowed by the general government, even the clerks in the Depts. should not by some

Legislative enactment be limited in their tenure. It has heretofore been the case, that the incumbents of office have not looked to the possession as temporary, but that in which they had an almost unqualified property. General opinion, has partially followed in the same tract, tending to produce improper and incorrect impressions on the public mind. One of the leading policies in our government wherein it differs from others, is, that no man was made for office; and offices created for no one. Encourage the idea, thro force of public sentiment, that an individual is entitled of right to his place, and that to remove him is cause of censure, and the effect and example, presently, to be produced may prove highly injurious to the forms and principles of our government. To declare by law that office shall continue for life, or during good behaviour, would be contrary to our free institutions, and stern opposition would at once rise up as the consequence; but in what consists the difference, between a law producing such a result, and that course of thought and action, which shall presently constitute public opinion, more difficult of repeal, and change, than even legal enactment. To counteract this too prevailing sentiment, and to preserve the government from that clamour and censure which is ever attendant on removals, I suggest, whether it would not be well to declare that the offices shall become vacant at stated periods, whereby the dishonest faithless and undeserving might quietly retire, and the honest meritorious and well qualified, be retained by reappointment. The effect would be to restrain in a great degree irritation and feeling, always the effects of removals, to open something like rotation in office, and to induce to that economy which would arise from the certainty that the tenure of office in this country is not to be considered as permanant.

There is another subject of interest which I avail myself of the occasion thus presented to bring to the consideration of Congress, that it may determine upon the propriety of submitting it as a further amendatory provision. The framers of our constitution were sensible of the necessity of preserving to the uttermost, the purity of Congress. Acting upon this, they prohibited any member from being eligible to the holding of an office which had been created, or the emoluments of which had been increased, during the period for which he was elected: but it did not proceed far enough, and that deficiency ought now to be remedied.

The opinion by me formerly entertained and expressed, was that members representing the interests of the states and people, in the general government, during the period for which they were elected, should be excluded from every office except such as pertained to the Judiciary. A post where life, liberty, and property were to be adjudged and disposed of, did not appear to be one, which should stand under any restriction whatever; but be left open for selection of the best talents the country could furnish. There are other offices which from their character and importance might merit the same exception. The Cabinet of the Executive, which is to be considered his staff, should be selected not alone on account of intelligence; but from such knowledge of them, as that they might deserve and receive in all things his entire confidence. The selection of

ministers to foreign Courts ought to be made in reference to the same considerations. Of what avail would it be, what benefit or service could be derived, if charged with our countrys interest abroad, our ministers should be wanting in proper zeal; or that the entire confidence which should exist between them and the chief magistrate of the country could not be reposed. For such places and such offices, no restriction should be imposed; the country and a proper representation of its interest demands that the Executive should have afforded to him the widest range for the selection of talents, and such other qualifications as would meet his unqualified approval. These are my opinions in reference to the duties which lie before me. The zeal which is felt, that nothing may be done, or omitted, which may secure to posterity that form of government, and those blessings which we are possessed of, urges me to the suggestion. Ardently desiring that our institutions may permanently endure; and being without any thing of motive or self to serve, I shall omit no occasion to declare candidly and freely whatsoever views and opinions I may entertain calculated to afford security to those high privileges of goverment we enjoy.

With the exceptions here sugested would it not be wise and proper by constitutional provisions, to restrain members of congress during the time for which they shall be elected, from holding any office whatever within the gift of the President. The necessity of extending the inhibition to a period beyond their time of service, will be wholly taken away, if the right of deciding the presidential election in future be taken from the House of Representatives. Such a restriction will produce the effect, which every true patriot should desire. Congress is the great source, whence emanates arrangements for the important defences of the country at large. They are the practical expounders of the constitution, as to those powers which may be asserted and enforced by the general, over the goverment of the states. Composed of men standing aloof from every motive, and looking only to a correct discharge of their duties, they will prove a staff of reliance and security; but a rod of affliction to their country if ever to be influenced by selfish considerations. The interposed checks and balances, of our constitution have wisely established, that the different functionaries of the goverment shall be left distinct and separte, each acting independantly in his own particular sphere. To maintain that purity, the President ought to be denied the priviledge of assigning office to members whereby in some future time inducements may be offered to swerve them from a faithful performance of duty to their constituents, and their country. As you value liberty, and hope to preserve it to your children, let the legislative hall of the country, be maintained pure, and ever free from temptation. while this shall be the case, dangers to our free institutions may be talked of, and may be anticipated; but need never to be feared: it is motive, and selfishness, and the evils consequent therefrom, in our public men, which extending their corrupting influence to the people, is to be feared, dreaded, and avoided. For myself I am now advanced in years, with a constitution enfeebled by those days and nights of toil, and

watchfulness, which in the prime of life I encountered for my country. I am not a father only by adoption to be concerned for the fate of my children. No other wish on this side of the grave remains to me, but that my country may be prosperous, and happy, and that she may have preserved to her, her liberties unimpaired forever.

It is proper to call your attention to the Tariff of 1828, regulating the duties on imports with a view to the enquiry, if its provisions and details, are not of a character, to impair, rather, than foster the great interests of this country. If nations could be brought to adopt a free and friendly interchange, of the labour, and industry of each other, very many of the inconveniencies arising from duties on imports, would be avoided; but as this is not the case, nor probably can never be rendered so, we have no other means left, of securing to our citizens a fair competition than to impose on the labour of other nations, burthens similar, or equal to that which they impose on ours. It is in this view, upon the principle of fair retaliation that one nation when its labour is taxed, must retort a similar imposition upon its exacting neighbor. This principle however should be asserted with proper guards and limitations. So far as the duties to be imposed on articles of foreign growth or manufactures, are needful in producing equality between the labor of this and other countries, so far a healthy action to the community may be the consequence; but to exceed that, is to produce injury. The tariff being one of those important and delicate subjects of legislation which in every change of its provisions, gives rise to speculations and produces to some class of our citizens injury, should be seldom approached, and then always with care, deliberation. and harmony, and apart from every thing but regard for the mutual benefits of the whole united states: at such a moment, and on such a subject local feelings, and political prejudices, should be merged in the important enquiry, what does the public interest, and the general good require?

By refering to the report from the Treasury Department which accompanies this communication it will be perceived that the revenue of the present year has been progressive. Besides the expenditure on numerous works of internal improvement in progress under the direction of the several acts of Congress, and meeting the ordinary expences of the Govt. there has been during the year twelve millions of principle and interest of the public debt discharged. This state of the finance may be expected to [be] continued. With a progressive increase of population, and a commerce that finds its way into every sea, our prosperity will require no other aid, than that which leaves the citizen untrammelled and free to pursue his interest, where his enterprise may open the way—with these facts before us, the certainty is presented, that in a few years, preserved in a state of peace, we shall present this marvellous picture to the world, a nation free from debt, and capable of applying all its resources to the great end and purpose, of executing those interior improvements, and maritime defences which in peace will constitute the prosperity, and in war, the defence and safety of the country. Over the one, the constitutional power of

congress to act is not contested and hence may be proceeded in, as propriety and necessity may require, free from those objections, which have affected the other.²

The public debt discharged, the finance of the country within limited periods, may be considered fully adequate to the commencement and completion of such great national works of internal improvement in which the whole nation are interested and which may be considered entirely national and of first importance to its prosperity. But in what mode shall this be effected? Hitherto a portion of the community questioned even the expediency of such undertakings. There is another which proceeds upon the ground, that it is one of the ungranted powers; and hence not within the competency of Congress to be exercised. Added to this, is a third class of objections presented, that the agency of congress in such matters, may have a tendency to impair that independence, and freedom of thought and action, so essential to wholesome legislation. In this aspect of the question, it behoves us to consider in what manner, objects so desirable, may be obtained without violence to the feelings of those, who may be influenced, either by constitutional scruples, or objections, arising on the score of expediency. It will become a question for deliberation, if some other and better, and more harmonising mode cannot be devised by the Representatives of the states, and the people respectively.

After your tariff law, shall be considered, and judiciously arranged, in reference to these principles already suggested, it is a matter not to be questioned, that our public debt being paid, there will remain a surplus in the Treasury. In this situation of things, should the constitution be found to sanction the exercise of the power, would it not be salutary to make such apportionment of the surplus revenue amongst the states, for the purpose of internal improvement as may be found to be, a fair, federal, and Just disposition of it. One essential benefit to result from such a disposition, would be to create within the states respectively, an expenditure somewhat in proportion to the public demands made upon them and remove thereby, much of the Jealousy and complaints, which now, exists as to an unequal distribution amongst them. Above all, those temptations, which must arise to members from local influence, and which it should be desirable to be relieved from, will be avoided.

The condition of the Indians within the limits of the U. States is of a character to awaken our sympathies, and induce the enquiry if something cannot be done to better their situation. The policy of the government has been gradually to open to them the ways of civilisation; and from their wandering habits, to entice them to a course of life calculated to present fairer prospects of comfort and happiness. To effect this a system should be devised for their benefit, kind and liberal, and gradually to be enlarged as they may evince a capability to enjoy it. It will not answer to encourage them to the idea of exclusive self government. It is impracticable. No people were ever free, or capable of forming and carrying into execution

² At this place the following sentence stands in the MSS.: "The fact cannot be denied that there are certain great undertakings of a national character calculated to interest the whole country", but around it a pencil line is drawn as if the purpose were to cut out the sentence.

a social compact for themselves until education and intelligence was first introduced. There are with those tribes, a few educated and well informed men, possessing mind and Judgment, and capable of conducting public affairs to advantage; but observation proves that the great body of the southern tribes of Indians, are erratic in their habits, and wanting in those endowments, which are suited to a people who would direct themselves, and under it be happy and prosperous. With these disabilities to free and self government existing, our tribes on this side the Mississippi have been told, that while the u. states are kindly disposed toward them, and anxious for their prosperity, it cannot be conceded to them to continue their efforts at independence within the limits of any of the states. It would be a source of great pleasure if encouragement could be given, and success be attained in an undertaking so praiseworthy; and which every humane mind should desire to see fully effected: Not however by attempts to be made within the [*MS. ends here.*]

BOOKSELLER'S BILL.

WASHINGTON, December 15, 1829.

Andrew Jackson Esq:

Bot. of Pishey Thompson.

1829

Sept:	2d.	1	Telemaque	\$1.50
	"	2	Songs .....	.50
Octo	17	1	Bible, (extra binding)	9.25
	"	1	Boyer's Dictionary .....4 to.....	12.00
Nov:	6.	1	Sevigne's Letters 3 vols.	2.25

\$25.50

TAILOR'S BILL.

WASHINGTON, December 17, 1829.

Mr. Andrew Jackson

To Tucker and Thompson Dr.

1829

May	25th.	To	1	pr	French Drill Pants	\$5.50
	"	"	1	"	Nankin Crape \$9 White drill \$6	15.00
	"	"	1	"	Cotton Drawers \$1.75 2 Jackets \$10	11.75
	28	"	1	"	Gloves (Linen .....	.50
June	5	"	1	"	Blk Silk Camlet Pants	9.00
	24	"	2	"	Linen Gloves .....at 50.....	1.00
	26	"			Repairing Coat and Pants	1.25
July	8	"			Amt. Paid Jos Carter	12.50
	"	"			Repairing Pants .....	.75
Nov	2	"	1	pr	Horskin (?) Gloves 1.25.....	1.25
	4	"			Oxford mixt Surtout	30.00
	"	"			Blk Cas. Pants 14 50/100 Blk Velvet Vest \$8	22.50
	30	"			fancy cloth Coat 30\$ Pants \$13 Vest 6 50/100	49.50
	"	"			White Marseilles Vest \$5 pr. Gloves 1.25 ..	6.25

\$166.75

TAILOR'S BILL.

WASHINGTON, December 17, 1829.

Genl. Andrew Jackson

To Tucker and Thompson

1829

Nov 13th	To	Blk	Cloth Coat	\$38.00
"	"	"	Cass. Pants	14.50
"	"	"	Silk Moleskin Vest	11.00
				<hr/>
				\$63.50

TO COLONEL CHARLES J. LOVE.

WASHINGTON, December 17, 1829.

My D'r Sir, I have recd. your letter Postmarked 3rd instant, but dated thro mistake the 15th. I regret to learn that Moses is dangerously ill, but never will charge you or Doctor Hogg with neglect, I feel under too many obligations to you for your kind attention to my business, and interest, and assure you, it will be long and gratefully remembered by me. I am truly astonished at Mr Steels neglect of my negroes when taken sick and shall write to him on this subject for the last time. Should I be left without an overseer I will turn him away unless he pays more attention to their health, by sending for Doctor Hogg in due time after they are taken sick, and my Dr Sir I authorise you to assure him of this fact.

I rejoice to hear that little Joe is still living but am fearful that he is too much trouble to Mrs. Love and you, he may with care out grow the complaint, be this as it may when I know he has been carefully attended to, and has not suffer in his sickness, then I will be satisfied with whatever result providence may will.

I wrote you some days ago, on the subject of a sale proposed by Capt Peter Mosely to me of one hundred and fifty acres of land adjoining my Winston tract on the north. from the letter I wrote Capt Mosely and enclosed for your inspection, you will find that he has computed my crop of cotton this year at 160,000 in the seed. I am fearful his calculation is too large; and my crop may not meet my [acc]ount with Mr Josiah Nichol. on the 27th of Novbr. 1829 as pr account rendered [it] is 1995 72½, add to this five hundred dollars my part of Steels wages as overseer for Major A. J. Donelsons farm and my farm, one hundred dollars to be paid out of A. J. Donelsons, will make two thousand four hundred and ninety five dollars and seventy two and a half cents. I am thus particular, as I want this account of Mr Nichols closed and receipt taken that I may be able here after to look at the account of the overseer alone, and be more able to judge of his economy. therefore I have concluded that it will be best to let Messrs. Hill and Nichol have my whole crop at nine cents. close this account with Mr Nichol including five hundred to Steel for this years wages, let them pay to Mosely the amount of the ballance of the cotton and then if it does not amount to the price of the land, to draw upon me for the ballance if not over five hundred dollars. But if my crop

should fall still short of meeting the purchase of the land and the payment of this account more than \$500 then I cannot buy the land. You will see from all this that I am determined not to go in debt for land or any thing else to encumber myself, and the account with Mr Nichol *must be* closed with my crop. I have therefore wrote Mr Nichol that my cotton, with Mr Donelson will be sold to Nichol and Hill at 9 cents per lb. if they will take it at that, if not then twenty thousand will be sold to Capt Mosely, if he will take it at nine cents and the ballance sold in Nashville if it can, and if not be delivered to them to be shipped to Maunsel White New-orleans, to be sold and amount remitted to them. the ballance they will draw on me for.

With my kind salutations to Mrs Love and all your family I am
sincerely yr friend.

REV. HARDY M. CRYER TO JACKSON.

GALLATIN, TENN., December 26, 1829.

My Dear friend, I wrote to you some ten or fifteen days ago, giving you a brief account of the situation of your affairs at the Hermitage, as well as my own temporal concerns, which letter you will have received before this reaches you. And I would not have written to you again so soon, knowing that your time is *precious*, and your mind is employed about the weighty concerns of our common Country. But when you shall have read this letter you will not deem it amiss for me to have written you at this time.

The young men to whom I sold your grey Colt in Kentucky, made a good season with him, all things considered. He neated something like \$570. But as many young beginners in business, not satisfied with the prospects of a moderate lawful income they must needs close a race on him for \$500, which was run on 25th Novr. two mile heats. And owing doubtless to the *condition* of the turf, they lost the race. 4 days previous to the race, there fell a very heavy rain, followed by a hard freeze, very unusual in this country for the time of year. And on the morning of the race a *thaw* commenced, the *surface* was soft, and I am told by Col. Elliott who prepared the grey horse '*Tariff*' and attended the race, that every *jump* he went through the crust sometimes nearly to the knees, etc. which made the labour so great that the *difficulty* of breathing the *supposed* effects of colts distemper lost him the race. And Moore and Shaw lost a considerable sum, for them.

As there are always some *poor wretches*, like summer flies not only given to defile the polished surface of a fair reputation, but would eat out the very cement of good society so in this instance, there was not wanting the *officious* services of some *poor devils*, who endeavoured to impress the minds of Moore and Shaw that there was *fraud* practiced upon them in the sale of the horse. I am informed that my *English Daddy*, Foxall, publicly proclaimed that *I* had knowingly imposed upon the young men, selling them an unsound horse etc. I was a little sprung at hearing *such lies*, called upon this *poor vagabond* immediately, and *he denied every word*

of it. I then hastened over to see the *unfortunate* sports men. They were very much *under par*, in feeling and prospect. I was told by a mutual friend of your's and mine, that there might be a *difficulty* and a *long delay* in getting the pay for the horse. Some foul unmanly insinuations have been dropt. And knowing something of the influence of *party spirit* about the county of *Simpson and Logan*, I looked around for a little, And heard their proposition. One was to take the Horse at half the *purchase price*—the other was to give him up to me with the proceeds of the season allowing them a reasonable sum for expenses etc. I said to them in presence of several of your friends and mine, that I *would not act* on either of their propositions until every thing like fraud, imposition etc. be withdrawn—then I would proceed as your agent on the principle of *generosity*, that I knew you would much rather extend the hand of *relief* to the needy, than *oppress* the poor—all things being ready as above. I told Mr. Moore, as he had been *unfortunate*, and was like to become *embarrassed*, I would take back the Horse, with \$370, of the season and he might have the ballance—to which proposition he agreed. He is to collect the money *forthwith*, and pay it over to me or order as your agent, etc. The horse is in fine *hea[l]th* and spirits, plays and looks well—he is now in the *care* of old *Parson Martin* where he will remain until I hear from you.

If I have done *wrong* in this transaction I rely upon your *clemency for relief* and *forgiveness* both. Moore is a *newly married* man (the son in law of your Old friend Given) and the loss of time from his daily avocation (a Clerk of the Court), for the last 6 or 9 months, the losses he sustained on the race etc. would have *crippled* his circumstances very *materially* if not broken him up, which I knew you would not have wished or desired. I told him I knew you too well to think for a moment, that you would injure a *hair* of his head, *although* he was a strong Clay and Adams *Politician*, that you would rather give him the Colt, than see *him and family* injured to any considerable extent. Now sir what shall I do with this fine young horse. It may be, you may have an opening for sale to some of the *breeders* of Baltimore or Pensylvania, or shall I try to sell him in this Country? Dr. Wm. E. Butler was here a few weeks since looking for a horse for the Western District. I am pretty well assured there can be a sale made of him, so as to cover the sum of \$800, including the \$370, made or taken with him, which last mentioned sum will be available from 2 to 5 months from this time. An answer to the above I shall expect to receive from you as soon as circumstances will permit.

P. S. Col. Elliott and his friends were very sanguine of winning. I am told they bet 2 and 3 to one on the grey horse, and would have bet a great deal more if they could have gotten the opportunity. H M C.

[*Indorsement in Jackson's handwriting:*] The Revd. Hardy M Cryers letter Decbr 26th 1829, on the subject of taking back my stud colt Bolivar, by him called *Tariff*. his conduct approved. directed to place him in Col Elliot hand for training if he should advise it—otherwise place him at

a stand, advertising him at \$15 in the season or \$20 out and insurance and the crop in proportion. If sold no less than \$1000 in one, two and three years with interest. If a good stand cannot be got for him to stand at the Hermitage.

TO JOHN OVERTON.¹

(Private)

WASHINGTON, December 31, 1829.

My D'r Sir, I have been anxiously awaiting the acknowledgement of my Message to Congress, forwarded to you, with such remarks as its subject matter might suggest; but, as yet, I have not heard from you. As far as I have seen it commented on, in the public Journals, it has been well received, except in the Abbeville District, So. Carolina, where it has been severely attacked. It is an old addage that "straws show which way the wind blows". I assure you this has somewhat astonished, tho' I cannot say it has *surprised* me, because I had hints that some of my old friends had changed, and the case of Major Eaton was thought to present a fair opportunity of *destroying him*, and *injuring me*, by circulating, *secretly*, foul and insidious slanders against him and his family. Be it so; I shall pursue the even tenor of my ways, consulting only the *public good*, not the *popularity* of any individual.

Congress is progressing with its labours, and I think I see in the commencement a little *new* leaven trying to mix itself with the *old* lump, but I believe the old will be hard to mix with the new. I regret, also, to say there is some little feeling still existing in a part of my Cabinet. I am in hope, however, that harmony will be restored; and that union of feeling and of action, which so happily prevailed when this administration was first organized, will be again revived. I do not think I have been well treated by those members who have been instrumental in introducing discord into my Counsels. They knew as well before, as they did after their appointment who were to compose my Cabinet. If they had any objection to associating, upon terms of equality, with any of the other members, they should have had candor enough to say so, before they accepted the offer of a seat in the Cabinet. I still hope, however, that I shall not be driven to extremities; but should *action* become necessary, on my part, to produce harmony, you may rest assured I shall not hesitate when the public interest requires it. It gives me pleasure to inform you that the most cordial good feeling exists between Mr. Van Buren, Major Barry, and Major Eaton. These gentlemen I have always fancied true, harmonious, and faithful, they not only most cheerfully cooperate with me in promoting the public weal, but do every thing in their power to render my situation, *personally*, as pleasant and comfortable as the nature of my public duties will admit.

Permit me here to say of Mr. Van Buren that I have found him every thing that I could desire him to be, and believe him not only deserving *my* confidence, but the *confidence* of the *Nation*. Instead of his being selfish and intriguing, as has been represented by some of his opponents, I have

¹ Copy. N. Y. Pub. Lib., Ford MSS.

ever found him frank, open, candid, and manly. As a Counsellor he is *able* and *prudent*, Republican in his principles and one of the most pleasant men to do business with I ever saw. He, my dear friend, is not only well qualified, but desires to fill the highest office in the gift of the people who, in him, will find a true friend and safe depository of their rights and liberty. I wish I could say as much for Mr. Calhoun and some of his friends. You know the confidence I once had in that gentleman. However, of *him* I desire not now to speak; but I have a right to believe that most of the troubles, vexations and difficulties I have had to encounter, since my arrival in this City, have been occasioned by his friends. But for the present let this suffice.

I find Mr. Calhoun objects to the apportionment of the surplus revenue among the several states, after the public debt is paid. He is also, silent on the Bank question, and is believed to have encouraged the introduction and adoption of the Resolutions in the South Carolina Legislature relative to the Tariff. I wish you to have a few numbers written on the subject of the apportionment of the surplus revenue, after the National debt is paid. It is the only thing that can allay the jealousies arising between the different sections of the union, and prevent that flagitious *logg-rolling legislation*, which must, in the end, destroy every thing like harmony, if not the Union itself. The moment the people see that the surplus revenue is to be divided among the States, (when there shall be a surplus) and applied to internal improvement and education, they will instruct their members to husband the revenue for the payment of the national debt, so that the surplus, afterwards, may be distributed in an *equal ratio* among the several states. If this meets your views, by giving it an impulse before the people, in a few well written numbers, you will confer on your Country a blessing that will be hailed as no ordinary Boon by posterity, who must feel its benefits. I feel the more anxious about this, because I have reason to believe a decided stand will be taken by the friends of Mr. Calhoun, in Congress, against the policy, if not the constitutionality, of such a measure.

Let me hear from you on the receipt of this. Present me affectionately to your amiable family and believe me to be ²

Your friend

² To this copy is appended the following note by Maj. William B. Lewis, which is attested in Jackson's handwriting:

"The foregoing letter was written under the circumstances and for the purposes stated in the following remarks. All through the summer and fall of 1829, General Jackson was in very feeble health and in December, of the same year, his friends became seriously alarmed for his safety. Indeed his whole physical system seemed to be totally deranged, his feet and legs, particularly, had been *very much swollen* for several months and continued to get worse every day, until his extreme debility appeared to be rapidly assuming the character of a *confirmed dropsy*. The General himself was fully aware of his critical and alarming situation, and frequently conversed with me upon the subject. These conversations occasionally led to another subject in which I took a deep interest, to wit, the election of Mr. Van Buren as his successor. This I thought highly important for the purpose of carrying out the principles upon which the General intended to administer the government; but, if he were to die so soon after his advent to power, I greatly feared this object would be defeated. However, even in that event I did not entirely despair of success. It occurred to me that Genl. Jackson's *name*, tho' he might be dead, would prove a powerful *lever*, if judiciously used, in raising Mr. Van Buren to the presidency. I

TO MRS. SUSAN DECATUR.¹

WASHINGTON, January 2, 1830.

My D'r Madam, I have the pleasure of acknowledging the receipt of your note of Thursday last, together with its inclosure. You may rest assured, Madam, that my services shall be most cheerfully accorded in aid of getting your claim allowed by Congress. I believe it a just and righteous claim, and should long since have been recognised and paid by the Government. I have too much confidence in the disposition of Congress to do justice to those gallant men and their representatives to believe for a moment they will refuse to mete to them the same measure of justice which has so often been extended to others in similar situations. It will, however, be necessary for you and your friends to act with great caution and circumspection, studiously avoiding every thing that may by possibility be calculated to produce the least feeling on the part of the members of Congress.

I perfectly agree with you that the anonymous letter you enclose me, is evidence not only of a *malicious* and vindictive community in this District, but also of a *corrupt* and *profligate* community. I believe no lady has been more basely slandered, or cruelly persecuted than Mrs. Eaton. I have heard much *said* to her prejudice, but no one has ever yet had the hardihood to say, to me, that he, of his own knowledge, knew any thing against her, as a moral, virtuous, and correct woman. I have, on all occasions, treated Mrs. Eaton with as much respect as any other lady in the District, because I have ever believed her entitled to it; and I shall continue to do so, unless I shall become convinced she is undeserving it, in spite of the sneers and *tittle-tattle* of a set of gossips who, in many respects are greatly her inferiors and in none, as I believe, her superiors. I hope, my dear Madam, you know too well what is due to the sex, and your own character, to be intimidated by the threats of such base, corrupt, and unprincipled villains as your anonymous correspondents. I shall keep the letter you have inclosed me with the hope of being able, some day, of finding out the name of its vile author.

I am with much respect your friend

therefore determined to get the General, if possible, to write a letter to some friend, to be used at the next succeeding presidential election, (in case of his death,) expressive of the confidence he reposed in Mr. Van Buren's abilities, patriotism, and qualifications for any station, even the highest, within the gift of the people. Having come to this resolution I embraced the first favourable opportunity of broaching the subject to him, and was happy to find that he was not disposed to interpose the slightest objection to the proposition. He accordingly wrote a letter to his old friend, Judge Overton, of which the preceding is a duplicate, and handed it to me to copy, with authority to make such alterations as I might think proper. After copying it, (having made only a few verbal alterations,) I requested him to read it and, if satisfied with it, to sign it. He read it and said it would do, and then put his name to it, remarking, as he returned it to me, 'If I die you have my permission to make such use of it as you may think most advisable.'

"I will barely add, that the General wrote this letter to his old and confidential friend, Judge Overton, at my particular request and with a full knowledge of the object for which I wished it written. He has, fortunately for the country, however, recovered his health and there will now, I hope, be no necessity for using it. In conclusion I will further remark that both the signature and endorsement, as will be perceived, are in *Genl. Jackson's own proper hand writing.*"

¹ Copy. Handwriting of Maj. W. B. Lewis. See p. 21n., ante, p. 128n., post.

COLONEL JAMES A. HAMILTON TO JACKSON.

NEW YORK, January 4, 1830.

My dear Sir. I have the pleasure to enclose a few hints on the subjects of Banks or offices of Deposit to assist the fiscal operations of the treasury and to establish a uniform currency.

It is not expected that such an adjunct to the Treasury Department will perform all the functions of a Bank in its general acceptation: Indeed the principal end of such an institution, which is; to extend the circulating medium of the Country to the utmost limit which the laws of commerce assign to it by means of its credit, is expressly denied to the Managers of these Banks or offices of deposit. The issue of notes is confined to actual deposits of Gold or silver or bank notes convertible into coin of standard value; Whereas a Bank of discount limits, or ought to limit its issues, not by the amount of its specie Capital and deposits but by the amount of Circulation which the commercial operations of the Community can absorb: And this may be done without or with a very small specie capital Provided the business of the Bank is confined as it ought invariably to be to discounting *business paper* or in other words *notes or Bills of Exchange created by commercial interchanges*. The Proposed Banks or offices of Deposit not having the power to make loans will not have the power of assisting the Government or individuals by loans or advances in any emergency; a defect which may be sensibly felt by both should the country be exposed to war; but which is incident to their organization and cannot be avoided without incurring the risk of far greater evils; For it would be highly indiscreet to entrust the funds and the credit of the Government (private persons could not be induced to entrust theirs) for the purposes of loans or discounting to the management of individuals, unless; their industry, vigilance and caution should be called into action by the strong motives of personal and pecuniary interest; such an interest as the directors of a Bank who are stockholders are supposed always to have in the institution committed to their management: But as I do not mean to extend this letter to a dissertation upon Banking I must return to the matter in hand.

Preparatory to the formation of the project I have examined with care the different Banking Systems that have been tried in different countries and ages and I have drawn from each such notions as seemed to be just and adapted to the end in view: The Bank of Amsterdam alone however is at all analagous to this. (an account of it will be found in the 2d vol of Smiths Wealth of Nations p 276) from it I have drawn the Idea of receiving a fee on deposits and but for the apprehension of exciting a clamour against a *novelty* I would have introduced a further provision in regard to Bills of Exchange that might be made highly useful in regulating or assisting to regulate exchanges at home and abroad.

This project is accompanied by notes explaining its different provisions and intended to meet the objections that have occurred to me: I could have wished for more time to mature this system but even with the advantages of more mature reflection I would not probably have thrown out any

thing more worthy of your consideration; for I assure you I have no confidence in my ability as a projector of this kind. I have alone brought into the work the most ardent zeal for your service and If It shall be in the slightest degree useful to you I shall be amply compensated.

I intend shortly to send you a plan of a Bank of Discounts as well as deposit which will not be obnoxious to constitutional objections because like any other of its offices it will be under the exclusive direction and controul of the Government.¹

With the truest attachment

I remain your friend and obt Servt

P S I have been under the necessity of using my daughters pen in making copies and have not therefore made them as perfect as I could have wished. J. A H.

It ought to be recopied before it goes into other hands than yours.

OUTLINE OF A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE UNITED STATES BANK.

The objections to the present Bank are—

1. It is unconstitutional;
2. It is dangerous to Liberty.

Yet, this Bank renders important services to the government and the Country.

It cheapens and facilitates all the fiscal operations of the government.

It tends to equalize domestic exchange and produce a sound and uniform currency.

A substitute for the present Bank is desired, which shall yield all its benefits, and be obnoxious to none of its objections.

Banks do two kinds of business:

1. They discount notes and bills, for which they give their own paper.
2. They deal in exchange.

These two kinds of business have no necessary connections. There may be Banks of discount exclusively, and Banks of exchange exclusively. Both may be Banks of deposit.

The United States may establish a Bank of Exchange exclusively based on government and individual deposits.

This Bank may have branches wherever the government may think necessary.

They may be clothed only with the power to sell exchange on each other; and required to transmit government funds without charge.

¹ This letter, with the accompanying "Outline of a Substitute for the United States Bank", is in the Library of Congress. They were purchased at an auction sale of Stan. V. Henkels, in Philadelphia, in 1922. There is no reason to doubt that the "Outline" was actually sent in the letter of Jan. 4. In Hamilton's *Reminiscences* (p. 154) this letter is given, but in a different form from the original. In the same book (pp. 155 and 156) Hamilton gives "A Project to create Offices of Deposit", That is evidently the paper he now speaks of sending soon. The paper which is here printed as an "Outline" is probably that sent with the letter and which he mentions in the first paragraph as "A few hints".

They need only have such officers as their duties require, checked by frequent and rigid inspection.

The whole may be placed under the direction of the Secretary of the Treasury through a separate bureau.

The present Bank is unconstitutional:

1. Because it is a corporation which Congress has no constitutional power to establish.

2. Because it withdraws the business of Bank discounts and the property of private citizens from the operation of State laws, and particularly from the taxing power of the states in which it is employed.

3. Because it purchases lands and other real estate within the States without their consent, under an authority purporting to be derived from Congress, when the General Government itself possesses no such constitutional power.

The proposed substitute would not be a corporation, but a branch of the Treasury Department; it would hold no property real or personal, and would withdraw none from the operation of the State laws.

The present Bank is dangerous to Liberty.

1. Because, in the number, wealth and standing of its officers and stockholders, in its power to make loans or withhold them, to call oppressively upon its debtors or indulge them, build houses, rent lands and houses, and make donations for political or other purposes, it embodies a fearful influence which may be wielded for the aggrandizement of a favorite individual, a particular interest, or a separate party.

2. Because it concentrates in the hands of a few men, a power over the money of the country, which may be perverted to the oppression of the people, and in times of public calamity, to the embarrassment of the government.

3. Because much of its stock is owned by foreigners, through the management of which an avenue is opened to a foreign influence in the most vital concerns of the Republic.

4. Because it is always governed by interest and will ever support *him* who supports *it*. An ambitious or dishonest President may thus always unite all its power and influence in his support, while an honest one who thwarts its views, will never fail to encounter the weight of its opposition.

5. It weakens the States and strengthens the General Government.

The proposed substitute would have few officers, and no stockholders, make no loans, have no debtors, build no houses, rent no lands or houses, make no donations, and would be entirely destitute of the influence which arises from the hopes, fears and avarice of thousands. It would oppress no man, and being part of the government, would always aid its operations. It would have no stock and could not be reached by foreign influence. It would afford less aid to a dishonest President than the present Bank, and would never be opposed to an honest one. It would strengthen the States, by leaving to their Banks the whole business of discounts and the furnishing of the local currency. It would strengthen the General Government less

than the Custom Houses, immeasurably less than the Post Office, and less than the present Bank when it acts in concert with the National authorities.¹

The proposed substitute would cheapen and facilitate all the fiscal operations of the government as completely as the present Bank.

It would in the same manner tend to equalize the exchange. Until since the last annual message of the President, the present Bank charged a premium on all Exchanges, except for government, public officers, and members of Congress. This practise will, doubtless, be resumed should that Bank be rechartered. The profits of the exchange business heretofore done, was sufficient, it is believed, to pay all the expences of the Bank. The proposed Substitute may charge such a premium on all Exchanges, excepting those for the government, as will suffice to pay its expences.

It might be made in the same manner, although not perhaps to the same degree, to operate upon the currency. By taking the paper of such local Banks in the vicinity as pay specie, it would restrain over-issues and tend to preserve the currency in a sound state.

The usual deposits of the government would be an ample capital for a Bank of Exchange. Independent of its capital, the Bank would always have cash on hand equal to its outstanding Bills of Exchange. But it might not be at the right points, and a small capital would be necessary to meet unequal calls at those points until the equilibrium could be restored. Exchange works in a circle. It is against the West in favor of the East, against the East in favor of the South, and against the South in favor of the West. By constant interchange of information and judicious management, little funds would be wanted at either point, other than those that would be raised by selling Exchange on another.

In time of war, the capacities of this Bank might be increased by act of Congress.

Such a Bank would not be unconstitutional, nor dangerous to Liberty, and would yield to the government all the facilities afforded by the present Bank. Further than this, perhaps the General Government ought not to look. But its incidental advantages to the Country would scarcely be inferior to those afforded by the present Bank, while it would destroy a favored monopoly.

ALFRED BALCH ¹ TO JACKSON.

NASHVILLE, January 8, 1830.

My Dear Sir, Altho I am aware that you are incessantly engaged in the concerns of the public, still I offer no apology for engrossing a little of your attention, because I write under the influence of no motive of self aggrandizment but merely for the purpose of offering you my congratulations on the Message lately transmitted to Congress. I have read this document with profound attention. The style is pure, the tone moderate yet firm, the Doctrines sound and Constitutional.

¹ Opposite this paragraph Jackson has written: "The within is the only safe outline for a bank or government deposit."

¹ See vol. III., p. 381n.

I see so many evils in the exercise of the power of Congress to make internal improvements, that I am wholly averse to the whole scheme. When the day arrives that shall see our citizens paying tolls at turnpike gates and on canals for the benefit of the national Treasury, when the time arrives that our Members of Congress shall be scuffling for a division of the spoil to be gathered from the Treasury of the General Govt in order to sustain their own popularity and that of some corrupt administration, the *Sovereignty* of the States will be but a shadow—a mere name. We must levy imposts and thereby have money to dispose of, let all the workmen, undertaking jobbers, contractors etc. in other words all the voters receive their reward from the state authorities, not from the overflowing means of a great splendid national Government. Of all the evils which may afflict us, let the evil of an overshadowing overwhelming *Central* power be the last, because it will prove the greatest and the most devouring.

The spirit of avarice and commerce is converting the Bank of the United States into a Mammoth Broker. The office here is employing the smallest means to gather up a few nine pences. Such will always be the case when such institutions are conducted by men who only know how to sell tape, thread and needles. Mr Calhoun told us when he set up this Bank that it would give us a sound currency, would equalize exchange and be a blessing to the people. Let us have a little commentary on this text. Old Mr Crutcher told me a few days ago, that he had a check on the Bank of the U States last week, drawn by a public officer, payable at sight at Phila. He went to the office here and wished the cash for it. They charged him one per cent for advancing the money. Notes payable at the office at Boston are thrown in here. If you wish to receive silver for them you must pay two and half per cent.

Instead of loaning money here at 6 per ct, they will buy a Bill on the office at New Orleans, charge you $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent premium and 6 per ct all payable in advance and the office at N Orleans will charge you $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent for accepting it there. So that the object of this immense institution is to make money—to secure a large dividend for the benefit of the great stockholders on the other side of the Atlantic.

As to the effects of the office here, they must in the end prove to the last degree calamitous. Those who borrow are encouraged in their extravagant modes of dressing and living, which are far greater than their solid means will justify. Many are building little palaces, furnishing them in very expensive style, and the children of many are dressed as tho they were the sons and daughters of Princes. What may remain of the wrecks produced by these splendid follies, will after a few years be seized on by this Mammoth Bank. . . .

Our town has been in a state of great excitement for the last week, in consequence of the statement made by Col Parrish that he had suffered certain individuals whom he would not name to the committee deputed by the Legislature, to over draw to the amount of between 60 and 70 thousand dollars. Conjecture was busy in naming the individuals. It was suggested that McLemore had overdrawn to the amt of 5 or 10

thousand dollars. Hearing this I went to McL. who stated that during his absence a note of his for 800 dolls. had fallen due and a check had been accepted instead of the money for the note. But, that he had paid it up. I called on Parrish and had a confidential conversation with him in which he disclosed the names of those who had overdrawn, some of them by means the most dishonorable. In one instance, an individual had overdrawn 9000 dolls. in this way. He handed Parrish checks on the Bank here for this amt received his notes and made off. when the checks were presented there was no money there. I wish it may all turn out that Parrish has not himself overdrawn largely. Many of the agents are found to be defaulters, and this cumbrous edifice, having in its first creation a vice fatal to its permanency, is about to tumble into ruins about our ears.

I hope you will not [be] disappointed in your expectation of finding Mr V. Buren a safe and efficient *Statesman*. Of politicians we have myriads But, statesmen are as rare as Immortal and fine poets. My fervent hope is that V. Buren may realize the high estimation in which I have long held him. When that day shall arrive that he will be before the people of Ten. as a candidate, I shall draw the sword in his cause and throw away the scabbard. As I have never yet seen the day that I could compromise one single private or political opinion to get office from any man, and hope in God that I never will, I shall always be found either on one side the fence or the other. With my present feelings towards Mr V Buren, I shall support him if he does not get another vote in Tennessee. But the truth is, if your Admn is successful of which I never had a doubt, Mr V. B'n will have overwhelming masses of friends in the five southwestern states. Already many are enquiring anxiously after him, and many are desirous to see his despatches to our Foreign Ministers, which of course will be made public in due season.

I flatter myself that Mr Bell will do justice to the interesting subject committed to his charge as Chairman of the Committee of Indian Affairs. The removal of the Indians would be an act of *seeming* violence. But it will prove in the end an act of enlarged philanthropy. These untutored sons of the Forest, cannot exist in a state of Independence, in the vicinity of the white man. If they will persist in remaining where they are, they may begin to dig their graves and prepare to die.

With great respect

TO REV. HARDY M. CRYER.¹

WASHINGTON, January 10, 1830.

My D'r Sir, I have recd your letter of the 26th ult., and after duly noting its contents, hasten to answer it. I certainly approve the course you have adopted with regard to my gray stud colt. Knowing the purity of his blood, I was anxious to have bred from him. Had I not have been compelled to leave home, I never should have consented that he should have been sold, and I am glad that he is again my property. His name

¹ Tenn. Hist. Soc.

is and was Bolivar,² and if he stands the ensuing season anywhere, I wish him advertised under that name, with such certificate as Colo Eliot thinks he deserves. His blood you know. However it is as follows, His dam by Pacolet, grand dam by Truxton out of the noted running mare Opossum Filly whose pedigree, Mr James Jackson has, I think she was a Wildair and Medley, she was a first rate four mile runner of her day, his sire Oscar, whose pedigree can be easily obtained.

I would like to get Col Eliots opinion of the propriety of training, and running him in the spring, if he thinks well of it. I will give him fifty dollars for training him, and when he makes the experiment, if he chooses to enter him for his own benefit, he may do so, if not I will pay the entrance, and run him for the benefit of my son, if Col Eliot thinks his situation and wind will justify the experiment. I am of the belief, that by nature, if his breathing has not been injured, he was one of the first runners ever owned in America. Dunwody by neglect destroyed him as a runner and ruined my Oscar filly also as a runner. *Consult Col Eliot in whom I have every confidence*, whether it is prudent to try him again upon the turf. if he says he will train him, and think he can run him in credit, let him be placed wheresoever the Col may direct, say on my own farm, and treated as he may desire until the proper time for him to take him for training. If he advises him *not again to be trained*, then, Sir, you will either send him to my farm or place him at a stand that you may select, advertising him at fifteen dollars payable within the season, or twenty out and in proportion, the single leap, and insurance. Knowing the merit of his blood, you see I am determined to keep its credit up, until I can get it tested, by his offspring from a thoroughbred mare. I shall direct the Virginian to be put to him, as the best blood I have except those that are too nigh kin to him. as to a sale of him, I will not *now* take less than *one thousand Dollars*, and that on interest, at one, two, and three years. if this sum can be got for him *well*, if not I will keep him, as I know he is of better stock than any that can be got in Virginia *now*. with these instructions you will please manage him for the best, and if he is my property in the spring, I wish the Virginian filly I got of you, *put to him*, her colt will test his merit as a foal getter and turf horse.

With my kind salutations to your family and best wishes for their and your happiness believe me your friend

P. S. If a good stand cannot be got for him elsewhere, let him be advertised to stand at the Hermitage, and Dunwody to manage him, under the superintendence of my overseer.

²In October, 1831, Jackson sold a one-fourth interest in this horse to Benjamin B. Cooper, of New Jersey, retaining three-fourths himself. Bolivar was sent to Camden, N. J., where Cooper tried to sell him to a company organized for the improvement of the breed of horses. That scheme failed through the opposition of a small minority of the members. The horse was then let to John West to stand for the season of 1832 at Moorestown. See Benjamin B. Cooper to Jackson, Nov. 30 and Dec. 22 and 27, 1831, and agreements dated Oct. 21, 1831, and Feb. 8, 1832, in the Jackson MSS.

TO REV. EZRA STILES ELY.¹

WASHINGTON, January 12, 1830.

My D'r Sir, I expected this would have been handed to you by my son, but a slight indisposition and the inclemency of the weather have induced him to postpone his intended visit to Philadelphia for the present.

The object of this letter is to inform you that Major Eaton has lately received a letter from Mr. Ogdon, Consul at Liverpool, covering one from Mr. Hyde, then in London, who is referred to in one of your communications to me last Spring, relative to the Slandrous reports against Mrs. Eaton. I consider it my duty to apprise you of the receipt of this letter; and to inform you that Mr. Hyde denies, in strong terms the correctness of the statement made to you. In the first paragraph of his letter he says, *in substance*, "Had you inclosed me charges of high Treason, preferred against me by my Government, you could not have astonished me more, or I more innocent of the charge than the one made which you inclose me." He goes on to state that he is unacquainted with Major Eaton and his lady, that he knows neither her, nor her relations, and has no recollection of ever having heard her name mentioned.

The scurrilous pieces published in the opposition papers against Mr. Eaton have, as I suppose, induced him to publish the card which, doubtless, you have seen. I assure you, my dear Sir, that he is fully prepared to expose the vile conspiracies against him—to unmask Mr. Campbell and his associates, and to vindicate his own character and reputation. The only evidence he wanted to enable him to do this fully and completely was a contradiction on the part of Mr. Hyde of the only unrefuted charge contained in your letter to me; and this he now has. The extraordinary conduct of Mr. Campbell must, at no distant day, bring forth a full disclosure of all the facts and circumstances connected with this unpleasant subject. He and his friends are daily getting into new and greater difficulties. He attempted not long since to throw a fire brand into the Methodist Society, by relating a story which he said he had from an old lady, a pious matron of that church. When this reached the ears of Major Eaton's friends, the old lady, referred to, was called on, who declared the story to be destitute of truth. She said Mr. Campbell applied to her under the garb of friendship and religion, to inform him concerning the character of Mrs. Eaton, and particularly with regard to a miscarriage she once had. The old lady informed him, as she has since stated, that she had long known Mrs. Eaton, and that she never in her life knew any thing, of her own knowledge, prejudicial to her character as a lady; and that the abortion, about which this *pious* and *reverend* gentleman inquired, happened either a little before or after Mr. Timberlake left home; if after certainly not more than two or three months as she believes. She further stated to him that Mrs. Oneal, the mother of Mrs. Eaton, related the circumstance to her without making any secret of it—indeed no one that she ever heard of believed for a moment that there was any thing wrong or improper in the affair.

¹ Handwriting of Maj. W. B. Lewis; but most of the last paragraph is in Jackson's own hand.

If we have faith in that portion of the scriptures which says—"by their fruits ye shall know them", surely we must believe that Mr. Campbell is any other than an Ambassador of our blessed Saviour. His² conduct has done the Presbyterian Society much injury, as well as the cause of religion generally. His conduct will be exposed either before the Presbytery, or before the nation, on a proper and fit occasion I have been *assured*. He cannot remain in credit here, and an inquiry any where will forever prostrate him as a preacher of the Gospel. I forwarned him of the *dilemma*—had he acted as a christian, ought, and as our blessed saviour him[self], society would have rested in peace and harmony and his conscience would not nightly admonished him of his improper and unchristian course.

Present me affectionately to your lady and family to Mrs Carswell and hers, and to Mr Lamb, and believe me

yr friend

COLONEL CHARLES J. LOVE TO JACKSON.

NASHVILLE, January 15, 1830.

My Dear General, You will find Inclosed an account of the stock and crop at the Hermitage, I found all well yesterday except one of the women and she was not much indisposed. Moses is s[t]ill with me, he is getting much better and I hope will be well enough to go home next week. I am afraid he has not a good Constitution and great deal of care must be taken of him. Joe is much as he was when I wrote you last. Joe has a brother that has had sore Eyes for several months, the Doct has attended to him but they get no better, he remains about the kitchen and is attended to etc. Steel is takeing the large Timber out of the new Ground, sending to the saw mill what will answer for Plank and scantling, the balance will be made into coal. they are drying clay for Brick etc etc

Your stock looks well generally but the mares and young colts are in very fine condition. the stockholder colt out of the brown mare that died will make an uncommon fine looking Horse, he is now upwards of 15 hands high. (your favourite) the sorrell one, has much Improved and grown considerably lately and will be a Horse of good size. The colt from the Oscar mare had been weaned some time before I recd. your letter on the subject of its sucking all the winter. It is in fine order and will do very well.

On the subject of your mares going to a Horse next spring I would advise them being put to Sir William, If not all a part of them. I have seen Arab, although fine looking animal, I do not like him as well as William, at all events the swayback mare ought not to be put to him, as he is very much so him self; There is in an other reason with me, If he was this celebrated Horse, he is said to be, he would not have left Virginia. Considerable offers have been made for Sir William, as I

² From this place to the end the handwriting is Jackson's.

am informed, for the purpose of getting him back to Virginia; Sir William will be near the Hermitage, and the overseer can attend when the mares are put. last year one of the colts, was very much Injured by the travel up to Stockholder; you might enquire of some of your Virginia friends which of the two would be the most preferable and governable [*sic*] your self accordingly

I wrote you in my last that Mr. Hill advised me to perchase the Land of Mr. Mosely, I then gave you my reasons why I did not, On Wednesday last he again advised me to make the perchase, and said it would suit him to take it out of your next crop of Cotton. I have seen Capt Mosely, he wishes you to get the Land, and will wait until I hear from you on the subject. Mr. Steel Informed me that Dr. H[i]ght[?] had offered 10\$ for that part. I would have made the perchase, but I sent for the Capt. he said you should have the 150, but he wanted to sell more; The sooner you write me the better. William Donelson says you ought to perchase it, and advised me to close the bargain, but I could not go beyond my instructions, particularly as I have got the Capt to agree to wait your directions to me.

Steel said he wrote you as he could not please you, you had better lookout for some other person. He in my opinion has not the least Intention of going away. I am confident your last letter will still make him the more particular and attentive to your Orders. At first he was some what offended with me, I told him I should do my duty and he must go agreeably to your Orders and that if he did you would not sensure him for anything, even if it turned out badley.

I wished him to take Andrews Horse at the 125\$ he says the Horse is much worse than when he agreed to give me that price, he now offers 75. My own Impression is that he never will get well, he is very badley spavined and will always be lame. you will say what Andrew will do on the subject. I said I would give him an answer in one month.

In my next If you make the perchase of Mosely, I will give you my views of feeding cattle with the surpluss corn made on your Farms. I feel confident it will be more profitable in that way than aney other,

I am my Dear Sir Your friend

Excuse this hastey scroll, it is late at night

Memorandum of Stock Crop etc etc at the Hermitage 15 January, 1830

Corn cribbed, 1276 Barrels; 64 Stacks fodder; 40 do Oats; 11 do Rye; 51 Bales cotton, 27,056 lbs; 11769 lbs Pork killed; 40 Hogs more to kill.

Blooded Stock of Horses etc.

4 Brood mares; 1 -2 year old filley; 1 -3 do Constitution; 3 -2 yr old Stockholders; 3 young Sir Williams.

common horses

11 work horses; 4 work mules; 1 mule colt; 1 horse of Andrews; 1 Bay mare bot by Andw with mule colt; 1 -two year old filley.

cattle etc.

14 work steers; 7 fat steers; 65 cows and young cattle; 123 head sheep; 250 head stock hogs.

Stock sold

Oscar horse by Cryer, \$800.00; 44 sheep; 3 do given away one by you and other by Andrew; 4 cows to Lucius Polk; 1 do given to Mrs Donaldson.

Deaths

5 work horses; 1 cow and calf; 1 steer; 6 calves; 2[?] yearlings.

Killed for use of Farm.

4 Steers for beef; 4 smaller ones; 1 sold to Mitchell.

3 Negroes died; 3 do increase.

Cash recd. for sheep butter and vegetables	\$126.24
Cash pd. out for sundry purposes	94.68

Balance \$31.56

REV. EZRA STILES ELY TO JACKSON.

PHILADELPHIA, January 15, 1830.

Dear and Honoured Sir, Your favour of the 12th instant, has just arrived. It would have given me pleasure with it to have received your son also: and I have only to regret that you were under the necessity of writing on a painful subject.

My letters to yourself I considered so entirely confidential that I did not take a copy of them; and therefore cannot recollect what were the words I used concerning Mr. John E. Hyde, merchant of New York. I think you will find, dear Sir, by a reference to my letters that I have given him as the person who told me that some man at Gadsby's public table on the morning after Mr. Vaughn's last public entertainment which preceded your inauguration, had said, as was reported, "that Mrs. E. brushed by him last night and pretended not to know him: that she had forgotten the time when he had slept with her." He did tell me that someone had thus spoken, in Gadsby's public eating room. He did not assert any thing more than this: and appeared to regret that such disgraceful things should be thus publicly spoken against the wife of one who was expected to be a member of the cabinet.

The Mr. Hyde to whom your last letter refers I should presume must be some other man, than the one of whom I wrote. It is true that Mr. John E. Hyde brought no charge of any kind against Maj. Eaton or his

lady. A third person was present when Mr. John E. Hyde told me of this shameful speech of some fellow; and if he has not gone to France I shall endeavour [to] get his statement. If Mr. Hyde is in N. York, I shall expect he will do me the justice to tell the truth. I shall write him.

With the Rev. J. N. Campbell I have not had the least intercourse or communication since I left your truly republican palace. I have designed not to meddle with the character and conduct of Mrs. Eaton unless I should be compelled in my own defense. Every thing which I have done in relation to her, or said, will have my leave to be forgotten as soon as possible. I know nothing of Mr. Campbell's designs at present. Of her I should be glad to hear that she makes Major Eaton a good wife, and gives you no trouble. Since my letters may be important to refresh my own memory, I should be glad to copy them, or to obtain a copy were it not too great a tax upon your private Secretary. . . .

TO SECRETARY VAN BUREN.¹

January 24, 1830.

(Private)

My Dear Sir: Your note was recd., of this evening, when I had company, and so soon as they have left me I have hastened to reply. The story is this. Shortly after the party at Baron Krudener's it was stated that Madame H[uygens]² was piqued at something that took place there and said she would give a party and would shew society that she did not recognize Mrs. E. as a fit associate and would not invite her to it. The Heads of the Departments, say the gossips, would follow suit and Mrs. E. and the Major would be put out of society. This came to the ears of some members of Congress, and the attempt *thus*, by a Foreign Minister's family, to put out of society the family of a member of my Cabinet was thought to be such an attack upon me, who had invited this member to come into it, that it aroused their feelings and the communication was made to me. The three parties that followed, given by the three Heads of Departments, were well calculated to give credit to the story of a combination headed by Madame H. to put Major Eaton and his family out of society and thereby to assail my character for inviting him into it. These are the tales and I am happy Madame H. has stated they are not true as far as she is concerned. *This is the substance.*

Yrs.

¹ This letter is printed in Van Buren's *Autobiography* (p. 354), where also are given the incidents that called it forth. Van Buren makes it clear that he led Jackson to write the letter so that a written statement of the affair might be preserved. For the sequel see the "Memorandum" of Jan. 29, *post*.

² Wife of the Dutch minister in Washington. The three heads of departments mentioned were undoubtedly Ingham (Treasury), Branch (Navy), and Berrien (Attorney General).

MEMORANDUM IN JACKSON'S HANDWRITING.

[January 29, 1830.] ¹

Having been informed by several members of Congress that there were a combination entered into by three of the heads of Departments with a foreign Lady to drive major Eaton and his family out of society and by that means coerce me to dismiss him from my Cabinet, This has been reiterated by [*blank*] members of Congress to me, after the plan had been adopted, (which was to make parties, first by the Foreign lady, then by mr Ingham, Branch and Berrien, and not to invite major Eaton and his family) The parties as reported, had been given, and major Eaton and his family not invited, as had been predicted. Several members came to me and after reporting these facts, asked if I intended to permit such indignity to be offered to me unnoticed. I assured them I would not, and that I would call for explanations from them. I therefore sent and had a personal interview with those gentlemen. I informed them of the information I had recd. of the combination, from the members of congress, and the plan having been carried into execution and I had sent for them for explanation and inquiry whether the information I had recd was correct, If so, then was the course pursued by them (mr Ingham mr Branch and Berrien) to major Eaton and his family were [*sic*] not only unjust in itself, but highly disrespectful to me and well calculated to destroy the Harmony of my Cabinet.² The ground upon which this opinion is founded are substantially these. I do not claim the right to interfere in any manner in the domestic relations or personal intercourse of any member of my Cabinet, nor have I ever in any manner attempted it. But from information and my own observation on the general course of events, I am fully impressed with a belief that you and your families have, in addition to the exercise of your and their own undoubted rights in this respect taken measures to induce others to avoid intercourse with mrs Eaton and thereby sought to exclude her from society and degrade him. It is impossible for me upon the fullest and most mature and dispassionate consideration of the subject to regard this course in any other light than a wanton disregard of my feelings and reproof of my official conduct, It is I, that without any solicitation or desire on his part called major Eaton into my cabinet, and it is I, that with the fullest conviction of the

¹ The date is not given in any of the several copies of this paper—not all of which are alike—that exist in the Jackson MSS.; but it seems to have been Jan. 29, 1830. Van Buren says in his *Autobiography* (p. 355) that Jackson on Jan. 25, or at least before the 27th, showed him a paper containing the basis of a statement he intended to make to Ingham, Branch, and Berrien. He, Van Buren, suggested that it be revised to make it clear that Jackson did not mean to interfere with the domestic affairs of his Cabinet. He adds that it was arranged that R. M. Johnson, of Kentucky, should see the three gentlemen and give them an idea of what Jackson would say in the coming interview, thinking that the Kentuckian might be able to put them into a state of mind favorable to a good understanding. Testimony varies as to what happened in the interview. Jackson said in a letter to Eaton, July 19, 1830, that the statement was read to the three officials. In their published statement (*Niles' Register*, XL. 383, 384, 426) they denied that they saw any paper. The form used here is slightly longer than that used in the editor's *Jackson*, II. 467.

² Here in the margin, in Jackson's handwriting, is written: "The following was read to them from a paper held in my hand."

injustice of the imputations which as I firmly believe malice and envy have cast upon his wife continue him there. If her character is such as to justify active measures on the part of my cabinet to exclude her from virtuous society, it is I who am responsible to the community for this alledged indignity to public morales. I will not part with major Eaton from my cabinet, and those of my cabinet who cannot harmonise with him had better withdraw for harmony I must and will have.

It is vain for me to disguise the true aspect of the question, and it is not in my nature to do so if I could; nor can I consent to harbour any feelings toward those with whom I am acting daily without distinctly expressing and apprising them of those opinions—my whole life has been at variance with such a course, and I am too old to practice it now, I must cease to respect myself when find myself capable of it—therefore have sought this interview, to assure you if there is any truth in the report that you have entered into the combination charged, to drive major Eaton from my cabinet, that I feel it an indignity and insult offered to myself, and is of a character that will remain hereafter to be considered of.

The Gentlemen substantially replied that they would be the last men to do any act to injure the feelings or character of major Eaton and his family, that the parties given had no such thing in view—that they could not undertake to contróle their families etc. etc. etc. I protested against any such wish to contróle society in their intercourse but observed, that as they had disavowed any intention to wound the feelings of major Eaton etc. etc. I was bound to believe them—but the rumor had went forth, it was believed by part of the community that it was intended to degrade Eaton etc. and the effect upon Eaton and the indignity to me in the minds that believed it, were the same, and hereafter it would be well so conduct as not to give room to the world so to construe your conduct—for I had again to repeat, that having brought major Eaton into my cabinet I would not part with him, and any attempt to degrade him I viewed, and should continue to view, as an indignity to myself, that as all had come into my cabinet harmoniously, and friendly, that that harmony must be continued, or those who could not harmonise, had better withdraw. That harmony must be maintained. They replied that nothing on their part should be done to destroy the harmony of the cabinet (how far these three Gentlemen complied with this promise the public will judge. The above is taken from a paper held in my hand and read to them and their reply noted with my conversation with them after the[y] retired)³

TO COLONEL CHARLES J. LOVE

WASHINGTON, February 28, 1830.

My D'r sir, I have this moment received your two letters of the 13th instant, which advises me of your having closed the contract with Capt Mosely for the 150 acres of land, and the same has been surveyed by

³ This letter is filed in the Jackson MSS., vol. 77, as in April, 1831.

William Donelson Esqr. That this is a choice peace of land I well know, and all important to make the Winston tract profitable, and valuable; and for these reasons, (added to the anxiety expressed by Capt Mosely to sell to me, under my cir[cum]stances in life) were the reasons that alone induced me to purchase. I am happy to find you have closed the contract, and will be prepared to meet the payment on your draft. I feel greatly indebted to Mr Hill for his kind and liberal proposition, but am determined not to be *indebted*, therefore, will expect you to inform me, whether I had better send on the amount there, or await your order here. I am in hopes that from the rise that has taken place in cotton in England, the demand for it in Europe, by the increased manufactories, added to the deficiency of the crops in america, that in all next month cotton will rise. if mine should not be sold before the middle of next month, I am well convinced it will bring me at orleans, from eleven to twelve cents—should it, it will meet my debt to mr Josiah Nichol, and I can meet the other here, but should my cotton prove deficient in meeting my debt there, the ballance I will remit, or meet here on a draft.

So soon as I hear from you that the Deed is executed by Capt Mosely, I will write you fully on the plan of farming you propose. I have no doubt it will be profitable, and I will thank you to give directions to my overseer with regard to the quantity of corn and cotton to plant—about one hundred and fifty or 160 acres of cotton is as much as I think ought to be planted; and as much corn as the hands can, with moderate work, cultivate well. If the Deed is made by Capt mosely, I wish you to say to my overseer, that I want him to see mr Sanders, and get him to turn the Lebanon road from Mr Jones by Mr Sanders, and inclose the clear land bought of Capt mosely by running my fence due north on the line to the North East corner of the land bought, etc. etc., and include it in the north field of Winstons, if his situation will permit him to do it this spring, but not to attempt it, if it will throw him back with his crop. The first moments leisure I shall write mr Steel on this subject. I had been advised by Mr Cryer that the gray stud coalt had been taken back. I directed that he should be sent home, as I intended to breed from him that is, I will have my Viriginian, and the cotton mare put to him, the others are too nigh *akin* to him. I have directed him to [be] called *Bolivar*, and to be let to mares of fifteen in, and twenty dollars out of the season. Whether he will make a good stand in my neighbourhood I cannot say, and if a stand cannot be got for him, whether it would not be better not to advertise him at all, but just keep him for my own and major Donelsons mares and such of my neighbours that might choose to send to him. I believe he is a better horse than any in the west except Sir William and his blood is equal to his, but when leisure permits I will write you on this subject again

With my best respects to your amiable lady and family believe me yr friend

TO REV. HARDY M. CRYER.¹

WASHINGTON, February 28, 1830.

My D'r Sir, I have been awaiting your answer to my last letter on the subject of my gray stud colt Bolivar, to be informed what had been done with him, with a view to the instructions it may be proper to give my overseer, if sent to the Hermitage, concerning him.

I have but little doubt in meeting with a good market for him in Virginia if I can obtain Col Eliots certificate of his appearance and blood, including the circumstances under which he has laboured when started on the turf, as in truth he can give, which you will oblige me in procuring. Any expense you have incurred since Bolivar has been taken back, you will please to have paid out of the first collections from the sum stipulated to be paid on him being taken back, and the balance please have collected and apply to relieve your present pressure until it may be more convenient for you, or my wants may require it. My cotton crop, I learn has been a poor one, much short of what I was inclined to believe from the report of my overseer. still you know I have learned to live within my means and economize to keep clear of debt.

You will oblige me by writing on the receipt of this that I may know where the colt is, that I may give my overseer instructions if sent to the hermitage. I have a great wish to get some of his colts, you know I have a great partiality for his blood, and for this reason am I happy that I have got him again. I believe him one of the purest blooded horses in America. and I have no doubt from his strain that his colts will make him valuable as a brood horse. . . .

REV. HARDY M. CRYER TO JACKSON.

GALLATIN, TENN., March 4, 1830.

To An: Jackson,

Dear friend Your two last letters which have come to hand are of Decr. and Jany. Pursuant to your request I have just returned from 'the *Hermitage*' a name and place that combines an *association* of ideas and sensations at Once *brilliant and gloomy*, pleasingly mournful. I say it is so to me, but I can only speculate. it is for *you* dear Sir, to realize all that others talk about! But we must not indulge a murmuring spirit. No—God our heavenly is too Wise to err, and too good to chasten us but for our profit. I will just say further, that the garden is in a state of forward preparation, all is *neat and dry* around the *Tomb*. Your farm is in good repair, your hogs and cattle look well for the season. I examined all your horses mares and colts. Bolivar will stand at the Hermitage. I have no doubt it is the best place for him, as Mr. Clay has sold Sir Wm. to some men abt. Franklin, in Williamson Con.y, Price \$4000, in One and two years.

I have written an advertisemt, for Bolivar which you will see in the Republican. He will not do to train any more. Elliott says his Colt Jerry

¹ Tenn. Hist. Soc.

is afflicted in the same way but not so bad, and he has lost his reputation as a courser. And as to his training any of your younger Ones, He just observed that he [has] not room for his own. The secret is this. He and Mr. Williams are so united with *James Jackson*, that there is no doing anything agt. his interest, and if Elliott and Williams were to train a Stockholder and run him with *success* why it would be *blocking* up the way of *James Jackson's next* importation, If he should *die* on the way! for you must know that he is determined to *try* a third time. And on the other hand if Elliott should train and run a Stockholder *unsuccessfully* Shelby who is a *censorious* little man would attribute it to design.

Your Constitution Colt out of the Miller Mare is a short heavy Colt. I suppose he is not intended by nature for a *racehorse*—the brown colt out of the same mare by Stockholder is of better form for sprightly active horse—*his eyes* look rather weak, time and moderate feeding may make all right. The Sway back mare's filly of the same age by Stockholder will make a large active animal, and so will the Cotton mare's sorrel filly—the *little sorrel motherless* One from the brown mare, is improved very much, but the *large bay* Colt from the Grey Pacolet, by Stockholder is *worth all the rest* of the two year olds put together—he is very large and begins to shew some fine points. I know no man that would do a good part by him, but Mr. Colter my Uncle—if he trains, perhaps he might consent to gentle him for you. Your Oscar mare I think is in foal to the Cover Arab gave her, after I got out with him, of which I gave you an account—her colt by Wm. is a good one, not so splendid as it is good. You have seen my advertisemt. I expect to hear from you according to promise abt. the mares, etc.

Mrs. Cryer and children are all well and I hope to be in a *situation*, say *this year*, “to owe no man any thing but *good will*”. Little Rachel is very promising and her mother thinks a great deal of her

Respectfully yours

Present me to Gen. Desha and say to him that Madame Towson has the best foal at her foot, she ever dropt—a filly

TO SECRETARY INGHAM.¹

WASHINGTON, March 16, 1830.

My D'r Sir, I have recd. your note of this day and sincerely regret to learn the Mr. Findly *removed*, is brother to Govr. and Genl. Findly—when you read the recommendation of Mr. Pettes you will find that he requests the removal of Mr. Findley and the appointment of Mr. Ewing because the incumbent Mr. Findley is *incompitant from intemperance to discharge the duties of the office*. Col. Benton has coincided with Mr. P. in this request. This charge therefore coming from such a high source could not be overlooked consistant with the rule that intemperate men cannot be permitted to remain in office, civil, naval, nor military. we must pursue principle, and deal out uniform justice to all, altho' I regret when it falls upon the connection of our friends.

¹ Hist. Soc. of Pa.

TO LOUIS McLANE.¹

WASHINGTON, March 17, 1830.

Dear Sir, I had the satisfaction this morning to receive your notes of February 6th and January 22d last, the first offering to my acceptance the Lectures of Mr. Nassau William Senior,² and the other Mr. Watson's plan of preventing ships foundering at sea.

These evidences of the estimation in which I am held by Gentlemen wholly unknown to me before deserve a return of my thanks which I beg you to convey to them. To an individual who has struggled the greater portion of his life against the adverse sentiments of his own countrymen, the assurance that the ultimate attainment of their approbation obtains the sanction of those whose talents in the service of mankind are not confined to any country, cannot but be gratifying. If without the imputation of vanity I may be permitted thus to value the favorable expressions which you have communicated, it is not without a corresponding sense of the increased obligation which they impose to persevere in a course of action which may terminate my public life without disappointing them. To do this is more than I can expect from my humble talents, but dependent as they are upon the cooperation of the other branches of the Government, and the aid of my friends I must not anticipate less for the character of my administration. . . .

MRS. SUSAN DECATUR TO JACKSON.

GEORGETOWN, March 19, 1830.

My Dear General, I am overwhelm'd with despair at the rejection of my claim! and I do think it a most unjust and cruel persecution! From the first establishment of the Navy to the present day, this is the only case in which a vessel of War has been destroy'd whether in battle or from *ship wreck*, in which the Government has fail'd to make compensation; and yet all admit that it was an achievement which laid the foundation of all your naval glory, and has sav'd millions of dollars to your Treasury! and yet make it the only case in which they have withheld the manifestation of their bounty and gratitude; I am the only individual of my unfortunate class (connected with the Navy) who has not receiv'd a pension; and yet they refuse me the compensation for my husband's services, which in every other instance they have granted without hesitation.¹

I am sorry to be so troublesome to you my Dear General, but you will confer a very great favor upon me if you will have the goodness to call

¹ Copy. Handwriting of A. J. Donelson.

² The noted English economist (1790-1864).

¹ Through the recommendation of Jackson in his message of Dec. 8, 1829, a bill was brought into the House voting \$100,000 to the officers and crew of the *Intrepid*, which destroyed the *Philadelphia* in Tripoli Harbor in 1804. The House of Representatives rejected the bill. Niles (*Register*, XXXVIII. 65, 67) thought that the bill would have had a better chance if the amount had been smaller; and he pointed out that only \$50,000 had been given for the capture of the *Guerrière*. He also said that the division seemed unjust. Nearly one third of the entire sum was to have gone to Mrs. Decatur. See also, p. 21n., *ante*.

and see me for a few moments. I will be ready to see you on any day and at any hour you may have the goodness to name—my servant will call at your door tomorrow about nine o'clock, to save you the trouble of sending so far.

I beg you once more, my Dear General, to accept the assurance of my cordial gratitude for all the trouble and interest you have taken in my concerns, and to believe me always

most sincerely and respectfully yours

TO COLONEL ANTHONY BUTLER.¹

WASHINGTON, March 23, 1830.

Dear Sir, Your letter of the 5th of January has been received and read with great attention. That the revolutionary spirit should be still disturbing the repose of Mexico and is likely to paralyze for a considerable time, if not change altogether, her Republican Government, is a source of the most painful regret. This spirit must of necessity be hostile to us—opposed to the conclusion of those commercial regulations which the interest of both countries calls for and particularly that of Mexico. These are as necessary to her prosperity, as peace and internal repose are to her integrity. But if she will be blind to their importance it does not become you to give her *eyes*. No contingency can authorise your interference with her concerns. Let them take what form they may in setting up and pulling down rulers, friendly or unfriendly to the principles of free government, yours is the part of neutrality which should dictate at all times a respect for the existing powers and a distinct avoidance of whatever can commit your character, either in your public or private relations, to the exclusive interests of a party. This is the course of duty as well as prudence with your knowledge of the Spaniards it will enable you to make the most out of their present condition—which should it become permanent, or sufficiently so to allow of a negotiation, will then admit the application of the views which I expressed in my former private letter, as the best for your guide in establishing of treaty of commerce.

It may also place it in your power to discuss advantageously the many important questions connected with the establishment of the boundary line—not the least of which is the condition of the Indians either side of it, as it is now supposed to exist. The United States should include within their limits all the Indians who have intercourse with their citizens. The power to regulate their trade and to punish their aggression ought to be complete. It cannot be so whilst its assertion may compel us to cross over into Mexican territory.

Another great inducement for a new territorial arrangement, as the basis of a lasting peace between the two republics, arises from the influence which the population of Texas is fast acquiring, and which there is some reason to fear on account of the law liberating their slaves is in a state of considerable disaffection. Deriving their ideas of Government

¹ Univ. of Texas, Butler Papers. An original letter in Jackson's handwriting. After the recall of Poinsett in 1829, Butler remained in Mexico as chargé.

from the United States, their collisions may from this cause weaken the confidence of that republic in this. At all events prejudices arising from this source in order to be corrected may *be touched in connection with the other motives for a new boundary*, without justly exposing us to the charge of ambition or unfriendliness in the eyes of that republic. In my *estimation* they afford *an argument for the cession almost irresistible*.

I have to repeat if you obtain the cession, that all private grants except those in which the conditions are fulfilled must be set aside. I have no knowledge of but one of this character and that is Austin's. The frauds in Florida are and will continue for a long time to come, the source of the most vexatious and expensive litigation. All liability to such must be removed in this instance by making *the consideration itself effective in this respect*.

I refer you to the State Department (the papers transmitted herewith) for the news of the day, and remain at usual

Yr friend

Should you enter upon a negotiation of boundary it will be proper for you to pursue the course, *with regard to yourself*, mentioned in your private letter.

SAMUEL SWARTWOUT TO JACKSON.¹

NEW YORK, March 27, 1830.

Dear Sir, I am overwhelmed with grief that you should have had so much trouble with me. I will barely trouble you further with regard to my unfortunate nomination and matters connected with it, to assure your Excellency, upon *my honor*, that any representations which have been made to you, or others at Washington, or elsewhere, with regard to the objects of a certain supper got up on the 4th of March, in honor of your inauguration, with an intent to make it be believed that I took an interest in it, further than to unite with my fellow Citizens, in the expression of that single sentiment, is utterly untrue.

The miserable subterfuges which are hourly and secretly resorted to to injure me in your good opinion, has induced me to trouble you with this explanation of a very trifling matter and I hope it will be credited. What will next be attributed to me, I am unable to conjecture, but of one thing I beg you to be assured, that after the evidences you have given me of your personal regard and confidence, I would sooner die than deceive you or do any thing that should occasion you pain or regret.

I am, Dr Sir, with every sentiment of veneration and regard, most sincerely and affectionately

P. S. I beg you to [be] further assured, *ali reports* to the contrary notwithstanding, that I have not expressed any opinion but one on the subject of the next Presidency and that is for your reelection. I confine myself wholly and solely to the duties of my office.

¹ Nothing could show better than this letter how the designing politicians got Jackson's sympathy and kept it. Swartwout was a precious scamp and a facile pander to the dispensers of patronage. See vol. III., p. 268n.

H. PETRIKIN TO JACKSON.

HARRISBURG, PA., April 2, 1830.

Dear Sir, I am an obscure individual, scarcely known beyond, (if known at all) the limits of the State. To you I am totally a stranger. But I have presumed to address you on a subject which is of more interest to the people than to yourself. You are "public property", and I claim the right to be heard on the part of those who are their country's friends, and whose patriotism is not measured by a thirst for office. I will (and hope not to incur the charge of vanity in stating it) say to you, in evidence of standing in my native State, that I have represented the County I come from (Centre) in the Senate, and am now a member of the House of Representatives, and have been for sometime past. A few evenings since a meeting of the Democratic members of the Legislature, friendly to the National Administration, was called. I attended, and was appointed one of the Secretaries of the meeting. A committee was appointed to draft resolutions for the consideration of the meeting. The 2nd resolution reported was in these words:

Resolved, *That, "should it (The Administration) continue to be characterised by the same wholesome measures and sound republican principles with which it has commenced"*, the best interests of the country will be maintained and promoted by the re-election of the present distinguished Chief of Magistrate.

On motion of Mr Cunningham, of Mercer, that part which is underscored underwent debate whether it should be struck out. The striking out was warmly opposed by Dr. Burden and all the friends of Samuel D. Ingham. I supported the motion to "strike out", as did Wise, of Westmoreland, Wilkins, of Allegheny, Cunningham of Mercer and some others. The question was, whether a resolution so doubtful in its phraseology; so luke warm in its expression of adherence to the "People's Choice", so evidently open to doubt whether it was a sincere expression of our sentiments, should be adopted; or whether one more bold, more decided, without *if* or *and*, should be substituted. It was evident that the friends of Ingham wished to hold themselves in reserve, and unpledged, to be governed by circumstances. If by their intrigue, for which in this State they are famous, and in which consists all their power, for they are few in number, they could manage to get you out of the way, then their whole energies would be put in requisition in support of John C. Calhoun. They dare not openly declare themselves against you. They are aware that the people would frown them down. But they are at work to destroy you in the affections of the people in a covert way. I assure you on the word of one who never asked you for an Office and never will, that their task is a vain one. The people demand it at your hands to be again a candidate, and the result of the meeting of the *members*, called by the few adherents of Ingham and Sutherland in the Legislature, to answer their own selfish views and base purposes, should operate powerfully with you to suffer yourself to be again a candidate. The resolution above quoted was voted down, and you will see by the public papers the opinion of the meeting in the

preamble and resolutions adopted. The honest yeomanry of the country are well represented in the sentiments therein contained.

But your sincere friends—those who never asked you for an Office, are surprized that you retain in your Cabinet a Man who is plotting, (not only your destruction, but) against the peace and welfare and best interests of the Country. You are loudly called upon, and justice to your friends in this State, requires it at your hands, to dismiss from your confidence and partonage, Samuel D Ingham and the creatures attached to his fortunes, who through his exertions were appointed to Office in this State. He and they came into your support at a late hour, and only when they found that a vast Majority of the people were against their favorite, Calhoun. They never were your sincere friends; and although for the little service they performed, they were well rewarded with Office, they are uneasy and will never be satisfied until their ends are accomplished in the promotion of their favorite. They have attempted to make you believe that they were the *pillars* upon which your popularity in Pennsylvania rested, and to ingratiate themselves more readily, Baldwin and Barnard¹ must be destroyed and weakened in your estimation. That was a part of their plans. Those two men were your zealous, efficient and sincere supporters from the first, and remain as much attached and as sincerely devoted to you as ever. I am intimate with them both, and assure I speak to you the truth and nothing but the truth in pledging to you their sincerity and devotedness at all times and now. . . .

RALPH E. W. EARL TO JACKSON.

FAIRFIELD, TENN., April 5, 1830.

D'r Sir, . . . I shall this month have completed all my engagements here, and will be ready to leave this by the first steam boat that offers after the 25th. You exp[r]ess'd a desire of getting a miniature likeness of mrs Jackson from one of my late portraits of her—the only one which I would wish to send forth to the world as a correct representation of that good and pious woman is in the possession of Genl. Call. Upwards of twelve months ago I wrote to him by Col. Robert Armstrong who delivered the letter himself to Call at the City, in which I informed him it was my desire to have an engraving taken from the Portrait of Mrs Jackson then in his possession, and also to have a miniature taken from it for you. On this subject I had written to Mr Longacre and received a letter from him informing me that Genl. Call had called on him and promised immediately on his arrival in Tallahassee he would forward the portrait to him. The Genl. also sent me the same message by Col. Armstrong. On the receipt of your letter I wrote to Call, and also sent him an extract from that part of your letter in which you exp[r]ess'd a desire to have a miniature of Mrs Jackson taken from one of my late portraits of her, and requested him (if he had not already done so) soon as convenient

¹ Isaac D. Barnard, senator from Pennsylvania. Henry Baldwin, of the same state, was a prominent Jackson man, and was made an associate justice of the U. S. Supreme Court by Jackson. A letter from Ross Wilkins to Senator Barnard, Apr. 3, 1830 (Jackson MSS.), is in the same tenor as this letter from Petrikin.

to have it sent to Longacre of Philadelphia,¹ where Major Bradford has my full approbation to have any Engraving taken from it he may think proper. . . .

MEMORANDUM ON THE FRENCH SPOILIATION CLAIMS, ETC.¹

April 10, 1830.

Private and for Mr Van Burens own eye.

I have examined Mr Rives despatch, hastily. I am clearly of opinion that all kind of mixed commissions ought to be avoided if possible by agreeing to a gross sum to be paid for all spoliations committed by France and [on?] our commerce, from a certain date to the present, say for instance six millions of dollars, if that sum will be sufficient to cover all the *just* claims of our citizens, and let commissioners be appointed by the United States to adjudicate, all the claims of our own citizens against France: and when adjudicated apportioned agree[e]able to the amount thus stipulated to be paid. This mixed commission will be both tedious and expensive and ought to be avoided if possible. But if Mr Rives should find that the French minister would prefer leaving it to this mixed commission, it appears to me, that one commissioner and arbitrator, on each side, would be sufficient, and in the event of disagreement, the arbitrator selected by lot to determine—three men will dispatch business more expeditiously than five, and with as much justice. Still I am in favor of a gross sum which will cover all our just claims for time is every thing for merchants and if a gross sum is agreed upon our merchants will receive their money in half the time that a mixed commission will pass upon and settle the claims.

On the subject of our negotiation with great Britain, we ought to be prepared to act promptly in case of a failure. We have held out terms of reconciling our difference with that nation of the most Frank and fair terms—Terms, if England really had a wish to harmonise, and act justly towards us, ought to have been met in that spirit of frankness and candor and friendship with which we proposed them. These terms being rejected our national character and honor requires that we should now act with that promptness and energy due to our national character. Therefore let a communication be prepared for congress recommending a non intercourse law between the United States and Canady, and a sufficient number of Cutters commanded by our naval officers and our midshipmen made revenue officers, and a double set on every vessel, etc. etc. This adopted and carried into effect forthwith and in six months both Canady and the Westindia Islands will feel, and sorely feel, the effects of their folly in urging their Government to adhere to our exclusion from the West India trade

Will Mr. Van Buren Think of these suggestions and see me early on monday to confer upon this subject

¹ James B. Longacre, the noted engraver.

¹ This memorandum is in Jackson's handwriting.

TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOHN COFFEE.¹

WASHINGTON, April 10, 1830.

Private

D'r Genl, I wrote you on the 8th instant by Mr Saml J. Hays to be mailed at Nashville inclosing you the receipts of the expenditure of the \$500 dollars transmitted to me, for the use of Master Hutchings education, cloathing etc. etc. which when recd you will please place on file with the other papers and give me credit for the \$500. on the books.

I now write you by A. J. Hutchings who goes on in the stage with Mr Bedford of Nashville, to be mailed at Nashville, on the receipt of which I will thank you to write him. I have directed him to go to Mr Williford at Columbia and finish his mathematical studies. Here, is a bad place for a youth, who has not a constant eye over him, and my situation is such that every moment is employed in my public business, and I have no time to attend to any one, my life is one of incessant labour, I may really say it is a dignified station of abject slavery, and if I can only realise the hopes of my country, by bringing back the Legislature of this union, to the real principles of the constitution as understood when it was first adopted, and practiced upon in 1798 and 1800, I shall not complain of the sacrifice I have made, by being placed where I am, but altho I never despair, still from the extraordinary course pursued by the present congress, I cannot say I am sanguine of success. The most unaccountable state of electioneering secretly, commenced at the commencement of this session of congress. The first object was to lessen my popularity, by a determination that nothing should be adopted that I had recommended, by which the nation might be induced to require a change in the presidency. This will account to you, for the amendment recommended by me to the constitution, *sleeping*, Mr McDuffie being the chairman, etc. etc.² I need not point to you further the great actor in this secrete drama.

It is plain Mr Van Buren whose situation has identified him with the success of the administration, could not be using his influence against it. no, he is firm to the core, but it is his *rival*. The late proceedings at Harrisburg has proved a damper on those ambitious views, and will give peace in the republican ranks and we will, I trust, progress smoothly on with the public business, and these restless spirits will have to yield to the determination and will of the people. could I see you, I have evidence to unfold to you, the base hypocrisy of the great secrete agent,³ as it respected myself, as early as 1818, under the most positive assurance of his friendship, but of this hereafter.

¹ Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.

² Dec. 10, 1829, the House of Representatives referred to a select committee of which George McDuffie of South Carolina was chairman that part of the President's message which advocated so amending the Constitution as to provide for popular election of President and Vice-president.

³ The plotters in behalf of Van Buren had recently laid before Jackson evidence from Crawford that went to show that in 1818 Calhoun favored rebuking Jackson for carrying the Seminole war against the Spanish garrisons in Florida. It was the beginning of a violent quarrel which resulted in the withdrawal of Calhoun from the Jackson party.

I wrote you about the account against Hutchings in Columbia some time since. when that merchant is punished a little and it is convenient for you to spare the amount let it be paid; and let it be understood that no account will be paid hereafter of Hutchings contracting unless by your authority. Mr Booker will be a proper agent to place Hutchings under. From the documents forwarded by Mr Hays, you will find Hutchings has behaved well at college here, but he has such a great dislike to this place, and his health not good that I have consented to let him return under a promise that he will abandon his extravagance. he has asked my permission to visit his grandmother Hutchings before he joins college, I have granted this request.

I have just recd a letter from Mr Hume, informing me of his visit to the Hermitage and Capt John Donelson and of the weak and debilitated state of the captain. I fear my old friend is not to be long with us, I despair of seeing him again. If I can, I will return, even for a few days, to the Hermitage this summer and if he should be spared, once more take and shake him by the hand. what a life of toil and trouble has been mine, and now, even in my decline, forced into public life, in constant labour and bustle, without one hope of ease or comfort to myself. be it so, it is the will of providence and I submit.

Present us all affectionately to your amiable family and with a hope of seeing you here next fall, believe me

yr friend,

TO COLONEL ARTHUR P. HAYNE.

WASHINGTON, April 27, 1830.

. . . . It will afford me much pleasure to see you your amiable Lady and daughter in Washington, when I will expect you and family to take a room in my House during your stay in the city, and where it will afford me pleasure to make you and them comfortable.

I have it in contemplation if possible after the adjournment of Congress to take a journey to the north and west, and visit the tomb of my dear departed wife, before I return to this city, and hope to see you and your family here before I set out. if I can leave this city this summer, I must set out shortly after congress rises. of this tho, I cannot as yet determine, but Mrs. Donelson and our niece miss Easton will travel as far as New-york, and I am sure will be pleased to have the company of your amiable family

I had a thought of tendering to you the naval agency at Giberalter which is worth \$7000 pr annum which is now vacant, and on last evening wrote a confidential note to your brother Genl Hayne,¹ who, in answer, gave it as his opinion that you would not leave this country and would not accept

¹ In the note to R. Y. Hayne is the following: "The Navy agency at Giberalter is now vacant, would Col Arthur P. Hayne accept of this. It is worth, say, about \$7000 a year, and if he is acquainted with the mercantile world, and would embark a commission business, four years would insure him an ample fortune. Will you give me, confidentially, yr opinion on this subject. I wish to write your brother tomorrow."

it. You may be here before I am *obliged to fill this office*. it is sought for by many.

I pray you to tender my affectionate regard to your amiable lady and daughter and believe me yr friend

TO VICE-PRESIDENT CALHOUN.¹

WASHINGTON, May 13, 1830.

Sir: That frankness, which, I trust, has always characterized me through life, towards those with whom I have been in the habit of friendship, induces me to lay before you the enclosed copy of a letter from William H. Crawford, Esq., which was placed in my hands on yesterday. The submission, you will perceive, is authorized by the writer. The statements and facts it presents being so different from what I had heretofore understood to be correct requires that it should be brought to your consideration. They are different from your letter to governor Bibb, of Alabama, of the 13th May, 1818,² where you state "general Jackson is vested with full power to conduct the war in the manner he may judge best", and different, too, from your letters to me at that time which breathe throughout a spirit of approbation and friendship, and particularly the one in which you say, "I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 20th ultimo, and to acquaint you with the entire approbation of the president of all the measures you have adopted to terminate the rupture with the Indians".³ My object in making this communication is to announce to you the great surprise which is felt, and to learn of you whether it be possible that the information given is correct; whether it can be, under all the circumstances of which you and I are both informed, that any attempt seriously to affect me was moved and sustained by you in the cabinet council, when, as is known to you, I was but executing the *wishes* of the government, and clothed with the authority to "conduct the war in the manner I might judge best".

You can, if you please, take a copy: the one enclosed you will please return to me.⁴

I am, sir, very respectfully Your humble servant

¹ This letter is not preserved in the Jackson MSS. The copy here presented is from *Niles' Register*, XL. 12, where all the papers of Calhoun's exposure are given (pp. 11-24). See also Calhoun's *Works*, VI. 349-445. The controversy was announced to the world in a pamphlet published by Calhoun Feb. 17, 1831. On the process by which the controversy was laid before the public, see Bassett's *Jackson*, II. 515-517.

² *Niles' Register*, XV. 305.

³ *Am. St. Pap., Mil. Aff.*, I. 697.

⁴ Crawford's hatred of Calhoun is well shown in his conduct in this matter. After his physical collapse in 1824 he returned to Georgia, where he slowly regained his health, although he was never robust again. In 1828 he became a circuit judge by the appointment of the governor, to fill a vacancy, and held the office by the election of the legislature until his sudden death, Sept. 15, 1834. Sept. 1, 1834, he wrote to Jackson, saying that he would accept the position, on the Federal Supreme Court bench, vacant through the death of Justice William Johnson, who died Aug. 11, 1834. This letter was endorsed by Jackson, "Wm. H. Crawford would accept the office of judge, vice Judge Johnston deceased. I regret his sudden death". In this connection it is interesting to know that John Quincy Adams invited Crawford in 1825 to continue in the Cabinet as Secretary of the Treasury and that the offer was declined on the ground that Crawford did not approve of Adams's political principles.

MAUNSEL WHITE TO JACKSON.

NEW ORLEANS, May 14, 1830.

Dear Sir, Annexed you will find the account Sales of Fifty one Bales Cotton which I recd. the 10th Feby last, at which time the article was extremely dull, and would not as a lot have brot. over 8½ cents, the quality too is not so good generally as you have been in the habit of raising but this may be easily accounted for by your Absence from Home. the Nt proceeds \$2246 39/100 I have paid over to Messr. Nichols and Hill your Agents. you will see from the sales that there was three qualities, Choice Prime and Inferior. I have had the Pleasure of addressing you one or two Letters since your residence at Washington, but have not had any Answer to either. . . .

TO COLONEL JAMES A. HAMILTON.¹

WASHINGTON, May 18, 1830.

(Private)

My D'r Sir, In my last I promised to forward you a copy of Mr. C. letter just placed into my hands, but being informed that a copy had been sent you, I declined it. On the receipt of Mr. C's letter I addressed a note to Mr Calhoun enclosing him a copy, with such remarks as the facts stated, with other reference to his *professed confidence*, and approbation of my conduct in his various correspondence with me, on the subject of the Seminole war, suggested. He acknowledged the receipt of my note, and has promised, so soon as leisure will allow, to answer it. Thus you see, he will either have to deny the truth of the statement, in Mr Crawfords letter, or be in a delicate situation, if he admits the fact. Major Forsyth has this moment placed in my hands a copy of his letter, I suppose to you, which is refered to by Mr Crawford. You will hear from me soon, in the mean time I have to ask you for the criticism on Mr McDuffies report. In haste

NOTES FOR THE MAYSVILLE ROAD VETO.¹

[May 19-26 ? 1830.]

notes.

The Maysvill road bill—Considered 1rst its Constitutionality. The objects intended by the confederation of states in framing the Constitu-

¹ N. Y. Pub. Lib.

¹ Van Buren (*Autobiography*, pp. 319-338) discusses Jackson's veto of internal improvements and takes credit for suggesting the Maysville veto. He also intimates that he wrote the veto message. A comparison of that document with the "notes" in Jackson's handwriting printed here goes to support his claim. Jackson's argument is different from the message in matter, style of expression, and spirit. The veto message was dated May 27, 1830. In the Jackson MSS. is a draft of the Maysville veto message, loosely conforming to the message actually sent (Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, II. 483-494). This draft is in Van Buren's handwriting, and supports his assertion that he prepared the veto for Jackson; but the draft was submitted to vigorous compression before it took its final form (see Jackson MSS., Box C, Presidential Messages and Misc.). In the same box is also a draft, in Jackson's handwriting, of a veto of the bill to construct lighthouses and to aid the Louisville and Portland Canal Company. The veto was not used, the bill being disposed of by a pocket veto; but it served as a basis of Jackson's reasons for opposing the bill, incorporated in his second annual message. Richardson, *op. cit.*, II. 508-517.

tion and the people who ratified it, were to give to Congress the power of Legislation over all exterior and interior national matters reserving to the states exclusively the sovereign power of regulating on all their local concerns. The grants are specific. To regulate our foreign relation for defence, for the regulation of commerce, and to establish not make, post roads. can this Bill be considered to come within any of these grants—no. The sages who formed the constitution viewed it as a government of experiment and granted all powers thought necessary for national purposes, never expecting that congress would attempt to Legislate and appropriate money only where the powers granted gave them jurisdiction over the subject, and certainly it will not be contended where congress have no juris[diction] over the subject that it can appropriate money to that object. The framers of the constitution viewing it a Government of experiment on which it might be discovered that powers not granted, might be necessary for the prosperity and safety of the country provided for its amendment, and therefore it was presumed that Congress would never exercise doubtful powers, but where doubts existed a call would be made on the people to grant the power necessary. There are no powers granted by the constitution, to authorise the United States, to become a member of corporation created by the states, where is the grant in constitution, for the united states, to become a member of corporations created by the states. it is corrupting and must destroy the purity of our govt. it must lead to consolidation and the destruction of state rights. The Govt. of the United States owning half the capital in each state corporation will wield the state elections by corrupting and destroying the morales of your people. This will be more injurious and destructive to the morales and Liberty of the people than the U. States Bank so much and so justly complained of. This is not a power granted to Congress, and of course is an infringement upon the reserved powers of states, and at once destroys that harmony that by the framers of the constitution was intended to exist between the two govts. and which has for years destroyed the harmony of the union, and might have been avoided by submitting an amendment of the constitution, for this purpose, to the people. These considerations induced me to recommend the speedy payment of the public debt, and as soon as that was paid, to distribute the surplus revenue amongst the states, as the most just fair and Federal distribution of it, and by which flagitious Legislation arising from combinations if you will vote with me I will vote with you so disgraceful to our country, would be prevented. this power is no where to be found in the constitution—adopt this system and where would you stop, where draw the distinction, would not every incorporated body by they states have equal claims upon your membership and on your bounty, and I repeat where could you stop—would the people suffer themselves to be taxed for such purposes—would not such a power be too dangerous to your liberties, what would it result in, in this, that the united states by becoming stockholders, in every petty state corporation, to the amount of half the stock, would wield its power

in your elections and all the interior concerns of the state, this would lead to consolidation and that would destroy the liberty of your country.

I can no where find in our early Legislation under the Federal constitution, where the power by congress was assumed to appropriate money to objects where the constitution had not given jurisdiction over the subject, or where the object was not clearly national. wherever the general Government have jurisdiction over the subject, and can appropriate money for its improvement, the power follows and is incidental, to pass all laws to protect and preserve it, and punish all persons who violates its regulations, nay to exercise exclusive jurisdiction over it. With this view of the subject and the powers exercised by congress to tax the people for local objects of improvements of a state, what power cannot congress exercise over and within a state and what jealousy will not arise from the partial legislation, by combinations in congress will not follow. We have seen this spirit prevail, and there can be no doubt it will increase in future. Believing as I do that the constitutional powers of Congress in Legislation under the granted powers of the constitution are entirely national, all local matters being reserved as appropriate objects of the states, I recommended in my message, the speedy payment of the public debt, and then an appropriation of the surplus revenue amongst the states for internal improvement etc etc. This I then and still do believe is the only just fair and Federal mode in which our surpluss revenue could be applied leaving to the states their constitutional rights to regulate all their interior concerns and the General Government all its national.

The expediency. The voice of the people from main to Louisiana during the last canvass for the Presidency has answered this in the negative—they have cried aloud for reform, retrenchment for the public expenditures, and economy in the expenditures of the Government—they expect the public debt to be speedily paid, not increased by appropriations for local not national concerns, by subscribing to and becoming partners to brokers, corporations and insolvent Banks. What is the fact during the present congress, up to the 1rst of May the appropriations have exceeded the whole expenditures of the year 1829 by [blank] and the bills reported to the House if acted upon and passed will far exceed by many millions the amount available in the Treasury for the year 1830—is it not then inexpedient and unjust at this time if the constitutional power existed to exhaust your Treasury on local improvements and create the necessity of resorting to a system of direct taxes, to cover the arre[ar]ages, or to loans, to redeem the national pledge in these subscriptions and appropriations.

TO COLONEL JAMES A. HAMILTON.¹

WASHINGTON, May 29, 1830.

(Private)

My D'r Sir, I have just recd. your letter of the 26th and have duly noted its contents. Mr Forsythe has handed to me the letter without address. Why this is so, I cannot say, time will unravel all things.

¹ N. Y. Pub. Lib.

I advised you in my last, that the moment I recd. from Mr. Forsythe Mr Crawfords letter, I addressed a note enclosing a copy to Mr Calhoun of that letter, and asking, after extracting from several letters from him to me approving *all* my proceedings, on the Seminole campaign, *if this could be so*. Mr Calhoun has acknowledged the receipt of this note and has promised a reply, *so soon as his leisure will permit*. When his answer is recd I will have it in my power to form a just opinion upon this case.²

I have had the fullest confidence in Mr Calhouns frankness, honor, and integrity, but should he not be able to clear up satisfactorily the conduct charged against him you can easily judge without my expressing, the feelings and opinion, I am forced, from his conduct, to form of him. I have never abandoned a friend, without being forced to do so, from his own course to me, and I never break with one, without giving him a fair opportunity, first, to explain. In pursuing this course, the moment I had anything tangible, with my usual frankness, I addressed him, you shall in due time see the correspondence, but it is due to him, and to justice, to give him time to explain, *he shall have it*, but I am afraid, he is in a dilemma, how he will get out, I wait for him to shew.

You will see by the papers of yesterday, my reasons assigned for withholding my approbation from the Maysvill etc. etc. *bill for the subscription of stock*.³ I am told, it raised some excitement. The reports of Kendall and the Sec. of the Treasury, created a great deal, and much, philippic, and heat, in debate for *all*. I refer you to the papers.

I will thank you for your criticism on Mr McDuffies report on the Bank.

Present me affectionately to your amiable lady and family and believe yr friend, in *great haste*,

TO VICE-PRESIDENT CALHOUN.¹

WASHINGTON, May 30, 1830.

Sir: Your communication of the 29th instant was handed me this morning just as I was going to church, and of course was not read until I returned.

² Calhoun to Jackson, brief letter of May 13, long letter of May 29, in *Works*, VI. 362, 382-385.

³ Veto message, in Richardson, *Messages*, II. 483-493.

¹ To Jackson's letter of May 13 (p. 136, *ante*) Calhoun replied on the same day with a brief note, and on the 29th in a long letter in which he reviewed the Seminole controversy with a slant favorable to his side of the controversy. To it came the reply given above. It is easy to see that each letter in this affair, on each side, was written with an eye to the effect on the public when it should be published. In fact, relations between the Van Buren and Calhoun factions had come to the breaking-point before May, 1830, and Jackson in his own mind had already gone against the vice-president when he called on him to explain Crawford's letter. Looking back over the controversy it now seems that Calhoun made a mistake in publishing the correspondence. He believed that it would discredit the Van Buren leaders who had conducted the intrigue with Crawford. He thus appealed to the intelligence of the party. His opponents met him with an appeal to the passions of the party, and they won the contest. Jackson's letter of May 30 is not in the Jackson MSS.; it is here reproduced from *Niles' Register*, XL. 17.

I regret to find that you have entirely mistaken my note of the 13th instant. There is no part of it which calls in question either your conduct or your motives in the case alluded to. Motives are to be inferred from actions and judged of by our God. It had been intimated to me many years ago, that it was you, and not Mr. Crawford, who had been secretly endeavoring to destroy my reputation. These insinuations I indignantly repelled, upon the ground that you, in all your letters to me, professed to be my personal friend, and approved *entirely* my conduct in relation to the Seminole campaign. I had too exalted an opinion of your honor and frankness, to believe for one moment that you could be capable of such deception. Under the influence of these friendly feelings, (which I always entertained for you), when I was presented with a copy of Mr. Crawford's letter, with that frankness which ever has, and I hope ever will characterize my conduct, I considered it due to you, and the friendly relations which had always existed between us, to lay it forthwith before you, and ask if the statements contained in that letter could be true. I repeat, I had a right to believe that you were my sincere friend, and, until now, never expected to have occasion to say to you, in the language of Caesar, *Et tu Brute*. The evidence which has brought me to this conclusion is abundantly contained in your letter now before me. In your and Mr. Crawford's dispute I have no interest whatever, but it may become necessary for me hereafter when I shall have more leisure, and the documents are at hand, to place the subject in its proper light; to notice the historical facts and references in your communication, which will give a very different view of this subject.

It is due to myself, however, to state that the knowledge of the executive documents and orders in my possession will show conclusively that I had authority for all I did, and that your explanation of my powers, as declared to gov. Bibb, shows your own understanding of them. Your letter to me of the 29th, handed today, and now before me, is the first intimation to me that *you*, ever entertained any other opinion or view of them. Your conduct, word, actions and letters I have ever thought show this. Understanding you now, no further communication with you on this subject is necessary.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your most obedient servant,

TO JOHN RANDOLPH.

WASHINGTON, June 3, 1830.

D'r sir, I have appointed Mr. Clay Secretary of the Legation of the u. states in Rusia¹ and will be happy to contribute whatever else may be in my power to give facilities to your mission. I regret however to inform

¹ John Randolph Clay, of Pennsylvania, in the diplomatic service from 1830 to 1860, chargé and minister to Peru 1847-1860.

you, that in the hurry and confusion of the closing scenes of Congress the Bill making appropriations for your and other outfits remained unacted upon. as the necessity for this expenditure accrued during the Session of Congress, and was distinctly brought to their notice by a letter from the Secretary of State, I do not feel that I would be justified in considering it as contingent expense which ought to be properly paid out of the fund set apart for such purposes. I am however very anxious that you should arrive at your post sufficiently early to enable you to carry into effect the object of your mission in season for my annual message to Congress; in the practicability of which, I have strong confidence. I should therefore regard it as a public misfortune if the omission of Congress to act upon the subject of outfit were allowed to delay your departure. That the appropriation will be made at the commencement of the next Congress there can be no doubt; indeed, if it will be any accommodation to you, I will cheerfully accept a draft drawn upon me, individually, through one of the virginia Banks, payable about the 1rst of January next, and trust to the appropriation being made for this object, before that time. Please to let me hear from you upon this subject. . . .

COLONEL JAMES A. HAMILTON TO JACKSON.¹

NEW YORK, June 3, 1830.

Private

My dear Sir. I have just completed the whole subject except that which will treat of the first point made in the Report and upon that I shall be very brief, combating merely some of the arguments put forth in the report and refering to those in opposition to the powers which have heretofore been engaged, and then I have done. I fear I have been already too defusive and too caustic. The subject grew upon me as I advanced and my feelings of disapprobation of the author of this flimsy and unfair report became more excited as these characteristics became more apparent. You will, having the whole before you temper and expunge such parts as may require either.

¹ This letter refers to the report of the Ways and Means Committee, of which McDuffie was chairman, a report laid before the House of Representatives on Apr. 13 and opposed to the opinion expressed in Jackson's message of Dec. 8, 1829, that the bank had not given the country a sound currency. Hamilton was called on to write a criticism of the report. This letter shows what progress he was making. Two days later, June 5, he wrote to Jackson as follows: "I inclose herewith the last portion of the criticism, and must confess it is that part with which I am least satisfied. I had hoped to have put my hands upon the arguments of Mr Jefferson and the Atty Genl Mr E Randolph when this question first arose and from them I intended to have stated their views at large but I have been unable to find these papers and have therefore omitted that part of my plan of an argument, rather than delay the paper any longer. I can only add that I wish this offering of my industry and zeal to serve you was more acceptable than it is. Perhaps further reflection and more leisure may enable me to add something further on this subject and particularly the last Branch of it. The time for Closing the mail having arrived before my transcriber has completed his task I send this letter without its companion to say that the letter will be forwarded tomorrow."

Mr Van Buren informs me by a letter I received to day that you would set out for the Hermitage in the Course of this month. I trust you intend to take New York in your way. If you should not so intend I should like to know when you leave Washington in order that If I can find the time I may run away to Washington to pass a single day and night with you: So many events of deep intent have occurred since I left you that I feel the strongest desire to commune with you in the unreserved manner I have been heretofore permitted to do.

with my most earnest prayers for your continued health and happiness I remain your sincere friend

TO VICE-PRESIDENT CALHOUN.

WASHINGTON, June 7, 1830.

Sir, On the 5th instant, I received a letter from Mr Forsythe, of the Senate, requesting a copy of your letter to me of the 29th of May last. I have not been able to perceive any objections, to comply with his request. A copy of my letter to him on this subject, I have thought it proper, should be sent to you, it is therefore inclosed.

I am sir, very respectfully yr mo. obdt. Servt.

TO JOHN FORSYTH.

WASHINGTON, June 7, 1830.

Sir, I have received your letter of the 2d instant inclosing a copy of one from you to Mr Calhoun of the 31st ultimo, and his reply thereto, all which I have duly noted.

You have requested a copy of Mr. Calhoun's letter to me of the 29th of May last, for the purpose of shewing it to Mr Crawford. Mr Calhoun in his reply to you, does not consent, nor yet object to your being furnished with a copy, but refers the matter to my discretion.

A copy of the original letter of Mr Crawford to you, having been submitted to me, it occurred as being proper and correct, that you should be apprised of Mr Calhoun's answer, and therefore it was shewn to you. I cannot on reflection perceive any impropriety in now according to you the request you have made, particularly as on your referring this matter to Mr Calhoun, he does not object. I accordingly send it with this injunction, that it be used for no other purpose but the one you have stated, "to be shewn to Mr Crawford".

In the letter which you addressed to Mr Calhoun, you state as follows, "Having at the request of the President to be informed what took place in the Cabinet of Mr Monroe on the subject of the Seminole campaign, laid before him a copy (except the omission of a name) of a letter from Mr. Crawford etc. etc."—This is construed by Mr Calhoun into a declaration, that I requested you to furnish me with the information, I am satis-

fied it was not by you so understood, and I would be glad you would so explain to him. I never conversed with you upon this subject previous to the time, when you sent me mr Crawford's letter. The facts are these. I had been informed, mr Crawford had made a statement concerning this business which had come to the knowledge of Col James A. Hamilton of N. Y. on meeting with Col Hamilton I enquired of him and received for answer that he had; but remarked, that he did not think it proper to be communicated without the consent of the writer. I answered, that being informed that the marshal of this District had, to a friend of mine, made a similar statement to that, which was alleged to have been made by Mr Crawford, I would be glad to see Mr Crawford's statement, and desired he would write and obtain his consent. My reasons for this request, were, that I had, from the friendly professions of Mr Calhoun always believed him my friend throout all this seminole business, and had therefore a desire to know if in this I had been mistaken, and whether it was possible for Mr Calhoun to have acted with such insincerity and duplicity towards me. I have inclosed a copy of this letter to mr Calhoun, and am Sir, with respectful regard

yr mo obdt. Servt.

JOHN RANDOLPH TO JACKSON.

ROANOKE, June 8, 1830.

My dear Sir, Your most esteemed letter of the 3d Instant was received yesterday by Mr Clay. Whilst I tender you my warmest acknowledgments for the very liberal and disinterested offer which you hold out to me, I cannot prevail upon myself to accept it. I have about half the amount of an outfit in Bank; and last year's Crop of Tobo. to pay the charges of the current year upon my estate. For, by God's blessing, I have kept clear of Debt and thus have been enabled to preserve my independence. The chief inconvenience that I shall sustain will be the obligation to forego a most eligible and advantageous purchase by using my private funds in the publick service—others have risked purse and person for their country, and poured out their blood like water in her cause.

I purpose being in Norfolk on the 16th provided the Ship shall have reached Hampton Roads, which I shall know at Richmond, by the Steam Boat of the preceding day. She shall not be delayed by me. In case that I shall be so fortunate as "to carry into effect the object of my mission, in season for your annual message", shall I be deemed too encroaching if I ask leave to spend the winter in the South of Europe; provided I see no prospect that the publick interest may suffer thereby?

In the hurry of departure, I trust that some excuse may be found for the brevity of this Letter. I have no command of language that will do justice to the sense of profound respect and regard with which I am, Dear Sir, your obliged and most faithful Servant

MRS. MARGARET EATON TO JACKSON.¹

WASHINGTON, June 9, 1830.

My Dear Genl, My dear husband since his return from the office has expressed to me the desire you had for me to dine at your house to day. You know the cheerfulness with which at all times I should be willing to do any thing which could contribute to your idea of propriety, but in cases where my feelings are concerned, I know you would not require me to do what they would not sanction. Circumstances my dear Genl are such as that under your kind and hospitable roof I cannot be happy. You are not the cause, for you have felt and manifested a desire that things should be different. I could not expect to be happy at your house for this would be to expect a different course of treatment from part of your family, different even yet it has been my good fortune to meet. You meet on such occasions to enjoy ourselves, but there would be none to me. I agree to the suggestions my husband has made that it may be a triumph to some if it may be said I were not invited, but what of that, it will only be another feast to those whose pleasure it is to make me the object of their censures and reproaches. I ask to say to you that whatever may be the cause of the unkind treatment I have recd from those under your roof, whose course could not but be a serious injury in the opinion of others one consolation is had, that I have done all in my power to avoid it. I do not know what *tales* may have been *borne* of *things* said by me to their prejudice, but I know very well that whatever they may have been they are untrue. I have spoken of your family in no other manner than a respectful one. Much injustice as I think they have done me, I claim to say in the language which we are commanded to regard, that I have ever endeavored to return good for evil. But if in moments of cruel suffering I have permitted any harsh or unkind expression to escape me is not an apology found in those persecutions, which heaven grant no member of your family may ever feel. But I have never done so. I challenge any one to say they ever heard me. Enough, pardon me for this interruption, but I could not say less in justice to you and myself, and hope I have said nothing that is improper

ry [*i. e.*, respectfully]

Copy taken 9th June 1830

[Appended note by A. J. Donelson:]

June 10, 1830.

The only *unkind treatment* which my family can have p[r]acticed towards Mrs. Eaton is their refusal to acknowledge her right to interfere with their social relations, all else is imaginary or worse. This letter is abundant evidence of the indelicacy which distinguishes her character, and is disgraceful to her husband. Instead of coming to me as the head of my family for explanations where objections to my conduct were entertained, they have invariably approached the President with childish importunities, first aiming to excite his sympathies, and then to pour upon them the poison which they had concocted for all who did not bow to her

¹ Copy, in the handwriting of A. J. Donelson. It is in the Donelson Papers, Library of Congress.

commands. Persuasion, personal threats, and finally banishment from the presence of the President, to whom I have stood from my infancy in the relation of son to Father, have served their turn as the wretched expedients in their hands to gratify the vain desire of being understood to possess the controul of his confidence and favor.

TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOHN COFFEE.¹

WASHINGTON, June 14, 1830.

D'r Genl, We intend setting out for Tennessee on the 17th instant. My stay in Tennessee cannot be long, but will be happy to see you if your own convenience will permit you to come to Nashville whilst I am in its neighborhood and visit me at the Hermitage. the choctaw chiefs, thro their agent sent on here, have requested that I should meet them near Nashville, to which I have answered, that upon their principle chiefs of the whole nation uniting in that request, I would comply with their wishes. This my principle business, still my desire is once more to visit the Hermitage and if possible once more see you.

Altho congress has acted very strangely and contrary in most things to what was expected, still my administration is going on pretty well. but still there has been, and are things, that have coroded my peace, and my mind, and must cease, or my administration will be a distracted one, which I cannot permit. I wish to see you, will be at the Hermitage early in July. with my love to your family and the salutations of all here,

I am sincerely your friend,

JEREMY BENTHAM TO JACKSON.

Private and Confidential

ANTI-SENATICA PAPERS.

June 14, 1830.

Of the paper in its present state, in this worse than rough state, a state, in which it never was destined to make its appearance, not having undergone the author's revision, the only use is the enabling you to form a conjecture whether, as to the purpose in question it would be of any use that, from this same author it should receive the amendments necessary to its being regarded by him as completed: in case of the affirmative, you have but to give me an intimation to that effect, and I will do what depends upon me towards the rendering it fit to be sent to the press.

Had my own reputation been my principal object, never could I have trusted these papers out of my own hands in such a state: but, being, (as I told Mr McLane,) at heart more of a United-States-man than an Englishman, it cost me little or nothing to subject myself to this exposure.

The whole mass, taken in the aggregate, was written at different times: each time without looking back for what had been written before: which, for one reason or other, has been the case with no small portion of my scrawl. Hence, no small quantity of repetition and perhaps some incon-

¹ Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.

gruities—this, however will not prevent its answering the purpose—the only purpose, which, as above, I had in view in sending it.

I suspect that there will not be time for my hearing read, for the purpose of rendering it intelligible more than half of the copy I have got taken of it, time enough to go by the present conveyance.

[*In Bentham's handwriting:*] Information of the receipt of this letter and the accompanying packet which might b[e] by a line or two to Mr. MacLane without waiting to write to me would much oblige me.

JEREMY BENTHAM TO JACKSON.

LONDON, June 14, 1830.

Sir, When your last predecessor in your high office was in this country in the character of Minister Plenipotentiary,¹ toward the close of his residence here it happened to me to commence with him an acquaintance which ripened into an intimacy which in my capacity of legislative draughtsman for any political community which should feel inclined to accept my services, was of very essential service to me. Besides some concerns of a private nature he condescended to take charge and become the bearer of a packet of circular letters to the several Governors of the United States as then constituted, from several of whom I had the honour of receiving favorable answers. By candid and authentic information on several topics of high importance he was of use to me in various more ways than you have time to read of or I to write. Days more than one in a week he used to call on me at my Hermitage as above, and to accompany me to the Royal Gardens at Kensington, in my neighbourhood, where after a walk of two or three hours he used to return to a tête à tête dinner with me.² What gave occasion to our first meeting was a letter to me of which he was the bearer from the President Madison. A letter of introduction which I took the liberty of addressing to him (Mr. Adams) in favor of an intellectual character, a relation of my friend Joseph Hume, M. P. (of which last mentioned friend of mine the reputation cannot be altogether unknown to you) experienced that reception which I could not but anticipate.

These things considered, you will not be at a loss, Sir, to conceive what must have been my disappointment upon my learning of his failing to receive the customary addition to his term of service. Judge, Sir, of the consolation, the more than consolation which I experienced when, upon reading your Inaugural Message, I found that upon the whole your sentiments were not only as fully in accordance with mine as his had been (and in politics and legislation I do not think there was a single topic on which we appeared to differ) but that they were so, and I trust remain so, in a still more extensive degree; embracing several topics which between him and me had never been touched upon. With Mr. Rush I was also upon such a footing that in a letter of his which I still have, written some months before his departure, he had the kindness to offer himself to me

¹ John Quincy Adams was minister to Great Britain 1815 to 1817.

² See *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams*, III. 535-539, 661-665.

as my "*Agent and Fac Totum*" (those are his words) upon his return to the United States: notwithstanding which, several months before his departure, from some cause which I never heard nor can form so much as the slightest guess at, he dropt my acquaintance and took his departure without so much as a farewell message. Since his retreat from Office, I have however been favored by him with the copy of a pamphlet of his without further explanation.

I might mention in like manner my friendship with Mr. Lawrence, late Chargé d'Affaires from your country to this; and Mr. Wheaton Minister to Denmark³ to whom I have been obliged for various important and, to me, honorable services. But of this more (you will say) than enough.

I now look back to a letter I had begun dictating between 3 and 4 months ago. Cause of the long interval, however deservedly regretted by me, not worth troubling you with. What now follows had been completely forgotten when what you have seen above was commenced, this oblivion years of age more than 82 render but too natural.

I have this moment finished the hearing of your Message: I say the hearing; for at my age (as above mentioned) I am reduced to read mostly by my ears. Intense is the admiration it has excited in me: Correspondent the sentiments of all around me. 'Tis not without a mixture of surprise and pleasure that I observe the coincidence between your ideas and my own on the field of legislation. The coincidence of mine with those of Dr. Livingston, the Louisiana Senator, are perhaps not unknown to you. The flattering manner in which he is pleased to speak of my labors in that field is in the highest degree encouraging to me. The herewith transmitted publication entitled "*Codification Proposal*"⁴ may serve to bring it to view. These circumstances combined concur in flattering me with the hope that the present communication will not be altogether unacceptable to you. Annexed is a list of some of my works which solicit the honour of your acceptance.

Here follows a few observations which I take the liberty of submitting to you, on some of the topics touched upon in your above-mentioned Message.

1st. Navy Board. In this sub-department of the Defensive Force Department you find I perceive many-seatedness established: by you I see single-seatedness is preferred, so is it by me: for this preference your reason is, responsibility, so it is for mine. But in my account, though the principal reason, it is but one among several. This may be seen in the accompanying copy of the first part of my Constitutional Code ch IX §3.

2nd. After that you come to the Judiciary. If I do not misrecollect, in your superior Judicatories the bench is singleseated. In my leading Chapter on the Judiciary, to all the reasons which apply to the Administrative department in all its subdepartments (twelve or thirteen in number) several which are peculiar to the Judiciary are added.

³ William Beach Lawrence, chargé d'affaires in London 1827-1828; Henry Wheaton, chargé in Copenhagen 1827-1835.

⁴ *Codification Proposal addressed to all nations professing Liberal Opinions* (London, 1822, 1827).

3rd. Utter inaptitude of Common Law for its professed purpose, guidance of human action. Places in which you may find this topic worked. 1. Papers on codification etc. 2. Codification Proposal. 3. Petition for Justice in the Vol. of "Petitions"

4th. Superfluous functionaries. In this number my researches have led me to reckon the whole of your Senate. Not merely is the whole expense thrown away, but the whole authority much worse than useless. Responsibility in greatest part destroyed by a single functionary, what must it be by a multitude so numerous. Functions legislative and administrative thus united in the same body: thus the same men are judges over themselves. In my view of the matter the administrative and the judiciary are two authorities employed to give execution and effect to the will of the Legislative, in which accordingly ought to be in the instance of every member of each at all times distinct—the legislative being by means of the power of location and dislocation, though not by that of imperation, subordinate to the people at large—the constitutive.

Knowing nothing of the facts, my theory leads me to expect to find that the sort of relation that has place between the Presidt. and the Senate is, that each of these functionaries—the Prest. included, locates within his field of patronage a protégé of his own without any check from the authority of the rest.

This is nothing more than a faint, imperfect, and inaccurate outline drawn momentarily by a broken memory from the recollection of a short paper written several years ago: should it afford any prospect of being of any use, and you will favour me with a line to let me know as much, I will get it copied and transmitted to you: possibly I may not even wait for such your commands.

It occurs to me that should our opinions agree on this subject there might be a use in the idea's being delivered as coming from me or anybody rather than yourself: seeing the wound from the opposition it would be sure to meet with from those who are satisfied with things as they are, the wound such an opposition might give to your popularity, which is as much as to say the interests of the State.

5th. Defensive Force, by sea and land, its organization. Tactics (of course) neither in land nor water service am I, who know nothing of the matter, absurd enough to have comprised in it; but the part that I have undertaken has undergone the minute examination and received the considerate approbation of leading minds of the first order distinguished not only by talent, but by experience and splendid success: and who, indeed, though without having published on the subject had in great part anticipated me.

An intelligent man, who is in the confidence of the Duke of Orleans, and bears the whimsical name of *Le Dieu* has been here in London for some time publishing a periodical in French under the name of "*Le Representant des Peuples*". He is thought to be the author of an address to the French army that after having been written here and either printed or lithographized has been transmitted to and circulated in France: it has for its object the engaging the army, should matters come to a crisis, to

act not against but for the people. The above mentioned periodical I have not had time to look into. I am told it advocates monarchy; wh'h considering the connect'n of the author with the family so near to the throne as the D. of Orleans is, he could not choose but do. Thinking you might possibly have the curiosity to look into it I send you a copy of such of the numbers of it as have appeared. La Fayette is a dear friend and occasional correspondent of mine: but unless it be for some special purpose we have neither of us any time to write.

Forgive the liberty I take of suggesting the idea of your putting in for a copy of our House of Commons Votes and Proceedings: the annual sum I pay for them is between 16 and 17£, included in which is a copy of our Acts of Parliament. Infinite is the variety of the political information which they afford: for scarcely any document that is asked for is ever refused. As to the price scarcely would six or eight or ten times (I believe I might go further) the money procure the same quantity of letter-press from the booksellers. Trash relatively speaking, of course, is by far the greatest part; but if in the bushell of chaff a grain of wheat were to be found, the above-mentioned price you will perhaps think not ill bestowed in the purchase of it. Dr. Livingston, if either of the packets I have endeavored to transmit to him through the same official channel have reached their destination, will be able to show you a few articles of the above mentioned stock.

If I do not misconceive you, you are embarked or about to embark on a civil enterprise in which Cromwell notwithstanding all his military power failed. I mean the delivery of the people from the thralldom in which every where from the earliest recorded days of Rome they have been held by the harpies of the law. Having yourself officiated in the character of a Judge you are in possession of an appropriate experience, which in his instance had no place. But will you be able to resist their influence over the people? In opposition to you, so long as you are engaged or believed to be engaged in any such design, it were blindness not to look to see their utmost influence employed. The interest of the lawyers and that of their fellow-citizens in the character of clients (need it be said?) is utterly irreconcilable. You cannot assuage the torments of the client, but you diminish in proportion the comforts of the lawyers. If this be really of the number of your generous designs, I cannot but flatter myself with the prospect of being for that purpose an instrument in your hands: the contents of the accompanying packet will insofar as you have time to look at them show you on what grounds.

With the most heartfelt esteem and respect, I subscribe myself, Sir,
Yours

Eyes will not permit my looking over what is above. It is in great part written from dictation.⁵

⁵ Appended to this letter is a "List of Books etc. herewith sent", June, 1830, including 15 volumes and 33 pamphlets. This and the preceding letter are preserved in the Nicholas P. Trist Papers, Library of Congress. The enclosure referred to in the first letter, the comments on the American Constitution called "Anti-Senatica Papers", has not been found in this collection. It exists, however, in the library of University College, London, and has been printed in *Smith College Studies in History*, vol. XI., no. 4.

JOHN OVERTON TO JACKSON.

TRAVELLER'S REST, June 16, 1830.

My Dear Gen, In your last you did me the honor to ask my opinion. Business in which, I then was engaged in court, put it out of my power to offer any reasons for the result of my reflections on the subject, but promised that I would do so, at as early a day as practicable. Weakness with a slight inflammation in my eyes, occasioned by dirt and smoke in my tour to the east, makes it painful to write or read, even, at this moment.

Considering the situation in which Mr Calhoun is placed, with the tenor of his answer to your note, his object is very apparent. He is aspiring we all know, and his eye has never been averted for a moment, from the presidency, since he became a member of Mr. Monroes Cabinet. This is not unnatural for talented men. Hence, no man saw with more pain (Mr Clay not excepted) the rise and elevation of your character, during the last War. And rest assured my friend, that both Monroe and Adams, had the same feeling, and Crawford far from being exempt from them, though he did not see the consequences so clearly. This was all the difference. Knowing the character of Mr Monroe, and the members of his cabinet, as I thought when it was formed, as well as your character, I came to a conclusion, respecting the disposition of that cabinet towards you, immediately on sight of the *order* to take command of the army, and conduct the War against the Seminole Indians

All those men, I knew, were jealous of the rising strength, of the west; all averse to the president coming from that quarter.

In this Mr Jefferson, and all the eastern folks perfectly agreed, at that time. In the fame you had already acquired they, (I mean the cabinet, for three of them were aspirants) saw a most appalling, distressing obstacle. Hence, this *general order*, in the conduct of the War. It was an object to terminate the War to be sure; they knew your talents and character, of which there was no longer a doubt, and well knew how you must do it, by following the Indians into Florida, and dislodging the British their allies, if found there, as well as remove all impediments th[r]own in the way, by the Spaniards. All this they were obliged to foresee, unless they had suddenly lost their senses.

These were my views, upon your shewing me the order, and if proof were wanting, Mr Crawfords letter a copy of which you have enclosed greatly strengthens the impressions then made on my mind—Viz before you left home on the Seminole campaign, My firm belief is, and was, that the object which that Cabinet had most at heart, was, by an alleged infraction of orders, or the law of Nations, to get you out of the way. There can be no mistake in this general—nor should you have the least unpleasant feeling or ill will, about the matter. It was so. It was quite an ordinary business, with such men as Adams and Monroe, who had received the principle part of their education as politicians, in Europe, where the sacrifice of a meritorious officer to state policy, is by no means uncommon. Neither Crawford nor Calhoun, interested, as they thought they were, would make awkward hands at such work. Crawford, in his

letter, virtually admits his disposition was hostile, or rather to let you down, *until Mr. Monroe found the letter, you had written him referring to John Rhea* etc. Calhoun, he says, stood out even after that: That may be true, though it acquires no manner of credit from *his statement*. Why, it may be asked? My answer is, because Mr Crawford has shewn himself to be unworthy of credit, by violating his sacred duty, as a Cabinet Minister. He was opposed to you until he saw the letter, *which Mr Monroe had forgot, went and found it!* A poor tale this, scarcely fit to deceive a sensible school boy of a dozen years of age. As a minister of the government Mr Crawford is forced to [a]dmit a knowledge of the *general order*, or *carte blanche* to conduct this war. *Was this nothing!* Or of so little account, as not to be noticed, when Monroe and his cabinet had you on trial, or under deliberation, whether to be court martialled, shot, or otherwise dealt with!!

None of these statesmen and lawyers, for they were all such, in the course of this deliberation on your case, seemed to have thought for one moment, that you had conducted this war, agreeably to orders; in other words, according to the law of nations, which, under the general and discretionary order received, was your guide, as an honest man!!! But the truth is, which Mr. Crawford has suppressed; the president and his minister did think of that. The people had taught them through the writings of Aristides¹ (republished in the *Natl. Intr.* and other prominent papers in the U. S. which see). Cato, first published in the *Nashville Imp² R[e]view* and other writers on the same subject, this lesson, or what was the law of nations, and beside taught them all to know, that if there was any blame (of which there was not the semblance, but the st[r]ongest grounds of approbation) Mr Monroe, himself, was responsible; and not his commanding officer, who had acted honestly in the transaction. I could safely tell Mr Crawford, sir, it was not the finding of the letter by the president, that changed your opinion—or the opinion of Monroe or Adams; for all of you, aye, every mothers son, as well as Calhoun would have given all the good things you had in this world, to have had it in your power to have got Jackson out of the way, at that time. But alas! You had heard the voice of the people, from one end of the Continent to the other, in a tone too strong and distinct to be misunderstood. The least move against Jackson, would have produced a burst of indignation, not to be resisted. Jackson was directly in the way of three of you, Adams, Crawford, and Calhoun; and Monroe was alarmed at the idea of a Western president. Three of you shrunk back. Calhoun more bold, and inexperienced than Adams and Crawford, and seeing then was his best chance, held on. Now, as to all this matter, I view the whole of them as precisely on the same footing, not an iota of difference, as to intention. If any thing, Calhoun has it, as discovering the greatest determination, though

¹ *A Concise Narrative of General Jackson's First Invasion of Florida, and of his Immortal Defence of New Orleans* (New York, 1827, 1828, several editions), by "Aristides" (W. P. Van Ness).

² *Impartial Review*.

the most folly. Clay also saw or believed, that then was his time to push, and if the secrets of all hearts could be laid bare, I would risque my all on the fact, that, as to anxiety and feeling there was not much difference at that time between Adams, Crawford Calhoun and Clay—Monroe, of the same opinion that you should be kept down, though not with the same feelings. All this, is, and always has been but too common to be repined at by you, who have met, stilled, and quieted the storm. It is an affair of by gone days—of a Cabinet, which in honor ought never to be divulged, for I am of opinion, as in war, right or wrong, every man ought to fight for his country; so in moral intercourse, no man ought to violate the principles of duty and honor in any event. But you will say, that I must be wrong, as Mr Monroe, told you, in answer to an enquiry, that there never was any thing like such a deliberation in his cabinet, as Mr Crawford speaks of.

This is nearly the amount of what you told me Mr Monroe said to you, when in this Country on his tour. In this respect I believe Mr Crawford and not Mr Monroe. The circumstantial evidence, on my mind is conclusive with me. I was then all alive, watching movements such as I am now incapable of.

Thus far, I have thought it necessary to give you a sketch of past events, in order to understand the present state of things. Your ascension to the presidency thwarted the views of these aspirants, but rest assured, that neither Calhoun nor Clay, have let go their hold; they are still aspiring and using every exertion. The course of events will bring them into the same ranks, Calhoun as the leader for the presidency and Clay for the Vice presidency. A community of feeling will bring them and their friends together, in this way; for with Clay, half a loaf is better than no bread, especially when it will gratify his hostile personal feelings toward you. In this he is weak, and much the inferior, of Mr Calhoun, as well as in many other respects.

No doubt, Mr Calhoun was highly pleased on the receipt of your note, as affording an opportunity of coming before the public; probably, in the first instance, by a short answer, but certainly, in a pamphlet, by some friend or himself. It is precisely, what suits his case, as an aspiring politician, in these our days; as we do know, from actual experience; and probably what would happen in all past times, in a government of the people.

The probability is, that he will endeavor to draw from you, a further written correspondence, as your note does not contain quite enough of hostility to him—This he wants for Van Burens use as he is your secretary etc. If he should fail in a further correspondence, with you, which I hope he will, still you may expect to see a lengthy expose on his side, laid before the Nation, probably justifying the correctness of the opinion entertained by him in Cabinet Council, abusing Crawford, handling you roughly, on that and other points. It will please Clay and his friends, (whom your friends should attend to)—to the life. They will all chime in. I shrewdly suspect, that the plan has been laid by Calhoun himself. His letter shews too much pleasure, not to have understood it before. I

beg you my friend, trust nobody. How common is it, especially among politicians, to keep up appearances of open hostility, when underneath, there is the most perfect understanding. This, has ever been the case, since governments existed, conferring honor and riches. This, is an old game, that will be played, as long as man exists.

Both Calhoun and Clay, are writing under the severest agonies of impatience. Hope, deferred, maketh the mind sick, thinks Mr Calh[ou]n. Every effort must be now made, or I sink into perpetual obscurity. It is true, thinks Clay, I see plainly now, that I never can be president, tho' necessary to keep up the expectation of my friends for the present, from whence I will ease myself down, but a small distance into the Vice Presidency, in conjunction with Mr. Calhouns friends. But both will necessarily conclude that this man, Jackson, will be in our way, as he was before. Hence, the severe blight which fell on their hopes, by the Pensylva and N. Y resolutions. Oh God! they would exclaim, this course is next to death itself! Jackson must be broken down before the end of four years for if elected for the next four years, we are irretrievably lost. True, gent. that is so, and must be so, in the nature of things but do not blame Genl Jackson with your failures. It was the great body of the people, who are the true owners of the govt. who called upon him to serve them, in the office he now holds, and which you want. It was his duty to serve them, when asked, without fraud, trick or contrivance. How can you think hard of Jackson; blame his, and your superiors, the pleople [*sic*], and not him. You, Mr C. and Mr C. have no more cause of complaint in truth and fact, than I have, or any other man in the nation. You are only Citizens, and so am I, or any other man. The people have a right to chuse whom they please, without cause of complaint with any one. "But Jackson, is lending his official influence to his Secretary V. B." How does that appear Gent., he has never concerned with your, or Mr V. B.s pretensions; he has left you all, or the friends apart to maintain your respective pretensions as they may think proper. He does not concern by word, act, or deed. It is true, you have assailed and slandered Jackson; it is the bounden duty of Genl Jackson's friends, to support him and refute these slanders and misrepresentations. It is a duty they owe to society and the Nation. If, in doing so, your pretensions are spoiled, be it so, as you brought it on yourselves, and thrown the pretensions of Mr V. B, who, too, like Jackson has been silent performing his official duties, ahead of yours.

This, in part is my view of things. Mr. V. B.s destiny is necessarily interwoven, with Genl J. whose administration must be good and popular, else V. B, has no chance. It has ever been your character to be honest and faithful, and consequently, never for your own promotion, to deceive the people. It is now equally the interest of Mr V. B, whose duties are identified with yours. It is not necessary that either of you, should ever say one word, directly in favor of each other. That wd be an injury to you both. Let each do his duty honestly and satisfactorily, the people prospering and Mr V. B'n is president of course, when you retire; in spite of all

Mr C or mr C can do; it must be so, so long as the government hangs on the hinges it now does.

Well, who, is to blame for this? Not Genl J. for he was obliged to have a Secretary of State. Not Mr V. B'n because it was his duty to serve his country, if able, when called on, either as Secretary or president. I repeat, let but the president and Secy of State, act their parts prudently, and for the good of the people, the Secy must be the next president; in ordinary times of peace and quiet: Such is my reading of the law of nation, not to be changed by Mr Calhoun or Mr Clay. From principle, you know it is not my wish that it should—not that I have any objection to Mr V. B. or Mr Calhoun. Either wd make a good president, I have no doubt

To Mr Clay I have sol[i]d objection. I repeat I should be satisfied with either Mr Calhoun or Mr V. B. the latter I should how[ev]er prefer much, provided the two great states of N. Y. and Pensylva. by their deligation in Congress, should, before the expiration of your four years, greatly alter the Tariff, which, in wisdom and justice they ought to do; and which Mr Cambrelings commercial report, gives a fair promise, they will do. By the by, this is an able state paper, founded generally, in the immutable principles of truth. This Tariff excitement, is the very thing for Calhoun and Clay, bating a little, for the nullifying doctrine. But they are heading off from that, as fast as they can. Still, there is no earthly doubt, but that there is great and just grounds agt. the tariff of 1828, alias one branch of Mr Clays American System. It is for the middle states to put an end to this uneasiness, when the anti-tariffites shall behave a little better. Sooner, would not do. This not being done, may make a great difference in Mr. V. B. prospects. But, let N. Y. and Pensylva which always should have gone together as to the presidency or ought now to do so, reasonably modify the Tariff, and the prospects of Mrss. Calhoun and Clay, instantly vanish and none will soon be seen but Mr V: B.s

I think Genl: you will agree with me, that there would be impropriety in permitting yourself to be drawn into any further written correspondence with Mr Calhoun, or his friends. It is not the interest of you or your friends to fight the battle of argument, respecting your Conduct in the Seminole Campaign over again. You, and they, have once obtained a decisive and triumphant victory before the people, and in Congress. It is the wish of C and C to go to war again, to fight the battle over again, hoping to deceive the people. It is not the interest of you or yr friends to do so, or put to hazard the ground they occupy. We want rest, and to repose among our justly earned laurels.

My eyes have given out, and I have no doubt your patience. Accept my best wishes. Present my kindest wishes to the members of yr. Cabinet including Mr Calhoun, providi[n]g he may not chuse to fall out openly with you, feeling a hope you will not with him

As usual

TO MAJOR WILLIAM B. LEWIS.¹

CUMBERLAND, MD., June 21, 1830.

Private

D'r Major, We arrived here this evening all in good health. You may say to our friends in the city, that the veto is working well, widely different to what our enemies anticipated. we leave here at 5 in the morning, and will write you from Wheeling. I will be happy to hear from you at Nashville when I reach there.

Present me to all friends, and in your letter, advise me whether Mary Ann got her pairsol we happened to bring on when we departed and sent back from Clarksburgh. Say to Mr. Van Buren I will be glad to hear from him often.

In haste, Yr. friend

TO MAJOR WILLIAM B. LEWIS.¹

BOARD STEAM BOAT, WHEELING, June 26, 1830.

Private

D'r Major, We arrived at Mr. Steenrodes last evening, where we were met by Mr. McClure, Postmaster, who delivered me the package forwarded by you and your letter of the 19th instant marked private, its contents duly noted, I have barely time to remark, that the conduct of Genl. D. Green, is such as I suspected, from me he never had a hint of the writer of those strictures upon Mr. McDuffees report, and the only thing that ever passed between us on the subject of that report was after the adjournment of Congress when I asked him for a copy, and observed, that it was necessary, *as he had been silent*, that some notice should be taken of that, and Genl. Smiths, of the Senates, report. Here our conversation ended, and since, I have never changed one word with him on that subject. His remarks, therefore, that he knew the author, must have been gratuitous, for from me he never had any other hint, but the one I have detailed. Should he write me, which I cannot believe he will, he will recieve a proper reply. The truth is, he has professed to me to be heart and soul, against the Bank, but his idol controles him as much as the shewman does his puppits, and we must get another organ to announce the policy, and defend the administration; ² in his hands, it is more injured than by all the opposition. I have not time at present to say more on this subject. I shall expect to hear from you at Nashville.

I have recd. inclosed from Major Barry a long communication from Col. A. Butler, which I herewith inclose to Mr. Van Buren. It promised well and holds out fair prospects of success, in that quarter.

The veto I find will work well, altho it is to be reviewed by Mr. Gales. The opposition has made some noise but like the anti-Masonic bubble is

¹ N. Y. Pub. Lib., Ford MSS., transcript. Original in J. P. Morgan Library.

² *Ibid.*

² In pursuance of this conviction Francis P. Blair was brought on to Washington and on Dec. 7, 1830, began publication of the *Globe*.

wasting in the common sense of the people. Little sectional interests feel a disappointment, whilst the great body of the people hail the act, as a preservative of the constitution and the union.

I am greatly disappointed in not meeting with, or hearing from Major Eaton at this place, I leave him my compliments and hope to meet him at Louisville or Cincinnati. At those places, if I should not meet him I will write him. . . .

TO MAJOR WILLIAM B. LEWIS.¹

CINCINNATI, June 28, 1830.

Private

D'r Major, From Wheeling was my last. On our passage, on the morning of the 27th we broke our shaft, and were left to float with the current, *always fortunate*, at nine at night we were met by a Committee from Cincinnati who with Genl. Lytle at their head were charged to conduct me to that hospitable city; their boat took us in tow, and with the aid of the Clinton who met us above the city, lashed to us, delivered us at the city where we were greeted by at least six thousand people assembled on the shore to receive us. The numerous assemblage on such short notice require some explanation. Some few days ago, Mr. Barton was given a public dinner, where many speeches were made and toasts drunk, of the most violent party kind. The line, it is said, has been fairly drew, My veto upon the Maysville bill the theme of the opposition and as informed by all, where it has lost me one, it has gained me five friends, and in Kentucky has done no harm. I am told by Judge Burke and Mr. Dawson and Judge Brown that this was the cause of this numerous collection. as the opposition had drew the line, my friends were determined to display their [*illegible*] strength, and surely it was a more numerous crowd, than I ever before witnessed here, some say, eight, but I do suppose *at least* six thousand people. You will see the canvass has begun, the campaign will be a hot one, my friends sanguine of success, and pleased with my course. Judge Burk who has just returned from a tour through the interior of Ohio states that Stansbury is prostrate. This is as it should be, and evinces virtue in the people and a determination to punish hypocrisy and double dealing. I spend this night with Genl. Lytle and will leave here tomorrow, as early as I can get away.

I have heard nothing of Eaton, will leave a note for him with Mr. Dawson in hopes he will overtake me at Louisville. I have taken a little cold, and am not so well as I could wish. Say to Major Barry, Van Buren and the other heads of Dept. that I think all is well in this quarter, all we have to do is to continue stedfast in our course keeping constantly in view the constitution, and the prosperity of our country founded upon its provisions. Should we, on these principles not obtain the full approbation of our country, we will have the pleasing consolation of our own, which is above all others.

¹ N. Y. Pub. Lib., Ford MSS.

I write for your own eye. present me kindly to Mr. Kendal, say to him amongst his other arduous duties, he must attend to Mr. McDuffees report. The feeling of the people are in a good tune to recieve a criticism on this subject, and it would have a good effect pending the electioneering campaign to bring this subject before the people. . . .

JOHN RANDOLPH TO JACKSON.

THE *Concord* AT SEA, June 28, 1830.

Sir, The *Concord* arrived in Hampton Roads on Tuesday last about Sunset. She was found to require caulking; a leak having found it's way to her Magazine, which rendered it necessary to take out her powder. There were other causes of unavoidable delay. Too much praise cannot be given to Capt. Perry and the officers under his command for the activity with which they have prepared the Ship for sailing. We should have put to sea last even'g, but that we had to wait for Surgeon Heerman, who delayed coming on board until too late. I myself repaired on board in the morning, and have made good my pledge "that the ship should not wait one hour for me". Many persons, conversant in these matters, pronounced that we could not possibly get ready to sail before the end of this week or the beginning of the next—but all difficulties vanished before the energy of Capt Perry.

The *Concord* is a fine ship and I have but one fault to find with my situation—it is, that Capt. Perry's politeness has induced him to give up his own state Room and dressing Room to me, and I fear to straiten his own quarters. I have every accomodation that the most fastidious person could possibly desire. Nothing can surpass Captain Perry's polite and kind attentions to myself and Mr Clay.¹

In consequence of the defect of appropriation I have had to buy bil[1]s at 7 perCent advance. Shall I be deemed unreasonable in asking, that, when the appropriation shall have been made, credit shall be given me for it upon our Bankers in Europe? Thus placing the outfit and Salary on the same foot. This will perhaps be not more than a fair equivalent for seven months delay, and the inconvenience to which I am exposed in drawing upon my own funds. If however you shall deem that there is the slightest impropriety in this request I shall cheerfully consent to lose the interest and the advance also upon the exchange. For I would not have my pecuniary transactions with the Govt tarnished with the slightest indelicacy for any imaginable consideration. No person can comprehend or appreciate this feeling more readily than yourself.

With the highest respect I have the honour to be Sir

P. S. I left my residence to take upon me the duties of my Mission on Wednesday the 9th of June 1830. Mr Clay departed the day before.

¹ So much has been said about Randolph's avarice with respect to this appointment that it is pleasant to insert this letter, in which he appears reasonable and ordinarily human. The commander of the *Concord* was Matthew Calbraith Perry.

JACKSON'S DRAFT OF A LETTER TO WILLIAM IV.¹

[July, 1830.]

I have received with deep regret the doleful intelligence of the decease of your august Sovereign George the 4th and offer you my sincere condolence at an event so well calculated to remind nations of their dependence upon the author of all good. But whilst I thus mingle my sorrows with yours, permit me to congratulate you and your majestys subjects generally, that this dispensation of providence has been so mercifully ordered as not to be without a solace which may well excite their gratitude. In the succession of his brother William the 4th I feel confident that the people of England will find all the blessings of the succeeding reign; and that Foreign powers will see in it the same guarantees for a just and liberal intercourse preserved and strengthened. The long experience of his majestys first minister confirms this pleasing anticipation, and would authorise us to look for a policy calculated to avert forever if it were possible, the horrors and miseries of war.

Permit me to assure you that the intercourse which it may be my lot to have with your majestys government will be dictated by an earnest desire to cultivate the same feelings of good will and friendship which were maintained with his predecessor.

TO MAJOR WILLIAM B. LEWIS.¹

HERMITAGE, July, 1830.

My D'r Major, I have just recd. your letter of the 5th instant inclosing one from Mr. Calhoun. This displays the knowings of a guilty conscience, and with what delight he would seize upon any thing that could shew I had been making inquiry into his deceitful course as it regards myself. I shall on tomorrow, bring to his view in my reply the gross and wanton error he has fell into, and there leave him, Mr. Crawford, and Major Forsythe to settle their matters in their own way, which he may publish as soon as he pleases.

The other confidential matter fills me with regret, but I trust Major Barry will, agreeable to his promise to me, attend to the War Department. Major Eaton has not yet arrived, so soon as he does, without naming the source of information, I will cause him to write the Doctor. Your note is the very first intimation I have had of his intemperance, or I assure you, displease whom it might, I should not have appointed him. The evil shall be remedied quickly.

I pray you to keep your eyes wide awake, and advise me of every occurrence. Mr. Earle is with me and will write you tomorrow, and join me in affectionate regard to you and your amiable daughter and believe me yr. friend

¹ Library of Congress, Donelson Papers. Undated. George IV. died June 25, 1830.¹ N. Y. Pub. Lib., Ford MSS.

TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOHN COFFEE.¹

HERMITAGE, July 9, 1830.

My D'r Genl—I reached this on Tuesday last, and on last evening recd yours of the 5th instant and hasten to reply to it. I sincerely regret your sudden indisposition which has prevented your journey hither, but rejoice to hear of your fair prospects of returning health, and still hope to have the pleasure of seeing you, and your family, before I leave this section of country for the city, and will, with judge Overton, meet you at Franklin if advised of your coming.

I cannot precisely say how long I may remain, as it will depend on the movements of the Indians with whom I will communicate, as soon as Major Eaton arrives, who I expect every hour. he was to have met me at Cincinnati, but I suppose has been retarded in his movements, by the indisposition [of] Judge Rowan of Ky. and also that of Mrs Eaton who I learn was not in good health when she left Philadelphia. The Major had to pass the military academy, and Mrs Eaton was under engagement to spend some days with her friends Mrs Dudley, Mrs Sanford and Mrs. Swartwout etc. etc. etc. of New York, wives of the two senators and of the collector of New York, The first two ladies having spent the winter in Washington. I am tho, expecting to hear of their arrival every hour, at Tyres Springs where I am to send a carriage for them.

I am well advised of the difference that exists between the chiefs of the choctaws, their remonstrance was forwarded to me, and laid before the senate. we will recognize the chiefs chosen in each Department of the nation, and have invited them thro' their confidential agent to meet us in the neighborhood of Franklin, T. but as yet have not heard from them. I will write Peachlin² and Hailey so soon as Major Eaton arrives.

My Dr friend I am anxious to see and converse with you. I have on my mind something, that has filled me with grief, and really what I was not prepared to expect, and since I have reached home, have heard whispers that has filled me, not only with regret, but amasement. when I see you, I will fully unfold to you all, and council with you as a friend. . . .

TO SECRETARY VAN BUREN.¹

HERMITAGE, July 12, 1830.

. . . . I have not heard yet from the Indians, all communications from the agents being addressed to the Sec. of War, and he, not as yet having united with me, I have not recd the information expected from them. I expect Major Eaton in a few days, when we will enter upon the Indian business with zeal, close it and return to the city. Of the other matter to which you allude I cannot speak with certainty, but do suppose during next winter will live quite a batchellors life, would to god I had commenced it with my administration, it would have prevented me from much

¹ Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.² John Pitchlynn.³ Library of Congress, Van Buren MSS.

humiliation and pain that I have experienced, and have prevented much injury to the innocent, by the secrete slanders circulated here and fed from the city—time will unfold the authors.²

I expect major Eaton and family here in a few days where he will be met by judge Overton and conducted to his house. The veto, has become what my enemies neither wished, or expected, very popular, I have no doubt but it will be sustained by a large majority of the people.³ . . .

TO MOSES DAWSON.

HERMITAGE, July 17, 1830.

Private

My D'r sir. yours of the 5th instant reached me some days since, but such was my situation, that I could not answer it until now.

On my arrival here I was met by a letter from the Secretary of State, informing me of the resignation of Mr Herrick, inclosing me Strong, numerous, and respectable recommendations for Mr. Noah H. Swayne, with a blank commission to be filled. I have given the subject a full consideration and notwithstanding the respectable recommendations of Mr Swayne with the members of Congress at its head, I should have selected Mr Lytle, but in doing so, it would have violated the republican rule we have adopted to take but one of a family into office at a time. Having appointed Genl Lytle Surveyor Genl we could not consistant with this rule, fill this vacancy by his son Mr Lytle who you have presented, and who, I have no doubt would have discharged the duties with credit to himself, and benefit to the Govt. Noah H Swayne was appointed.¹

I have not time to go into the Bank question at present, can only observe, that my own opinion is, that it should be merely a *national Bank of deposit*, with power in time of war to Issue its bills bearing a moderate interest, and payable at the close of the war which being guaranteed by the

² Mrs. A. J. Donelson was one of those who would not countenance Mrs. Eaton, and she would not return to Washington with her husband in the autumn. Writing to Branch, the Secretary of the Navy, Donelson, on July 27, 1830, described the situation with respect to the Eaton affair as follows: "I send you this note to let you know that I am alive, not yet overwhelmed by the influence against which I so long contended at Washington. I found affairs so bad that I could not undertake to describe either their bearing upon me or others, without running risks which your knowledge of the subject could well anticipate. In a few days I shall be more free and will give you a full detail of the past, and my speculations upon the future. Do not be uneasy at any turn which may be given to my destiny so far as the influence of those who wield the administration can effect it. I am ready for the worst." Library of Congress, Donelson Papers.

³ Jackson's vetoes of the Maysville Road bill and the Washington Turnpike bill were followed by pocket vetoes of a lighthouse bill and a bill to subscribe for stock in the Louisville and Portland Canal Co. Although his political opponents said much about the unwisdom of these vetoes, they were approved by the mass of the people, who believed that the practice of aiding such public improvements was associated with jobbery. A Captain Henshaw—probably the David Henshaw, of Massachusetts, whose nomination in 1843 to be Secretary of the Navy was rejected by the Senate—expressed the opinion of many when he wrote: "I was almost discouraged and reconciled to expect thousands on thousands of dollars again voted away for this ill fated purpose but I do not know when I was more agreeably surprized than when I first read the paper that the President had detained the L House Bill. my only fears were that he might afterwards be persuaded to sign it." See S. D. Ingham to Jackson, July 17, 1830, in Jackson MSS.

¹ U. S. district attorney for Ohio 1830-1841; justice U. S. Supreme Court 1862-1881.

national faith, Pledged, and based upon our revenue, would be sought after by the monied Capitalist, and do away, in time of war, the necessity of *loans*. This is all the kind of a bank that a republic, should have. But if to be made a bank of discount as well as deposit; I would frame its charter upon the checks of our Govt. Attach it to, and make a part of the revenue, and expose its situation as part thereof annually to the nation, the profits of which would then onure to the whole people, instead, of a *few Monied Capitalists*, who are trading upon our revenue, and enjoy the benefit of it, to the exclusion of the many. The Bank of deposit, and even of discount would steer clear of the constitutional objections to the present Bank, and all the profits arising would accrue, and be disposable as other revenue for the benefit of the nation. Company crowds me and I must close.

With great respect your friend

TO VICE-PRESIDENT CALHOUN.¹

HERMITAGE, July 19, 1830.

Sir: Your letter of the 22d June last has just been received, via Washington City. I regret that mine to you of the 7th of May [June], covering a copy of one to Mr. Forsyth from me of the same date, had not reached you, as it would have prevented you from falling into the gross errors you have, from the unfounded inferences you have drawn from Mr. Forsyth's letter to me, and would have informed you that I had no conversation or communication with Mr. Forsyth on the subject alluded to, before the receipt of the copy of Mr. Crawford's letter, which I so promptly laid before you: To correct the errors into which the inferences you have drawn from Mr. Forsyth's letter have led you, I herewith again enclose you a copy of my letter to Mr. Forsyth of the 7th of May, and his answer thereto of the 17th June last, which I received on the 8th instant, and I have to regret that any interruption of the mail prevented your receipt of mine of the 7th of May, which was mailed the same time mine to Mr. Forsyth was.

Mr. Forsyth having promised, in his letter to me of the 17th June, that he would explain, and by letter, correct you in the unjust and unfounded inferences which you had drawn from his letter; and I must add here, for your information, that, if I understood your other allusions, they are equally unfounded. I have never heard it even intimated, except in your letter, that the individual to whom I suppose you allude had the slightest knowledge on the subject, or the most remote agency in the matter. In conclusion, I repeat, I have always met the intimations of your having made before the cabinet, in secret council, against me, injurious movements, with flat and positive denial, and brought into review, by way of rebuttor, your uniform and full approval of my whole conduct on the Seminole campaign, so far as I, or any of my friends, had heard you on the subject; and the high character you sustained for fair, open, and honorable conduct in all things was entirely opposed to the secret, uncandid, and un-

¹ Published by Calhoun in his pamphlet of 1831 and republished in various periodicals. The copy given here is from *Niles' Register*, XL. 19. Jackson wrote the date as *June* 19, probably an error for July 19.

manly course ascribed to you by those intimations, and I banished from my mind what I conceived to be unjust imputations upon your honor, by ascribing duplicity to you, and never, until after the intimations were communicated to me, of the suggestions of the marshal, as stated in my letter to Mr. Forsyth, (a copy of which was enclosed to you). It was then that I had a desire to see the statement said to have been made by Mr. Crawford, and, when information [informed] by Colonel Hamilton that such statements had been seen in writing, that I made the request to see it, with the object of laying it before you, which I then supposed would meet your prompt and positive negative. But I regret that instead of a negative, which I had a right to expect, I had the poignant mortification to see in your letter an admission of its truth. Understanding the matter now, I feel no interest in this altercation, and leave you and Mr. Crawford, and all concerned, to settle the affair in your own way, and now close this correspondence forever.

I am, very respectfully, your most obedient servant

TO SECRETARY EATON.

HERMITAGE, July 19, 1830.

I have perused the note of judge Berrien to you (major Eaton) of the 18th of June and I regret, as he has referred to an interview with the President, that he has not given a fair statement, that you might understand (or if for publication) the public might understand it. first then I have to state, and do it without fear of contradiction that no member of Congress was by me ever authorised to say that Judge Berrien, Mr Ingham and Branch, with their families should associate with major Eaton and his or they should be removed, and judge Berrien on the interview I had with him Mr Ingham and Branch were well advised of this by me and to them I entered my protest against any such interference. The judge ought to have stated, for he well knew the fact, that various members of Congress, had communicated it to me, that there were a combination entered into with a foreign Lady¹ with these Gentlemen and families to drive major Eaton and family out of society and had appealed to me if I would suffer such indignity to myself after inviting major Eaton into my Cabinet and he reluctantly assenting. To all which I replied I surely would not, but I could not believe that these gentlemen could act such a dishonora[ble] a part having come into my Cabinet with the greatest harmony, but if I found them capable of such dishonorable conduct as combining together and with this foreign Lady for such unworthy purpose I would promptly remove them from my Cabinet.

I was informed that the plan was this, the foreign Lady was to make a party and invite all the heads of Departments and families but major Eaton—that Mr Ingham was to follow, Branch and Berrien. I was informed by members of Congress that the combination had thus been carried into effect, and again appealed to me, was I going to submit to such indignity. I assured them I would not, and sent for Mr Ingham Govr Branch

¹ The Dutch minister's wife, Madame Huygens.

and Judge Berrien, to have an interview with them—they came—I faithfully detailed the facts above communicated to me, and wish[ed] to be informed whether they had entered into the combination communicated—that if they had, the indignity was offered to me and not to major Eaton. that they well knew I had solicited major Eaton to become a member of my cabinet and he had reluctan[t]ly, yielded his assent, that they all had come in without any objections, and such a combination to drive him out of society was an insult to me which I would not suffer.

They all declared they had no intention of the kind and would be the last to do any act with a view to the injury of major Eaton and his family or lessen them in society. To which I replied, that I had too high regard for them to doubt their words, but the Prediction had gone forth and the event having occurred as predicted, it [had] gone forth to the world and the members of Congress as tho intended and its evil effects were as great as tho it had been intended, and to prevent the like again, and to promote harmony, it might be well that their parties might be given in a way not to produce such effect upon society as tho it was intended. That I had brought major Eaton into the cabinet and I would part with every member in it before I would him and I was determined to have harmony in my Cabinet or I would remove those that produced the want of it, and if there were any that could not harmonise with major Eaton they had better withdraw—here Mr Ingham remarked that he could not interfere or controled his wife in her associates in society. I assured him I would be the last man in society that attempt to interfere in such matters—that it was the right of all to select their society, but all I wanted was harmony in my Cabinet, that he and all others might rest assured that I never would part with major Eaton nor should he be drove out of my Cabinet by any combination that could or might be formed for that purpose, that I would remove the whole first—again it was repeated by the Gentlemen that they would be the last men who would do any act with a design, or knowledge, that it would injure major Eaton or his family—here the matter was left. How far they have acted agreeable to this pledge the people will judge.

TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOHN COFFEE.¹

HERMITAGE, July 20, 1830.

Private and confidential

My Dear Genl, From circumstances that have arisen, but which ought not to have arose, but which, my early and friendly admonitions endeavoured, but could not as it appears prevent, it would afford me the great pleasure to see you. firm to my public course where duty guides, and stedfast to friendship, so far as it can be continued consistent with my public duties and official station, and even then, tho duty to my station may compel a seperation, my friendship cannot cease, but from the most surprising situation and combination of society here formed by the intrigue of well disciplined politicians, a combination of the most hetero-

¹ Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.

geneous mass of base enemies and boosom and dear friends, I am filled with sincere regret. The ground of that regret I will fully disclose to you when I have the pleasure to see you. my course is a plain one and one, from which I cannot depart. folly and pride may have induced others to believe, that it would be dishonorable, *now*, for them to recede and I would sacrifice my life before I would advise, or consent that my friends or connections, should submit to a dishonorable or degrading act. As to myself, I never have, nor never will. I have never asked it, nor never will from others. I therefore have a great desire to see you, and Judge Overton who has just left me has requested me to say to you should you come in he wants to see you on your way, and requests that you would call at his house. I would be also glad you would.

present me affectionately to Polly and your amiable family and believe me

your friend

P. S. I have said my course is a plain one, I have nothing to dread, pursuing the principle I have adopted for my guide, no harm can befall me, whatever may happen to others. My duty is, that my household should bestow equal comity to all, and the nation expects me to controule my household to this rule. would to god my endeavours by council and persuasion had obtained this. happiness would have been mine and peace in the administration, The latter, cost what it may, must be maintained.

TO MAJOR WILLIAM B. LEWIS.¹

HERMITAGE, July 21, 1830.

Confidential

My D'r Major, Lt. Smith being on his way to the city I cannot forego the pleasure of dropping you a line by him. Major Eaton has reached Frankling, him, and his lady, in good health.

The great Magicians have been at work and by their agents here have been endeavouring to prevent that attention due to Mrs. and Major Eaton. I am at no loss, *now*, to determine, why the Genl. chose his head quarters at Nashville, but all the combination will fail at last, or I calculate badly, but strange as it may appear, some of our friends have acted *most strangely*. You know I am immoveable. It may so happen that I shall return to the city in company with my son alone. On this event I shall want a Secretary, who can write and compose *well*, one who can from a brief do justice to any subject. Will you make inquiry where such a young Gentleman can be had, without making it positively know[n] that he is wanted for my Secretary.

My connections have acted very strangely here, but I know I can live as well without them, as they can without me, and I will govern my Household, or I will have *none*. I expect to go to Judge Overtons in a few days, when I shall see Major Eaton and his family. The Judge is to give them a dinning shortly. Present me to the heads of Departments. To Kendal,

¹ N. Y. Pub. Lib., Ford MSS.

Smith and Jones, P. M. and Genl. Green. My health is not so good as when I reached here but I hope it will be quite good in a few days. It has proceeded from a cold, which produced a cough which is wearing away.

My son joins me in kind respects to you and Maryann.

Yr. friend

SECRETARY VAN BUREN TO JACKSON.¹

SARATOGA SPRINGS, July 25, 1830.

my dear Sir. I have been disappointed in not hearing from you but am in daily expectation of that pleasure. There has been no political act in many years which has given such universal satisfaction in this State as the Veto. The Republicans are vociferous in their approbation and the Opposition silent in regard to it—many even approving of it in terms. The same may be said of Pennsylvania and New Jersey. But I am really sorry to say to you, that the moment of suspense as to its effect served to shew the cloven foot on the part of our friend Baldwin.² He has been tampered with by the friends of Mr Clay, and believing at the moment that the Veto would ruin us in Pennsylvania, and the West, he was ready to go with the current. Of this there is no manner of doubt. You know I am not suspicious, or credulous, and I feel therefore that I may claim your confidence when I assure you that I have such evidence of the fact, as makes it absolutely certain. I should not trouble you with the circumstance but for prudential reasons. As matters have taken a different turn we shall probably hear no farther about it, unless we should again be considered in danger, when he will again be deceived by the belief that by clubbing his interests with Mr Clay they can attach Pennsylvania to the West, and carry the whole on their joint account.

The South looks better than it has done for years. The last exhibition at Charleston will be the valedictory upon the subject of nullification, and the honest and good men who have figured in the scene, will gradually return to better feelings, and sounder principles. New Hampshire and Maine will certainly be with us—this State though sorely distracted by antimasonry and the Working-men's faction will I trust sustain herself nobly in regard to her local politics, and in regard to national politics she is not in question. If you had not seen too much of politicians not to be surprised at any somersets, on the part of those who have once placed themselves in the current, you would experience that feeling, on learning that our quondam friend Judge Spencer,³ after all his bitter denunciation

¹ Library of Congress, Van Buren MSS.

² Henry Baldwin, of Pittsburgh. From 1817 to 1822 he served in Congress as a Federalist. He supported Jackson in 1824, though with some hesitation. Jan. 5, 1830, Jackson nominated him for Justice of the Supreme Court to succeed Bushrod Washington. In the Senate, said rumor, his confirmation was opposed by Senators Hayne and Smith, of South Carolina, on "constitutional principles". In 1837 he published a "View of the Origin and Nature of the Constitution and Government of the United States". He was a warm friend of Jackson and supported him in the controversy over the "John Rhea" letter, in 1831.

³ Probably refers to Ambrose Spencer, formerly a judge of the New York supreme court. This letter is characteristic of Van Buren. He had much to say about men and their political motives. He rarely discussed principles of party action. His mind seems to have avoided abstractions.

of Mr Clay, is out openly for him. The fact is nevertheless so, and although I have no positive evidence of it, I have sufficient to satisfy my own mind, that he had a great agency in deluding Judge Baldwin—they are old cronies and the Judge Spencer spent some time on his way up with his brother of the Bench. In no sense can the course of Judge Spencer be injurious to us, and in some it will be a positive advantage. So much for domestic concerns. . . .

TO MAJOR WILLIAM B. LEWIS.¹

Private

FRANKLIN, July 28, 1830.

My D'r Major, I reached here on yesterday, and found without the least intimation of it before I set out a large assemblage of people collected to give Major Eaton a barbecue. A committee waited upon me and invited me to the barbecue, which I declined, but agreed after dinner to ride out and shake hands with my old acquaintances neighbours and soldiers. At half past 3 o'clock, I rode out, where I met between three and 500 of Major Eatons old neighbours and friends, who greeted me in the most friendly manner. The ladies of the place had received Mrs. Eaton in the most friendly manner, and has extended to her that polite attention due to her. This is as it should be, and is a severe comment on the combination at Nashville, and will lead to its prostration.

Until I got to Tyres Springs I had no conception of the combination and conspiracy to injure and prostrate Major Eaton, and injure me. I see the great Magicians hand in all this, and what mortifies me most is to find that this combination is holding up and making my family the tools to injure me, disturb my administration, and if possible to destroy my friend Major Eaton. This will recoil upon their own heads, but such a combination I am sure never was formed before, and that my Nephew and Nece² should permit themselves to be held up as the instruments, and *tools*, of such wickedness, is truly mortifying to me. I was pleased to see the marked attention bestowed upon the Major and his family on their journey hither and the secrete plans engendered at the City and concluded here, and practised upon by some of my connections have been frustrated by the independant, and virtuous portion of this community, but I shall write you on my return to the Hermitage. I have come here to meet Genl. Coffee, who writes me he will be here to night. After I have an interview with him I shall be able to form some opinion of the course of my connections. Mine you know is fixed. . . .

Yr. friend

COLONEL JAMES A. HAMILTON TO JACKSON.

NEW YORK, July 29, 1830.

. . . . Duff Green has published *The first Branch of the Criticism on McDuffies Bank Puff* and since that has filled his papers with *The Report itself*.

¹ N. Y. Pub. Lib., Ford MSS.

² Major and Mrs. A. J. Donelson.

Among other Changes required at Washington It is indispensibly necessary that The administration should change its *official organ*. The announcement of this Treaty with The Turk ought to be made in a manner which would give your administration the credit it deserves by contrasting your success and the means you have employed with the meanes and unsuccessful efforts of your Predecessor and yet I venture to say The General¹ will merely announce the fact. . . .

TO SECRETARY EATON.

HERMITAGE, August 3, 1830.

Private and for your own eye.

My Dear Major, I send my son to meet you at Judge Overtons, and to conduct you and your lady with our other friends to the Hermitage where you will receive that heartfelt welcome that you were ever wont to do, when my Dr departed wife was living—her absence makes every thing here wear to me a gloomy and melancholy aspect, but the presence of her old and sincere friend will cheer me amidst the melancholy gloom with which I am surrounded.

My neighbours and connections will receive you and your Lady with that good feeling that is due to you, and I request you and your Lady will meet them with your usual courtesy, which is so well calculated to gain universal applause even from enemies, and the united approbation of all friends. Our enemies calculate much upon injuring me, by raising the cry, that I had forced Mr A. J. Donelson from me, and compelled him to retire, because he would not yield to my views, which they call improper—I mean to be able to shew that I only claimed to rule my Household, that it should extend justice and common politeness to all and no more, and thus put my enemies in the wrong, and if any friends desert me that it is theirs, not my fault.

Genl Coffee has, since here, produced a visible, and sensible change in my connections, and they will all be here to receive you and your Lady, who I trust will meet them with her usual courtesy and if a perfect reconciliation cannot take place, that harmony may prevail, and a link broken in the Nashville conspiracy. I trust you are aware that I will never abandon you or separate from you, so long as you continue to practise those virtues that have always accompanied you, nor would I ask you, or any friend to pursue a course to compromit or be degrading to themselves, or feelings, but I am anxious that we pursue such a course as will break down the Nashville combination, which I view as the sprouts of the Washington conspiracy. This effected, and we have a peaceful administration, and when we have waded thro' our official Labours, a calm retirement. I wish us also to heap coals upon the heads of our enemies, by returning

¹ Gen. Duff Green, editor of the *United States Telegraph*. He was a Calhoun man and his paper had already begun to show the effects of the split, as yet unannounced, that had occurred between Jackson and Calhoun. It was on Dec. 7, 1830, that Francis P. Blair, having come from Kentucky to Washington as an administration man, began the publication of the *Globe*, supporting Jackson and promoting the influence of Martin Van Buren against Calhoun. The treaty referred to is that of May 7, 1830, with the Ottoman Porte.

good for evil. When I see, I have much to say to you. I have recd. letters from major Haley and Peachlynn and a string of resolutions from the citizens of mississippi all of which will be presented to you when here with my compliments to your Lady, B. and his, I am in haste

yr friend

TO JOHN PITCHLYNN.¹

HERMITAGE, August 5, 1830.

D'r Sir, your letter of the 24th of july has just been received. I would have been happy to have seen you at Nashville and received your views as it regards the permanant settlement of the choctaws west of the Mississippi. I am aware of your friendship for them and the great anxiety you have for their future welfare, but great as I know it [to be] it cannot be more so than mine. At the request of their confidential agent, Major Haley, who communicated to me the great desire the choctaw chiefs had to see me, and enter into arrangements to surrender their possessions, and remove across the Mississippi to the country provided for them, [and at his suggestion that the[y] desired to see me,] that they had great confidence that I would do them liberal Justice. I am now here to meet [and to confer with them] their chiefs, agreeably to the promise made to Major Haley, The Secretary of War and myself [are here ready to] meet them in the neighbourhood of Franklin. [Of this they have for some time past been informed, and as yet we have] heard nothing from them of a positive character. Whether they chiefs are comming to meet us or not [we are not certainly advised.] Our official business urges a return to the city of Washington and we cannot stay much longer here to meet them. We therefore request that you will make known to them that we are now present awaiting there arrival agreeably to my promise to their confidential agent Major Haley. I beg of you to say to them, that their *interest happiness* peace and prosperity depend upon their removal beyond the jurisdiction of the laws of the State of Mississippi. These things have been [often times] explained to them fully and I forbear to repeat; but request that you make known to them that Congress to enable them to remove and comfortably to arrange themselves at their new homes has made liberal appropriations. It was a measure I had much at heart and sought to effect because I was satisfied that the Indians could not possibly live under the laws of the States. If now they shall refuse to accept the liberal terms offered, they only must be liable for whatever evils and difficulties may arise. I feel conscious of having done my duty to my red children and if any failure of my good intention arises, it will be attributable to their want of duty to themselves, not to me.

I have directed the Secretary of War to write [you fully and finally on this subject so important to the interest of the Choct.] make it known to my red children, and tell them to listen well to it—it comes from a friend and the last time I Shall adress them on the subject should the chiefs fail to meet us now.

I am your friend

¹ In Jackson's handwriting but corrected in Eaton's. The words in brackets are by the latter. For Pitchlynn, see vol. I., p. 358n., vol. II., p. 74n.

TO MAJOR WILLIAM B. LEWIS.¹

HERMITAGE, August 7, 1830.

Confidential

My D'r Sir, Your letters of the 23d and 25th ult. has just been recd. with their inclosures. Having *duly noted their contents*, I have it only in my power to say that I hope all things will be well. I shall have no female family in the City this ensuing winter, Mrs. D. remains with her widowed mother, and it is probable Mrs. Eaton may remain with her mother, if not until next Spring, *at least*, to January or February next. Whether Mr. Donelson will or will not accompany me to the City has not as yet been determined on by him, whether he will leave his wife and little ones to whom he is greatly attached, he will determine to day or to morrow.

As you observe the difficulty has been created by those from whom I had a right to expect better things, but we cannot get back, we must now look forward, and all friends will unite in admonishing all concerned from imprudent acts, of every kind. My feelings have been much corroded here. I found the combination of Washington, to have extended itself here, and in *Nashville*, a full combination that none of the Ladies were to visit Mrs. E. Mrs. Stuart, Mrs. Hall and a few others waited upon her as she passed, the Major having reached Nashville late, and set out for Franklin in a hack early next morning, where Mrs. E. was met by all the ladies in the place with open arms, *but one*.

Mrs. and Major Eaton with Judge Overton and his Lady, Mrs. Stuart and Mrs. Judge Barker, of New York, and the Miss Bradfords, has just left me. The[y] dined with me on Wednesday, with all the ladies in this neighbourhood, Mrs. Genl. Overton of the number. I have a hope that the Ladies will remain here this winter, and surely the vindictive persecution will cease, and the contempt of the pious and good, will frown it down. Genl. Coffee is now here, is himself, has perfectly accorded with me in my course. I have to assure you that there has been thro some channel the most foul and extraordinary combination formed here. The *Idoll*, as Mr. Hill would say, is the great Magician that has worked the wires, and some of the Military and others the Machines. I will purge the Military in due time, of all its unworthy members. I have had a great deal of company and must close. Will write you from Franklin where I will be next week *at large*.

We are awaiting the final result of the Choctaws, their last, and *general* council on the 10th instant. Donelly is awaiting the result, and will communicate it without delay, and if they decline coming in, we will set out without delay to the City. Present my respects to Judge Berrien, and say to him I have recd. his several communications and am awaiting further advices from Georgia before I write him. I would by to days mail have wrote him, but have not time, the correspondence with the Chiefs occupy every moment I have from company. Present me affectionately to the heads of Departments and of Bureaus, and write to Mr. Van Buren the prospects I have given you and say why I have not written him oftener

¹ N. Y. Pub. Lib., Ford MSS.

was, that I had nothing either positive, or pleasant to communicate, but that I have much to say to him, and information to give, that will astonish him as much as it has me, but I think I have arrested the sting from the adder.

With my best regard to Mary Ann believe me your friend.

TO SECRETARY VAN BUREN.¹

FRANKLIN, TENN., August 12, 1830.

My D'r sir, Being here on a visit to major Eaton and to make arrangements for the meeting with the chiefs of the choctaw and chikesaw nations, which we are advised, (not officially) will be here on the 20th instant I have recd yours of the 25th ult and hasten to apprise you of it.

I have wrote you but seldom since I have been here, the reason was I had nothing worthy to communicate, nothing very interesting in any way. I have a sanguine hope that we will be able to get the choctaw and chikesaw chiefs here, and if they come, we will make the necessary arrangements for their removal—so soon as this is done, or we are advised they will not meet us, I will set out for the city. Major Eaton and Major Donelson will leave the Ladies with their aged mothers to console them under affliction and bereavements, for a while.

I have noted your opinion of our judges. I hope as to Baldwin your information is incorrect—his pledges have been of such a nature, that he must be a man of deep duplicity if you are well informed. From the late contest in Kentucky it is evident Clay has lost, and not gained strength in K.y. with all the aid that the *judges Could give him*, my opinion is, Clay will never be sustained in ohio [and] K.y. again—he never can be unless Pennsylvania or Newyork could be brought to take him up, then he might hope for success in ohio and K.y. and unite other states in his favour.

When I receive official information from the Indian chiefs I will again write you. I have much to say to you, which I shall postpone until we meet. I hope to be in the city about 20th or 25th Septbr. will expect to meet you there. Major Eaton and his lady are in good health and joins in kind salutations to you. major Donelson and the ladies are at home, with my prayers for your health and happiness for the present adieu.

Gov Carrol has got home in good health and speaks in high praise of you

SECRETARY OF THE NAVY (JOHN BRANCH) TO JACKSON.

WASHINGTON, August 14, 1830.

My Dear Sir, I have several matters of some little importance, which I was about to transmit to you by mail but upon reflection I have determined to permit them to remain untill your return, as the public interest can sustain no detriment thereby and as I presume your mind is occupied with other business of more pressing importance.

¹ Library of Congress, Van Buren MSS.

One subject I will barely mention. On a partial inspection of the Navy Yard at Norfolk as I was returning from North Carolina I was surprised to find a new Sloop of war almost ready for launching. On enquiry I ascertained that she was put on the stocks in March last, and that she was intended to bear the name and supply the place of the *John Adams* *reported to the last Session of Congress for repairs*. I am further informed by the Navy Comrs. that they have felt authorised to build this vessel in consequence of instructions, (verbal I presume) which were given by Mr. Southard. I must acknowledge that I have been somewhat embarrassed by this unauthorised expenditure. First because we have not one cent appropriated for *building* new Sloops, And secondly by a reference to legislative enactment it will appear that not even a barge has been built in time of War even without the express direction and sanction of Congress, with the exception of two or three cases under the last Dynasty. I dislike very much to practice such a deception, to do by indirection what we cannot do directly and above board. Again the policy of building new vessels when we already have afloat more then we can *employ, repair or preserve from premature decay* may well be questioned *as in truth it was in your last message to Congress*. I have therefore directed that she should be preserved on the stocks untill your opinion can be obtained. If it is the wish of the government to supply the place of those vessels which may be either lost at sea or may be condemn[ed] as the *John Adams* was as being unfit for repair, let them say so and appropriate accordingly. The nation expects economy in the disbursement of the public monies and they have a right to expect, *not to require* their executive officers to execute the law as they find it written and not as they believe it ought to be written. I have however done in this as I trust I shall in every other case what I believed to be my duty, and solicit most earnestly your counsel. We look forward to your return with unaffected pleasure.

Pray present us in kind terms to Maj and Mrs. Donelson and Miss Mary and accept for yourself our united good wishes and esteem

What will become of Clay after his recent signal discomfiture in Kentucky? No alternative but to be laid on the shelf with his prototype Burr. May such be the fate of all traitors to their Country.

TO MAJOR WILLIAM B. LEWIS.¹

In haste and private

FAIRFIELD, August 15, 1830.

Dr. Major, I have examined the Paintings of you and your desea[s]ed relative by Mr. Earle. They are excellent, and do much credit to the artist. There never was a more striking likeness than yours and the Mrs. Lewises.

Judge Overton gave a dinning on yesterday to Major Eaton and his lady, which was numorously attended by the neighbourhood and a few from Nashville. There were upwards of forty Ladies, and as Mr. Wood

¹ N. Y. Pub. Lib., Ford MSS.

observed, here said he, is the bone and sinew of the country. The unaccountable combination in Nashville, has, and will be met by the citizens of Franklin and the neighbourhood as it ought, and the combination, which has extended itself from the City of Washington to Nashville, put down. No Ladies will return with me. Major A. J. Donelson, my son and Mr. Earle will constitute my family, and I hope Major Eaton will accompany me, and leave his Lady until the rise of the waters, when old Mrs. Eaton will accompany her with Doctor Breathit as their protector. To this the Major is willing, whether Mrs. E. will finally consent to this arrangement (she says she will) I cannot say. I have much to say to you when we meet which would not do to be committed to paper. . . .

TO MAJOR WILLIAM B. LEWIS.¹

Private

HERMITAGE, August 17, 1830.

My D'r Major, I have just received yours of the 27th ult. and hasten to acknowledge it.

Before the receipt of yours, I had recd. from Mr. Ingham information that Mr. Jarvis had resigned, and I sent to him the appointment for Mr. Ripley. I have duly noted the information you have recd. from Mr. Biddle, and when I reach the City I shall act upon those cases as propriety may dictate, and the justice due Mr. Gardiner may render necessary and proper.

The news from Kentucky of the late election is quite grateful. Clay has lost a majority in the State Legislature, as our friends believe, of about ten, or fourteen, even five, will give him a quietus there. Ohio will prove true to her republican principles. so long as New York and Pennsylvania remain firm Ohio will never separate from them.

You ask what has become of Major Eaton? He is at Franklin enjoying all that happiness that the hospitality and good feelings of that place and its vicinity can afford him and his lady. They have been treated with marked respect there, and every where else, but in Nashville, and they have not put it in the power of the coalition there, to treat them well or ill, for he reached Nashville in the Stage late in the evening, and went on in a hack the next morning, visiting no one, but Mr. Stuart whose lady waited upon, and took them to his house with Mrs. Judge Barker who travelled with Mr. and Mrs. Eaton from Buffaloe. I left Major and Mrs. Eaton on the 14th at Judge Overtons where they had been invited to dine, and where about thirty ladies and as many gentlemen were assembled of the most respectable character. Mr. R. Wood was there with his family, and as Mr. Earle informs me, when he saw the company observed "here is the bone and sinew of our country." So you see the coalition in Nashville headed by Mrs. Kirkman and Doctor McNairy, Genl. Gains and Co. Major Claibourne etc. etc., are surrounded and in rather a bad way. The thing is now clear to me, that the Washington coalition has been extended *here*, by the vilest secrete concert. They are unmasked, and in time will be made to feel very sensibly.

¹ *Ibid.*

You must excuse the want of information in my letters. I have not one moment any where without interruption. There has two gentlemen arrived since I began this hasty scrawl and I have to close.

The Indians will meet us. The Chikisaws on the 20th and the Choctaws on the 25th. I am only awaiting their arrival to set out for Washington. I will be accompanied with Major A. J. Donelson, my son, Col. Earle and I hope Major Eaton. Mrs. Donelson *will remain with her widowed mother*, and I suppose Mrs. Eaton will remain and await the rise of the waters, that her aged mother Mrs. Eaton can accompany her, When Doctor Breathit will accompany them. With my respects to all friends, I remain yours

FRANCIS P. BLAIR TO JACKSON.¹

FRANKFORT, KY., August 17, 1830.

Dear Sir, I have taken the liberty to transmit to you by this days mail, a paper containing a list of the members elect to the general Assembly of Kentucky, with a designation of the political cast under which they received the suffrages of the people. The information upon which this statement is founded, is of the most unquestionable character. I have no fears that any defection will take place, that can change the complexion of the Legislature, from that given to it in *The Argus*.

The Election in this county, was a most extraordinary one. It was distinguished on the part of Mr. Clay's friends by the foulest bribery and fraud. Votes were notoriously purchased with large sums of money; and the Officers at the polls conducted every thing with marked partiality and injustice to favor the election of Mr. Crittenden. Notice has been served that the election will be contested, and unless the most iniquitous influence shall prevail, and controul the result, Mr. Sanders must obtain the seat by a considerable majority. It is not improbable that the funds applied to carry the election here, as well as in other counties of the state, was furnished by the Branch of the Bank of the U. S. at Lexington. Genl. McCalla is in possession of evidence that will go far to establish this fact. . . .

JOHN RANDOLPH TO JACKSON.

ST. PETERSBURG, August 22, 1830.

particularly private and confidential

My dear Sir, For reasons which I am now reducing to writing, but cannot detain the Concord to finish, I desire to return home in time to take my seat in the next Congress (provided that my old constituents see fit to elect me) where I may fight under your banner; ¹ and I acknowledge no

¹ This is the first letter from Blair to Jackson in the Jackson MSS. It seems to be the beginning of what was destined to be a long and affectionate friendship. Worden Pope (to Jackson, Aug. 6, 1831) said that Blair's charges against the bank in Kentucky were false.

¹ In the margin appears this note by Randolph: "meanwhile, should Mr R. or Mr McL. wish to return also; I would be glad to be at P. or London in my present Station. I would give 20,000 now to be at either. I am in the Bastille, cut off by Despotism from the surrounding world." Rives was minister to Paris and McLane to London.

other leader; against Mammoth, Leviathan, Legion, or —— “whatever title please his ear, your adversary and mine—“the adversary of God and Man”, whose friends are the foes of us and of the people, whose foes, wheresoever found, are our friends and their friends. There I may sustain you. Here I can do you no good (altho I might have done you some but for this strange dilatoriness)

Let me beg you to refer to our correspondence once more. Decr. 30, Mr Secty V. B. writes: “The letters to Mr M. were sent off immediately after my return” [from Richmond] “and the moment we hear from him, the other matter” [my appointmnt.] “will be announced. I shall be anxious to see you off as early in the spring as may be found practicable, having reference to all circumstances.” Mr. M. it seems, has played back upon the S. of S. his own game. Be that as it may, we have lost *time and tide which wait for no man*. Cincinnatus, the Warriour-Ploughman, knows and none so well, that if seed time be neglected there can be no Harvest.

Sir, there is something wrong. My mind misgives me. My best regards to Mr Branch whom I greatly respect. He is an honest man and your friend—personally attached to you, with no ulterior views. We get it on both sides of the House it seems. Mr Chairman of the Ways and Means the Patroclus of Mr Achilles C. was no doubt too much occupied with his much-bepraised Defence of Leviathan,² to think of an appropriation bill for outfits. Thus, nurse engrossed with dandling and kissing her own sweet Baby, forgets the nursling in the cradle, sits upon it and overlays the poor thing.

Sir such a circumstance would have cast ridicule and reproach upon the Admns. of Jefferson or Madison, and has done more to lessen yours to say nothing of injury to the Publick Service than any *act* could do. It never could have happened when J. R. was in that chair. No former Secty or Chairman of W. and M. would have made such a blunder. But was it an oversight? Willis Alston would have done better.

Perhaps you'll say What is R. at now? Is he Batting with the Chillons [Alstons ?] and Stansberrys and *John Holmes*!³ no this last name settles the question, if the Bank did not do it. No true coalitionist is anti-Bank. “Is he then for t'other candidate?” (the V. P.) That question too is answered: and if it were not, all our strong doses, Tariff, Bank and all, are from that quarter. I thought once the penitent had confessed and been reconciled to the Catholick Church of State-Rights, with Hayne and

² George McDuffie was chairman of the Ways and Means Committee. He was greatly under the influence of Calhoun. By “Leviathan” the Second Bank of the United States was meant.

³ John Holmes, of Maine, M. C. 1817-1820, U. S. senator 1820-1827, 1829-1833, had many clashes with John Randolph. William Stansberry, of Ohio, was a member of Congress 1827-1833. Thomas Chilton, of Kentucky, was a member of Congress 1827-1829, and 1833-1835. The reading “Chillons” is uncertain. No man by that name had sat in Congress in 1830. The nearest approach is Thomas Chilton, a very inconspicuous member from Kentucky who had sat for one term. It is hardly likely that Randolph would have placed him alongside of Stansberry and John Holmes as objects of his contempt. The handwriting hardly warrants “Alstons”, but that name fits better than any other that occurs to the editor.

my gallant friend Hamilton.⁴ But on Webster's touching the sore place, He winced. All that he had recanted in private to Father Macon and brother Roanoke went for nothing, and he has made a reservation, which (as Mr. Secty V. B. would say) will enable him to act hereafter "according to all circumstances", or events to come.

"Is R. then mad? as they say. Is he an Ishmaelite or a John Holmesite? Does he love to be in a minority? Has he taken opium and does he mean like a Malay to "run a muck"? None of these except that he *will* "run a muck" not drunk with opium or wine, against the aforesaid Leviathan Mammoth Legion who is now doing what the Bank of England and the E. India Company are doing, buying votes and seats.

For three days except a broiled rasher of Virginia bacon for br'kfast with my coffee and Virginian bread I have taken only a crust of bread and glass of wine, in lieu of dinner. It has enabled me to support myself; under unparalleled exertion. I mean such as I never before made. Poor Clay is quite low and indisposed: Since 3 this morning, it is now ten and these are the last lines I write by the *Concord*, I have been driving the pen. There is an impalpable dust here which with the heat and glare from the streets and white Houses is fatal to the eyes.

Farewell! most faithfully your steadfast friend

[P. S.] It is sunday. Last half sheet of letter paper but the envelope left. Just heard but know not what to believe that the Duke of Orleans is proclaimed King. Yesterday La Fayette was at the head of affairs, a bad augury of success. He might make a capital chairman of the W. and M.⁵ or Chancellor of Exchequer for he is a first rate financier in one respect. No one better knows how to raise the supplies, than M. de LaF.

TO MAJOR WILLIAM B. LEWIS.¹

FRANKLIN, August 25, 1830.

My D'r Major, I have just recd. your several letters with their inclosures. The one advising me of the death of Major George Graham,² and the various applicants have been duly noted. No appointment will be made until I reach the City to which place I will set out the moment after I know whether a delegation from the Choctaws will come in. By the mail of this morning we expect to receive the result of their council, which was to have been held on the 16th instant.

The Chickisaws are now here, and on this day we expect their answer on the subject of their election to cross the M. river, or to remain where they now are. If they agree to remove, we will make a treaty with them. The Choctaws not being here in whose boundery we wish to settle them will produce some difficulties, as the Chickisaws, are not acquainted with the land adjoining the Choctaws on their north boundery, which is the

⁴ James Hamilton, jr., of South Carolina. See vol. III., p. 344n.

⁵ Ways and Means. "He would never forget to take money out of the Treasury. The appropriation bills at least would not." Note by Randolph.

¹ N. Y. Pub. Lib., Ford MSS.

² Commissioner of the General Land Office 1823-1830. See also vol. II., pp. 265n., 273n.

only point *where* we can place them without interfering with other tribes. I have a sanguine hope the Choctaws will be in to day. I will keep this open until the Southern mail arrives and by a P. S. give you the news.

I have recd. and noted the letter inclosed from the *Gentleman* in So. C. I was aware of the hostility of the influential character aluded to. I sincerely regret the course taken by Hamilton and Hayne. The people of South Carolina will not, *nay* cannot sustain such nulifying Doctrines. The Carolinians are a patriotic and highminded people, and they prize their liberty too high to jeopardise it, at the shrine of an ambitious demagogue. Whether a native of Carolina or of any other country. This influential character in this heat, has led Hamilton and Hayne a stray, and it will, I fear, lead to the injury of Hamilton and loose him his election. But the ambitious Demagogue aluded to would sacrifice friends and country, and move heaven and earth, if he had the power, to gratify his unholy ambition. His course will prostrate him here as well as every where else. Our friend Mr. Grundy says he will abandon him unless he can satisfy him that he has used his influence to put down this nulifying doctrine, which treatens to desolve our happy union.

The Creeks have officially informed us, that they will not meet us. We have answered, that we leave them to themselves, and to the protection of their friend Mr. Wirt,² to whose protection they look, and to whom they have given a large fee to protect them in their rights as an independent Nation; and when they find that they cannot live under the laws of Alabama, they must find, at their own expence, and by their own means, a country, and a home. The course of *Wirt* has been truly wicked. It has been wielded as an engine to prevent the Indians from moving X³ the Mississippi and will lead to the distruction of the poor ignorant Indians. It must be so, I have used all the persuasive means in my power. I have exonerated the national character from all imputation, and now leave the poor deluded Creeks and Cherokees to their fate, and their anihilation, which their wicked advisers has induced. I am sure the stand the Executive has taken was not anticipated by their wicked advisers. It was expected that the more the Indians would hold out, and oppose the views of the Government, the greater would be the offers made by the Executive, and all the missionary and speculating tribe would make fortunes out of the United States. The answer sent, has blasted these hopes and if I mistake not, the Indians will now think for themselves, and send to the City a delegation prepared to cede their country and move X the M.

I have just discovered that Major Haley has been acting the double part with the view to obtain large reserves for the Indians, and to participate in them. He is the tool of Lafleur,⁴ and has advised him not to meet

² William Wirt, Attorney-General 1817-1829. He was counsel for the Indians in the celebrated Cherokee case.

³ Across.

⁴ There were several prominent Choctaws at this time by the name of "Leflore". The most prominent was Greenwood Leflore, who took a leading part in the treaty made by Eaton and Coffee with the Choctaws in 1830. Of his activities John Pitchlynn said in a letter to Jackson Aug. 11, 1830:

"It would not be amiss here to inform you that the Agent appointed a meeting at Wilson's on the 10th (yesterday) But that place is in Lafleur's district, and as he keeps

us here, expecting that we would send commissioners into the Nation, when he would become the contractor for their supplies and when we would be so anxious to treat that we would yield to any terms demanded of us. If the eastern and southern section of the Choctaw Nation send in a full delegation, being two thirds of the whole Nation, we will treat with them and leave the halfbreeds and wicked white men disappointed and at leisure to comment upon their own folly.

The current in Nashville begins to change its course, and the prime movers in this wicked persecution will ere long be left in a ridiculous situation. If Mrs. E. would consent to remain until midwinter, here, she would obtain a complete triumph every where, and the enemies, *here*, of Major Eaton compleatly put down but I fear that the admonition of her friends will not be able to prevail. Major Eaton must forthwith repair to the City. I will be with you as early as possible, I travel thro' Virginia, write and say so to Mr. Van Buren, I will notify you of the time I leave here. Say to Mr. Ingham I have recd. his letter and am delighted to find that the revenue will permit us to apply so much to the discharge of the national debt. Present my respects to all the Heads of Departments and Heads of Bureaus, and to Major Barrys family. Say to him I have recd. a letter from Mr. Blair, Frankfort, K[entucky] and that she has done her duty. K is herself again, and *will sustain the republican Doctrine of 98 and 1800*. I am respectfully yr. friend.

TO MAJOR WILLIAM B. LEWIS.¹

HERMITAGE, August 31, 1830.

Dear Major, On last Saturday I returned from Franklin where I had been detained for Eight days, awaiting the conclusion of the Chickisaws on the subject of a negotiation proposed to them. On Saturday they gave a written address and reply, that they would treat upon the Terms that I had proposed to them thro my commissioner. I have this moment recd. from Major Eaton and Genl. Coffee a letter informing me, that on this morning they signed a Treaty and in the year 1832 they will cross the Mississippi. Thus far we have succeeded, against the most corrupt

an armed force of seven or Eight hundred men continually about him the Chiefs of the republican party, would not meet at that place. The Chiefs of the republican party, from the Communication addressed to them by the Secretary of War; had appointed a meeting to be held on the 9th at the house of the old Chief Mashulatubbee. But when the Agent returned and made an appointment for a meeting at another place, to be on the day after the appointment at Mashulatubbee's, for the purpose of giving the people an opportunity of attending both councils, it was thought proper to withdraw the order for the meeting at Mashulatubbee's and set it on the fifteenth at another place more central to the population of the two districts. Unfortunately for our nation there are two distinct parties amongst us, one, tho' it is a disgrace to the name is called the Christian party, the Other the republicans. Laflour is the Chief of the former party, and as the Agent has gone amongst them with the Secretary's commu[ni]cation it is very likely that there will be a delegation from them, which I hope may be the case; as by that means the nation will be fully represented when the delegation from the republican (party) comes on, which at farthest will not be more than five days behind them."

¹ N. Y. Pub. Lib., Ford MSS., transcript. Original in Pierpont Morgan Library.

and secrete combination that ever did exist, and we have preserved my Chickisaw friends and red brethern. Two thirds of the Choctaws have requested me to send commissioners and they are prepared to treat and cross the Mississippi.

I have directed the Sec. of War, Genl. Coffee and have added Govr. Carroll, for certain reasons to meet them on the 15th proximo in the Choctaw nation, where notwithstanding all the opposition we will make a treaty with the Choctaws. From their chiefs and messengers sent to me, and the talk received and returned, I have no doubt of it myself. I therefore set out on Thursday morning via Virginia and will reach the City at as early a day as I can. of this advise Mr. Van Buren, for really I am too much engaged with matters with the Indians, to write to Heads of Departments. I expect to reach the City *just as the official account from England gets there to open the West India trade by proclamation*. Should an express be sent to me on this subject, let it pass thro Charlottesville, Va. and the main route to Abington. It is now eleven oclock P. M. and I must wish you good night.

Yr. friend.

TO JAMES K. POLK.¹

HERMITAGE, August 31, 1830.

My Dear Sir, After the conclusion of my talk with the Indians, the result of which you have no doubt heard before this, I felt too much oppressed by the heat of the weather, and the necessity of hastening the tedious journey which I am to undertake tomorrow, to comply with the polite request expressed in your note of the 14th inst. It would have afforded me the greatest pleasure to have seen you and Mrs. Polk and our common friends at Columbia, but I trust our old acquaintance with each other can readily pardon the postponement of it to another time.

Present me kindly to Mrs. Polk and believe me sincerely yr. friend

(Private)

P. S. The treaty with the chi[c]kesaws, satisfactory to all, has this day been signed and duly executed, and I have no doubt but the choctaws will follow the example, leaving the cherokees, and creeks, under the guardianship of *mr. Wirt*.² If I mistake not, the creeks will have a delegation at Washington before congress meets. They did not expect such an answer as I directed to be made to them. When you see my friends Genl Polk and Lady, make my kind salutations to them, and Lucius, and particularly to

¹ Library of Congress, Polk MSS. Handwriting of A. J. Donelson.

² A delegation from the Chickasaw arrived at Franklin. Jackson sent them a talk, and on Aug. 27 made them a talk in person. In it he gave them much good advice and congratulated them on their willingness to move to the territory reserved for them beyond the Mississippi. The address is in *Niles' Register*, XXXIX. 67. This done he returned to the Hermitage to hasten his departure for Washington, leaving Eaton and Coffee to complete the treaty. The result was a treaty signed on Aug. 31, but the Senate refused to ratify it. It was succeeded by a treaty made by General Coffee Oct. 20, 1832.

my son. I am off tomorrow morning. I have in the chikesaw treaty destroyed the serpent, and I hope so soon as I arrive at the city, to have the satisfaction of opening the West india trade to our country. This, if it be, will enable me to make, a short, *but pleasing communication to Congress.*

BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOHN COFFEE TO JACKSON.

CHOCTAW AGENCY, September 29, 1830.

My dear Genl. I have the satisfaction to inform you, that on yesterday we closed a treaty with the Choctaws for all their country on the east side of the Missi'pi River. Between five and six thousand of the Indians attended the treaty, and I think they are generally satisfied. When we first met them, great discontent prevailed. the first thing was to reconcile them among themselves, which we succeeded in pretty generally, then we went into the subject of the treaty, and with much difficulty their situation was made plain to their view by the Sect.y of War (who was of himself a host on that occasion). when well understood by them, there was not much difficulty afterwards to frame a treaty. the terms allowed them are liberal, as you instructed us to make for their comforts, yet I think it a good treaty for the U. States. I shall not enter into detail now, (as we are pressing on homewards). Major Eaton will write you as soon as he reaches Franklin and give you the details. Genl. Carroll did not come out with us, I understand he said, his health was not very good, so it is he declined coming, and fortunately we have been able to succeed without him. I hope you will approve the treaty when you see it. . . .

JOHN RANDOLPH TO JACKSON.

LONDON, September 29, 1830.

My dear Sir, The first law of man's nature, Self Preservation, has compelled me to anticipate your kind indulgence and to leave St. Petersburg much sooner and more abruptly than I had intended. I left that Capital on Sunday the 7/19 Instant and landed at the Custom House wharf this morning at 8, via Hamburgh. Nothing could have surpassed the affability and cordiality of my reception by their Imperial Majesties of all the Russias, and by the minister Prince Lieven. His Highness has won upon my esteem and his kindness has excited my regard.

This is the last day that I can write by the Packet, which leaves Liverpool on the 1st of next month (the day after tomorrow.) I shall therefore reserve my further communication for the packet of the next week (the 8th.) The following extract from a Memo: of Mr Clay will suffice to show that (health out of the question) I have not compromised any interest of our Country, or acted contrary to your instructions or wishes, in leaving that deleterious and deadly climate (for such it is in the summer and autumnal months) so soon. . . . ¹

¹ The matter omitted is an account of Mr. Clay's call on Prince Lieven, to ask for Randolph's passports. Clay remained in charge of the legation as secretary of legation. Randolph had been twenty-nine days in St. Petersburg.

I trust my dear, Sir, that you will excuse this hurried letter written in pain and sickness. By the next packet ship you shall hear more fully. I purpose going to the continent to try and renovate my shattered system. If the season were a fortnight earlier I would embark at once for the U. S. As it is I shall if it pleases God return to St. Petersburg (with your approbation) in the Spring and to the U. S. in September next, if not sooner.

I am my dear Sir with the highest esteem and regard, your most faithful servant

To JOHN OVERTON.¹

WASHINGTON, September 30, 1830.

My d'r friend, I reached this place on the night of the 25th instant all in good health but much fatigued with the rough roads, on the first part of our journey suffocated with dust, and experiencing much inconvenience from the scarcity of water for our horses, on the latter part deluged with constant heavy falls of rain. on the 27th I received your very friendly letter of the 14th and after perusal and noting its contents disposed of it as requested.

I rejoice at your increasing good health, but sincerely regret that of my good friend, your amiable Lady, is checkered, but I trust in the goodness of an all wise providence that with care her health will be perfectly restored, and she will be permitted long to live, as a blessing to you, and your dear children.

The drought has been severe generally; the corn and cotton in North and South Carolina on their uplands are very short, and the late storm has done much injury to their low lands, as far as my information extends there will not be half usual crops and the price will rise; for myself I do not calculate on more than 200 lbs of seed cotton to the acre, if it should, as you state, produce five hundred, I shall be content, and when it is tested will thank you for the information of its product.

We are waiting daily to receive from England the final result of the negotiation about the West India trade, have every right to expect a favorable one—by the first arrival we must have it, which is daily expected—indeed I travelled hard expecting it to be here awaiting my arrival; but the rejoicing and feasting on Williams succession to the throne, has delayed all business, but from the kings expressions and kind attention to Mr. McLean, I have no doubt but the result will be as we expect it—a few days will decide.

Business has greatly accumulated in my absence—I found everything well and have just ordered two millions more of the National debt to be paid. This will make in all this year about 12 millions. This will leave about 16 millions of the 5 and 4½ pr. cent unpaid—13 millions of the 3 per cent and 7 millions of the Bank stock which we can sell for 12d—advance—and if I live on the 4th of March 1833 I will, I hope, by the sale of land pay the last dollar.

¹ From transcripts in the possession of Professor St. George L. Sioussat.

It is late, I must close—do write me often, and give me all the news—I wish Major Eaton was here, his Department wants his presence very much, and until he does arrive, will throw much labour upon me. I hope before this reaches you he will be here, as I expect he will take the stage leaving his family to come on with Doctor Breathit.

Present me kindly to Mrs. O. and all your family. Major Lewis and Col. Earle, with my son, and Major Donelson, desire to be presented respectfully to you and Mrs. O. and family. *Genl Daniel Donelson is to marry Miss Branch this day fortnight.* May god take you in his holy keeping, and preserve your health and permit you to visit me this winter, and believe yr. friend

TO COLONEL ANTHONY BUTLER.¹

WASHINGTON, October 6, 1830.

Dear Sir, I had the pleasure to receive a letter from you at Nashville where I have spent July and August of this summer in the neighbourhood of my old associates and friends. Before my acknowledgement of that letter I had hoped to have heard again from you, but am as yet disappointed.

We have at length gained the long sought for privilege of the direct trade between the ports of the United States and those of the British colonial ports, upon the terms of the act of parliament of 1825. Mr. McLane, within a few days past, has transmitted to us the note of Lord Aberdeen, putting within our reach this valuable commerce, of which you will see the proper notice in the proclamation which will accompany the despatch from the Department of State. This event is hailed with great and deserved joy by our citizens, not only on account of the direct benefit which they will derive from it, but as indicating a disposition on the part of Great B to meet us half way in establishing the relations between the two countries upon that fair and reciprocal basis which is the only sure guarantee for their future peace and the steady advancement of their prosperity and fame. How gratifying would it be to me to include within the list of our good works in the foreign relations of the Union, a Treaty with Mexico adjusting the points in dispute in regard to *our boundary*, and establishing a proper commercial intercourse! Will you not be able to communicate to us something for the message to congress which will justify a more flattering view of this subject than we could now present?

The agents or pretended agents of Mexico are stirring up strife by appearing in the Arkansas territory, opening offices for the sale of land within our settlement and giving Mexican protection within the limits of our jurisdiction. The evils of such proceedings I need not point out to you. Every forbearance on our part will be practiced in order that Mexico may have time to see their character, and not suspect the sincerity of our disposition to avoid whatever can militate against her peace and integrity: a disposition which we always professed in our intercourse with her, and which we shall not cease to feel even if we are forced to drive within her limits those of her citizens who are trespassing upon our rights.

¹ Univ. of Texas, Butler Papers. See vol. I., p. 207n.

The views with which you were before charged touching the policy of establishing a boundary as far westward as the *Desert or grand Praire*, remain unaltered. But if Mexico should resist them as incompatible with her ultimate safety and happiness, do not allow them to postpone a negotiation *for such a boundary* as will prevent the *collisions that must grow out of the one now contended for by her agents who pretend to hold grants under her*. In this way alone can we prevent the difficulties with which we are daily threatened for the causes mentioned. Be guarded in any event *whatever territory may be affected by the line*, to recognize no grants but those that are perfected in all their terms or conditions, or so much so that it would be a want of good faith not to comply with them leaving Mexico to settle with the patentees out of the consideration received.

I send you a copy of a letter which I have recd. from Bustamante,² to which I have replied in a corresponding spirit of frankness and friendship. From this spirit I hope much. Write to me by every conveyance, so that I may be advised of your progress.

With sincere respects Yr. friend and Obt. servt

TO COLONEL ANTHONY BUTLER.¹

Private

WASHINGTON, October 7, 1830.

My D'r Sir, Just as I closing my letter of the 6th inst, your of the 8th of July last was handed me, thro. Mr. Bankhead Secretary of the British Legation here, to whom Mr. Buchan had forwarded it from Baltimore, and of course I have not had the pleasure of seeing him personally, but when I do, I shall extend to him that kindness and hospitality due to him as a gentleman, and your friend. I rejoice that you are progressing with a commercial Treaty, and I trust with a Treaty of boundary, and if President Bustamante, practices that frankness which he has professed to me in his letter, of copy of which I enclose, you cannot have much difficulty in the negotiation. In my reply you will find I have met him with the frankness of a soldier and hinted to him as a reason why you were selected, that you were a soldier and appreciated the character and would in all your acts with that Republic, use that frankness necessary and proper to produce and foster the prosperity and happiness of both, and a lasting harmony, peace and good will between our respective Republics: And you may with all the frankness of a *soldier* urge the policy of adopting the Grand Prairie, as a permanent boundary between us, as a source of lasting peace and harmony, for I say to you confidentially, whenever the present boundary is run and our western Citizens find the imposition that has been practised upon them, no power can restrain them, and they will be sufficiently numerous to declare themselves independent and maintain it. There will be one county of Arkansas thickly populated, cut off by the

² Anastasio Bustamante, vice-president of Mexico, exercising supreme power; later president, 1836-1841.

¹ Univ. of Texas, Butler Papers.

line, as is now contended for. Our future peace with Mexico depends upon extending our boundary farther west, And if you cannot get it to the grand prairie obtain to the *Brasos* or another point giving for it in proportion to the extent, in equal ratio to the amount, authorized by your instructions.

But candour dictates that the fact should be disclosed that the Government possessing the Mississippi must at some day possess all its *tributary streams*.

Therefore the grand prairie including this would be a boundary that would give permanent peace to the two Republics: Our right by the Louisiana Treaty, being once complete to all this boundary and more. The citizens of the U States will never be contented untill this boundary is acquired, when they become informed it was wantonly given away to keep down the prosperity and growing political influence of the west. These hints will bring to your view the importance of obtaining this boundary as the future peace and harmony of the two Republics mainly depend upon it. Therefore your best exertions are expected, and I have no doubt will be used in this negotiation to obtain both the important objects entrusted to you, at as early a day as possible. Should you succeed you lay a sure bases for the peace and prosperity of the two Republics, and sweep from Texas the means of revolution that must disturb Mexico at some future day, the strength of our government being able to govern that, when added to our boundary, will keep Mexico free from harm in that quarter. . . .

TO THE VICE-PRESIDENT OF MEXICO (ANASTASIO BUSTAMANTE).¹

WASHINGTON, October 7, 1830.

Dear Sir, I had the happiness to received upon my return from an excursion, which I had taken in the past summer to my residence in Tennessee the letter which your Excellency did me the honor to address to me by Mr. Mejia, of date May 20th 1830. Nothing can be more gratifying than the opportunity which this letter affords me of acknowledging myself a debtor to the sentiments which the frankness of a soldier employs in the cause of his Country, disregarding forms and the many obstructions which the routine of diplomatic correspondence may interpose to the prompt attainment of what is really honorable and right. Like yourself unfitted by taste and habit for the subtelties of the politician, my rules of action lead directly to the objects to be attained, disdaining the circuities which too generally display more of the dexterity of vice than the enduring force of justice and virtue: and the satisfaction which I derive from the reflection that the Executive power of the two countries is in the hands of men who can thus meet each other in the congenial simplicity of their military character is much increased by the concurrence which I am enabled to express of our views upon the general policy of their administration. Economy in the public expence, fidelity in the application of the Revenues to the purposes of the Union, a careful abstinence from all power not

¹ Univ. of Texas, Butler Papers.

delegated, and a sincere reliance upon the principle of Responsibility in the exercise of every public function are the Cardinal points in our Republican System; and recognized as they are by you, will not fail I trust to procure for Mexico the reestablishment of her peace and prosperity.

The determination which your Excellency has formed of hastening the consideration of the subjects that concern the intercourse of the two countries, has been read with peculiar gratification. I trust that Col. Butler our Representative near the Government of Mexico has been so fortunate as to present the views of the United States in a proper light. The character of *earliest friend* which you so much honor by mentioning can be benefitted by no arrangement that does not act reciprocally upon the two countries and promote their mutual safety and prosperity.

Col. Butler in addition to his many merits has that of frankness and honesty which are so well taught in the school of war: On which account I cannot close this letter without commending their character to your Excellency as being the medium through which I would [be] truly happy to see the best and most harmonious relations between the two countries restored and perpetuated.

That every blessing public and private may attend the exertions of your Excellency in the service of the Mexican Republic is the prayer of Your most obedt. and humble servant

JACKSON'S MEMORANDUM TO VAN BUREN.

October 15, 1830.

With my respects, I return the inclosed with this remark. It will not do to give authority to extend the line between this country and Mexico, but to extend the line as far west as it may be believed the State of Louisiana will extend, leaving our line with Mexico undisturbed for the present, and saying in reply, that I have directed Governor Pope to exercise jurisdiction over all citizens within the claimed bounds of Arkansas untill the boundary is established by the two Governments and to coerce obedience to the laws of the U States, over them.

TO SECRETARY VAN BUREN.¹

WASHINGTON, October 18, 1830.

my D'r sir, I sent you the information I obtained from the Engineer Department, so soon as I receive a reply from Mr Ingham will send it to you. The most objectionable objects of surveys, in the bill, are those for ascertaining the expediency and expence of improving the navigation of rivers running from navigable streams into a county or neighbourhood, or even state; These cannot be considered national; nothing can be so considered, but those great leading and navigable streams from the ocean, and passing through two or more states, and an obstruction that prevents commerce from passing thro' other states, which when removed will give

¹ Library of Congress, Van Buren MSS.

an uninterrupted passage to those other states, can be viewed as comming within the constitutional powers of congress. If this boundery is once passed, then every creek, or small river, emtying into a navigable stream, they not being navigable, and extending into a county may claim to be surveyed and improved at the national expence, such for instance in the State of Main The survey of Cathouse river to ascertain the expediency and expense of improving the navigation of the same. New Hampshire—the survey of Lamprey river to ascertain the expediency of improving the navigation of the same, the same might be said to the survey for improving the Cocheco branch of the piscataqua etc. etc. etc. etc.

I would wish you to come over and we will run our eyes over the whole bill. I informed you by note that there were in the bill an appropriation for a survey of the falls of ohio, with a view to clearing the obstructions in the channel. I have recd. a letter from Mr Ronaldson today now there, complaining that the river is now lower than ever known and the people are quarrying the stone from the bar that will destroy the upper navigation and ruin the canal.

I have been so busy today that I have had no time to examine the Light House bill and I now submit these crude ideas to you.

yrs

P. S. after I had sealed this mr Ingham sent me the inclosed—preserve all and return them when you have done with them.

TO MARY EASTIN.¹

WASHINGTON, October 24, 1830.

My D'r Mary: At length a leisure moment this good sabath night has offered, and I take up my pen to drop you a hasty line.

We have been here since the night of the 25th ulto. and accept from my old friend judge Overton and Col. Love I have not recd. a single line from any of my other friends. Major Donelson has recd. several from Emily, and informs me you all enjoy health. As usual I am crowded with business and office Hunters. Many friends call to see me, and the ladies have been very kind, altho, Mrs. Watson has never been to see me nor one of the family. We are getting on prosperously with our national concerns, and Danl Donelson was joined in holy wedlock to Miss Margaret on the 19th it having been posponed by the sickness and death of her unkle Mr. Southall.² They left here the next morning for New York, will return in a few days. My son went with them to Philadelphia.

Major Donelson has informed you that the House appears lonesome, and on his account it would give me great pleasure that you and Emily with the sweet little ones were here. I have often experienced in life the privation of leaving my D'r wife, when contending against poverty, seek-

¹ N. Y. Hist. Soc. Mary Eastin was a niece of Mrs. Jackson.

² Daniel Donelson married Margaret, daughter of John Branch, Secretary of the Navy. He was a brother of Maj. A. J. Donelson.

ing for a competency, therefore can feel for him. But I fear if you were here the disagreeable scenes heretofore experienced might be acted over again, of which I hear, and see, great symptoms, which nothing when you come here, can prevent, but a determined resolution and energy in Emily and you, and a duty to myself and my friend Major Eaton will require me to have observed, and which Emily has promised me that when she comes she will observe.

I shall forever much regret that Emily and you did not at first pursue my advice. it was then in your power I knew to have kept from my doors and put down, that wicked political combination of slanderers, and to have prevented those disagreeable consequences that have ensued, and by the easy mode of extending equal civilities to all and particularly to the heads of departments and their families. You both knew Eaton was my steadfast friend and the able defender of your dear aunt when assailed by these wicked political monsters, and I further told you that the stroke was only ostensibly against Eaton, when levelled thro' him at me. I then knew it, and after finding the combination began and engendered here extending to Nashville with Doctor McNairy and Mrs. R. in the van, it confirmed me in this well founded opinion, and the late letter published in the *Lexington Reporter* is proof as strong as holy writ, and what was the most cruel thing of all, my own connections included in this unholy wicked and unjust conspiracy against female character, by which I was to be reached, and the memory of my D'r wife, who ought to have been dear to all her connections, indirectly or directly assailed.

I have long knew the hypocrite who was at the bottom of this, secretly wielding his pupits, afraid to act in open day. His hand is seen in the letters from Washington, as well as those from Nashville, but he will fail in this, as he has before when he attempted to stab me in the dark, when to my face and to the public, crying out he was my friend and would support me. These acts will recoil upon his and his wicked agents head and fall harmless at the feet of those whose injury he has been seeking. I now think it proper to bring this to Emily and your view, for I hope you will come together when you do come, that you may well consider whether you can when you come here assume that energetic, dignified and independent course, that will shake from you, the particular association and attention of those, to the exclusion of friends, that have been the cause, of inducing you to spurn my advice, which has been the cause of so much disquietude to me, and has lead to a division of my house, where the advice of the head ought, and must govern, with the wicked purpose in view of leading to my distruction. This tho, was under the hypocritical garb of friendship, that imposed upon Emily and you, unacquainted with the arts of the experienced in calumny, and of political intrigue, altho well understood by me, and who, I now find where I expected them, associating with my worst enemies.

I have therefore only to add, that it would give me much pleasure to see you both here, provided you will pursue my advice, and assume that dignified course that ought to have been at first adopted, of treating every

one with attention, and extending the same comity and attention to all the heads of Departments, and their families which is the only course that my situation can permit. This will be a task that will require great firmness and energy, for you may rest assured that these satanic combinations having once got your ears, when you arrive will surround you with redoubled vigor and earnestness, knowing as they do, that it is the only hope for success, to create a separation between my household, by which they may hope to turn it to my injury, and so soon as they can accomplish their object, would wheel upon and if possible destroy you, for those wicked ones who live and thrive upon slander, and are base enough to assail female character for political views, will stop at nothing.

With these remarks I conclude, it will afford me pleasure to see you here, under a determination to adopt and pursue the course here pointed out. without such determination your own good sense will dictate to you both, the propriety of not coming until such arrangements are made here, to secure harmony for the future. better to put up with the separation for a short time than to come on and introduce again those scenes here that has cost me so much pain, which first and last has almost destroyed me, and this too produced by my dearest friends, uniting with and pursuing the advice of my worst enemies. This is what I cannot again endure. I have never asked any sacrifice of either of you, I never will, but I have a right to expect my advice in my own House and to my own family will be obeyed, and that is only that the same comity will be extended to all the families of the Heads of Departments and to all others and that my enemies will not be my families associates in exclusion of my long tried and sincere friends, Those who have been counselling you to your ruin. and inducing you to believe it is meritorious to disobey my admonitions and follow theirs and thereby destroying the Harmony of my family. Keep clear of the slanderers, they are always dangerous, with a resolution to conform to the rule laid down here which was the only one ever required by me and I will be more than happy to see you here. One word more, has judge Overton, Randal McGavock, Lemuel Donelson, General Coffee, and thousand more injured their standing and character by associating with Major Eaton and his family. I think not. But the persecutor and slanderers will always meet their reward sooner or later and all who associates with them.

Present my kind compliments to Emily, kiss Jackson and Mary Rachel for me and shew her this letter. altho written in haste it is intended for her due consideration, and accept for yourself my best wishes and believe me your friend.

P. S. You will receive by Genl Donelson a small present, as a remembrance, it is sent as you have no parents to provide for you, it has been selected by our mutual friend Major Lewis who sends his compliments to you and Mrs. Donelson.

ANDREW J. DONELSON TO JACKSON.¹

WASHINGTON, October 25, 1830.

Dear Uncle: Reflecting upon the delicate subject of our mornings conversation, and the ground upon which you thought it right to place the social intercourse of Mrs. Donelson, before she is invited to return to the city, I have thought it best to give you my views in writing as the least painful mode of communicating them.

I have never had an agency in an issue of facts touching the general character of Mrs. Eaton, and shall not be forced to make one except in defence of my own conduct or that of my family.

It is impossible that a delicate female, introduced to a new social circle as was Mrs. Donelson in the winter of 1829, should not be governed in some degree by the views of character which she found prevailing in it. An insensibility to such an influence would imply the absence of a moral sentiment which I should be unwilling to ascribe to any virtuous woman, much more to one that possesses my love and is the mother of my children. How, let me ask, was this safeguard of character treated in her case? Altho' from motives of friendship and duty to you, which it is my greatest happiness to know have never ceased to animate both Mrs. D and myself, we commenced an intercourse with the family of Majr Eaton, which as far as civilities of an ordinary kind from us could have any effect placed them upon the same footing that other respectable members of society occupied, and yet a short time after your inauguration a letter is addressed to Mrs. D by Mr. Eaton in which he descends to the insinuation that she has placed herself under the guardianship of slanderers. This denunciation is applied to a very respectable family in this place, one member of which was an old and long esteemed friend and correspondent of our lamented Aunt, whose worthy example in "not deciding upon people's character" it also professes to respect. I refer to this letter not for the purpose of assailing the motives of Mr. Eaton, but of marking how well it corresponded with intimations which preceded it and have since followed it, that my power to hold my place here depended upon my subserviency to the wishes of Mrs. Eaton.

Whilst however I permitted no circumstance to alter my conduct and am not sensible of but one trivial exception on the part of Mrs. Donelson which no sooner occurred than it was reported to you and satisfactorily explained, what is the fact in regard to Mrs. Eaton? A visit which I paid to her in your company was misrepresented to a member of the family, and was made the burden of a message which was not only insulting, but indicative of the artifice by which it was designed to make your feelings the minister of her threats. I mention this as another fact not depending upon rumour.

The next step in the history of this affair was the trip to Norfolk. Altho' I was not an eye witness to the circumstances which gave Mrs. Eaton so much offense on this occasion, I am constrained to believe that they grew out of her habitual proneness to mistake the proprieties of her

¹ Library of Congress, Donelson Papers.

sex. Understanding that something had occurred which excited the astonishment of the passengers, and seeing Mrs. Eaton betray an extraordinary discomposure of temper, I proffered my arm to her in descending the hill to the steam boat for the purpose of ascertaining the cause. She informed me I think that Mrs. Donelson had not accepted her fan nor used her cologne bottle when offered to her, and shew[ed] a disposition not to be intimate with her: She also added that the emotions which then agitated her bosom were the result of pity for my family, for that you had agreed, if we did not behave differently from what Mrs. Donelson had then done, to send us back to Tennessee; and that she did not consent to take the excursion to Norfolk until you made that promise.

It is painful to me to refer to these incidents, and this last I should not name did it disclose any thing which rested on my memory alone. But the truth is I had the means of establishing the existence of similar impressions in the society in which I every day moved before that trip, and after it from another unquestionable source. Whatever hopes I may have entertained previous to that disclosure of regulating my intercourse with the family of Majr Eaton so as not to allow my example to take the course of others who on different grounds had held none with it, they were now completely banished. It was impossible that I could submit to the degradation of having a tribune of this character constituted for the purpose of determining within what limits my good behaviour might secure the station which I held. Honorable as I deem that station I scorn to hold it at the will of any one but yourself, or at the expense of those principles with which have grown up my love and gratitude for you.

With the discretion of Mrs. Donelson on this subject I have never interfered until the occurrences of the Norfolk trip and those which followed it the day or two after our return to this city. They have satisfied me that no partial intercourse which I could hereafter prescribe for myself could save me from exposure to fresh insults, or what is worse representations calculated to withdraw your confidence from me. I feel it therefore to be my duty whatever may be the advice of Mrs. D's other friends not to permit her further intercourse with Mrs. Eaton, except in your house, if you think proper to invite her return.

I do believe, Uncle, that the time will arrive when the difficulty which you now experience in reconciling my conduct to that tenderness of feeling which your unbounded goodness ought to create in the heart of filial love and gratitude will be removed. If however it never should, altho' the consequence is hazardous and full of danger to my future prospects, I hope to be able to bear up under it, and demonstrate to those who may still take an interest in my welfare, if I have erred, that I was not tempted by those considerations which usually assail integrity of motive and uprightness of heart. Affection can have no purer link than that which binds me to your interests, to your private happiness, to the honor and glory of your public services. To the ardour of this sentiment I may possibly owe the misfortune of its being misconceived: for I have with difficulty restrained its indignation when I have seen this petticoat affair employed in prejudicing old friends and in creating new ones. But I do not mean

to find fault with the conduct of others here. All that I desired to do was to express in as delicate way as I can, my unwillingness for Mrs. Donelson to take her place in this house again, unless she can do so without being required to visit Mrs. Eaton or to hold an intercourse with her out of it.
 yr. affectionate nephew

[*Indorsement:*] Duplicate letter to Genl Jackson dated Oct. 25, 1830. produced by his declaration that Mrs. D had been invited thro' Mary Eastin to return under a pledge to visit Mrs. Eaton and to practise the same comity to her out of his house, that she did to the families of the other heads of Department.

TO ROBERT OLIVER (JOEL R. POINSETT).¹

WASHINGTON, October 26, 1830.

Dear Sir, I had the honour this evening to receive your letter of the 25th instant with its inclosure, and agreeable to your request herewith return it with a tender of my thanks for this token of your friendship and regard.

I had supposed that every one acquainted with me knew, that I was opposed to the nulifying doctrine, and my toast at the Jefferson dinner² was sufficient evidence of the fact. I am convinced there is not one member of Congress who are not convinced of this fact, for on all occasions I have been open and free upon this subject. The South Carolinians, as a whole, are too patriotic to adopt such *mad projects* as the nulifyers of that state propose.

That Mr. Van Buren should be suspected of such opinions are equally strange.

I am Sir with great respect and regard your mo. obdt. Servt.

TO ANDREW J. DONELSON.¹

WASHINGTON, October 26 (?), 1830.

Genl A. J. with his respects informs major Donelson that he has recd his note and will to night make in writing a reply to it with candeur and in friendship, has only to regret that he sees in his note, all that prejudice derived from the slanderers of mrs. E. and the major, which he thought did exist, when neither he, nor any of his family would read the Testimony in her defence. I perceive this deep rooted prejudice and regret it, and I hope riper years will shew the danger of acting on rumor, or secrete retailers of slander, I hope in god not experimentally, but god only knows, for it has visited the fairest character and I will only remark, that as good, virtuous and respectable characters, has visited, does visit mrs. E. as any others, and I hazard nothing in saying more virtue than many of her slanderers. all people have a right to select their society, every head of a family have the right to govern their House hold

¹ Pa. Hist. Soc., Poinsett Papers. The name Robert Oliver was assumed for purpose of secrecy. Most of the letters from Jackson to Poinsett in this collection are to be found also in Charles J. Stillé's *Life of Joel R. Poinsett*.

² Apr. 15, 1830. "Our Union; it must be preserved."

¹ Library of Congress, Donelson Papers. It is probable that this was a hasty acknowledgement of Donelson's letter of Oct. 25.

TO ANDREW J. DONELSON.¹

WASHINGTON, October 27 (?), 1830.

D'r Andrew, When you read the hasty and I may say unintelligible scrawl,¹ handed you this morning I wish to have a free, friendly, and full conversation with you on the subject of your letter to which mine was intended as an answer.

yours

ANDREW J. DONELSON TO JACKSON.¹

WASHINGTON, October 27, 1830.

Dear Uncle. I have read with great care the contents of your letter in answer to mine of the 25th. It was not my intention in that letter to extract from you any thing for the justification of my conduct if I should ever be called upon to make one. You had thought it proper if Mrs Donelson returned to have it first understood that she should be on terms of social intercourse with Mrs. Eaton. This was a concession which I believed I ought not to make considering the relations which now exist. You have decided the question as you have a right to do. The only remaining one for me to consider is also depending in some degree upon your decision, how long shall I remain separated from my family? If you desire my services any longer there is no reasonable sacrifice which I am not ready to make, provided the arrangements that are now made for my family do not become burdensome to my mother in law.

I will when I have more leisure correct some inaccuracies of fact contained in your letter; and also allow myself a wider latitude in noticing the views you have taken of my duty and of the whole subject, than I did in my first note to you.

As the condition of Mrs. D's return has no qualification in her favor, and as the remainder [of] your term of office is a longer period than I ought [to] consent to charge any friend or relative with the care of my family, it may be best for you to look to some one to take my place at once, and in the mean[time] to allow me to be employed in putting in more intelligible files the papers of the office, preparatory to my retirement from it.

Believe me with the greatest affection yr. grateful nephew

TO ANDREW J. DONELSON.¹

WASHINGTON, October 27 (?), 1830.

D'r Andrew, on the subject of your note of this morning I will this evening have with you a conversation, and full understanding.

I would wish before your further reply to my answer to your note to have and correct it as it was written in haste with a bad head ache and in the late hours of the night from memory without referring to memorandum for dates, and really not expecting that with you a long written correspondence would be the result.

yours respectfully.

¹ Library of Congress, Donelson Papers.¹ *Ibid.*¹ *Ibid.*

ANDREW J. DONELSON TO MRS. DONELSON.¹

October 28, 1830.

My Dear Emily. I think in my last letter I mentioned to you that when Daniel started for Tennessee I should be able to appoint a time for your return to the City. From present appearances, anxious as I am to be with you and our dear little children, I do not think I can realise my expectations at the date of that letter. The example of Genl Coffee and Brother Lemuel is a new rallying point for the petticoat intriguers, and the demand is now pressed with more boldness than ever that before you can return a pledge must be given to hold a social official intercourse with Mrs. Eaton as a visitor and otherwise. I have informed Uncle that you will treat her politely and socially if she pleases in his house; but that out of it I will make no pledges of such a character.

Considering what has passed on this subject our reputation would be much injured by the change of conduct now sought to be prescribed for us. If the disposition of Uncle continues as it was expressed in a letter written to Mary Eastin, which I suppose she has received, there is no other alternative left me but to return to my farm. I shall not do so however, until every other expedient fails. I hope your Mother and Brother Stockly can bear the inconvenience of your stay with them even if it should continue through the winter, until this difficulty is settled one way or the other. I shall let you know in due time. . . .

TO ANDREW J. DONELSON.¹

WASHINGTON, October 30, 1830.

My D'r Andrew, In looking over your note of the 27th instant to me, I find it requires an answer, this should have been attended to sooner but from the pressure of business and the state of my health.

From the first of this disagreeable business to this time, the course adopted by my family I have and must ever, sincerely regret—all I ever required has been that the same comity should be by them extended to major Eaton and family on all necessary occasions as to the rest of the heads of departments and theirs, leaving you and your family as part of mine, to govern yourselves as to your social intercourse as you might think proper. This I have ever thought was due to me from you and your family knowing as you did the relations between major Eaton and me, and believing as I have ever done, exacting nothing that ought not to have been yielded, to prevent my family from being pointed to by others, as was the case, as giving countenance to the slanderous and groundless reports, circulated, as I believe by one of the most wicked combinations that ever existed to destroy my friend, with the view of injuring me, this I always declared to you and referred you to the proof.

The course I requested of my family I thought due to the station I held, and to major Eaton and to justice, having invited him into my cabinet,

¹ *Ibid.*¹ *Ibid.*

all which has been fully explained to you and your family, part mine, that I could not, nay would not separate from major Eaton under circumstances that would destroy him, disgrace me, and be doing precisely what the combination expected to compel me to do.

The letter to miss mary Easton to be shewn to Emily, was written and thought necessary from information received, that if a change of conduct to major Eaton and family could not take place, then and in such case, that it would be improper for them to come on, until some arrangements could be made, and harmony in this respect be restored, as I could not again be exposed to experience the disagreeable scenes I had heretofore done. This letter I thought proper to shew to you, which has drew from you the declaration that such a concession you could not make, and makes it necessary that you should withdraw from me and return to your family. However painful this decision is to me, and for which I cannot now nor never could see any real cause for, the course you have thought proper thus to adopt, upon a full review of the whole ground from the beginning, as I am sure, I have asked or required nothing that from my situation, ought not, and from yours could have been yielded without any sacrifice on your part, and from which perfect Harmony as to myself and family, could have been fairly maintained. But you have surely a right to judge for yourself and family, and have judged and come to the determination that the "*condecension*" required cannot be yield[ed] to. Therefore my D'r Andrew as you have made your election, and view the requirements requested by me, as a sacrifice, and which, as a sacrifice I cannot receive, but only as an act of justice, I have determined, like mr. Jefferson, to live without any female in my family, that cannot yield the same comity to all the heads of Departments and their families. This is a duty I owe to myself and the situation in which I am placed, for the sake of my own quiet, and justice due to others.

If you should not think it too great a sacrifice, for that I ask of none, I will be glad that you remain until after the meeting of congress, or even to the rise of it, in the mean time arrangements may be made that may restore harmony and peace. But you are to be the judge, when you will withdraw; whenever it may be your pleasure to notify me, the means for your return are ready, but I shall expect a short times notice that I may look out for another, which I will not do, until that notice is given.

I have found for upwards of a year that you appeared to be estranged from me, and entirely taken up with strangers, but what I most regretted was your constant malancholy, and abstraction from me, which under my bereavements made my tears to flow often. I pray you cheer up, my tears are dried. When you leave, whatever cause I have to regret or complain, you will carry my friendship with you, and my prayers for your happiness, and that of your amiable family, They two little cherubs, Jackson and Rachel who I can never cease to love.

I found on my return to Tennessee the combination of my own connections, were interwoven with those of my enemies, that when I expected you and Emily to go to my House and remain with me as part of my

family it was declined, and from information since derived from Tennessee some of the connection, still engaged in measures not very pleasant to me, all of which I have and will continue to regret, altho I was unable to controvert.

I have not time to take a copy, when leisure permits make me one.

I am very affectionately your uncle and sincere friend

ANDREW J. DONELSON TO JACKSON.¹

WASHINGTON, October 30, 1830.

Dear Uncle: I have taken according to your request a copy of your letter to me of this date which is enclosed. The letter to which it replies was the answer to that of yours which you requested to be returned and was accordingly returned.

I have no wish to have that letter sooner than your leisure and convenience will enable you to give it; as the views I intend to take of it and the whole subject will, I trust, be a termination of the unpleasant correspondence; and besides I do not desire to present those views until the limitation which you have imposed upon my residence here expires.

In your house, my dear Uncle, as your guest I acknowledge that the same comity and politeness are due to Mrs. Eaton that are to the ladies of the other cabinet officers or those of other gentlemen. A pledge to secure this for the future, altho' it implies that without it a distinction would be drawn, I have never refused to make. Whether there be justice in requiring this pledge considering what has passed, I did not undertake to enquire; but I certainly did consider it as given both in my conversations and in the expressions of my letter.

Out of your house I claim only the same general discretion in behalf of my family that is possessed by all others. To require them to pay a visit to Mrs. Eaton or any one else, where it is obvious that there is no reciprocal respect is at once to degrade them. The same principle would oblige me to submit to all the insults which private intercourse is subject to in every sphere of life. You did not when a prisoner in the revolutionary war obey the order of the enemy who had you in his power to clean his boots. Yet you find fault with my determination merely to keep out of the way of insult.

I had as well here as elsewhere notice the allusion you have made to Mrs. Donelsons making her Mother's house her home instead of the Hermitage during your recent visit there, because it seems to be interpreted in an unfriendly manner. You have not forgotten the note of Mrs. Eaton in which she refused to dine with you because my family was in your house just before you started for Tennessee. I have not forgotten the language which you employed on that occasion, and the determination you then expressed of carrying us home and leaving us there. Where was our home? Were we not bound from respect even to your feelings not to put ourselves in the way of the honors you intended to pay to Mr. and Mrs

¹ Library of Congress, Donelson Papers.

Eaton at the Hermitage? Was there nothing in Mrs. Donelsons long absence from her Mother to excuse the desire to stay with her without incurring your disapprobation?²

yr. affectionate nephew

TO ANDREW J. DONELSON.¹

WASHINGTON, October 30, 1830, 11. o'clock p. m.

My D'r Andrew, for so I must still call you. Your note with the copy of my letter requested is recd. and read with haste but attention. There is one paragraph that requires a few remarks from me, and gives me pain to see. You are pleased to say in your letter "In your House my Dr Unkle as your *quest* I acknowledge that the same comity and politeness are due to mrs. Eaton that is due to other ladies of your cabinet" etc. When my Dr Andrew were you my guest or how and when treated only as such. The term applied to me is surely unjust. You and Emily with mary was considered by me as my family. You were so considered by the world, so introduced, and so treated, and in that situation as the representative of my dear and ever to be lamented wife was mrs. Donelson here considered by me, and as such received and treated by all, and as such did she receive the ladies and Gentlemen at public dinners and Levees, being alway conducted to table by the secretary of state, and as such did I require only the same comity on all necessary occasions to mrs. Eaton as to the rest. Review this expression, it is unjust to me, nay, it is Humiliating to us all, and all the world must condemn it.

You were my family, my chosen family, and was placed where I was delighted to see you, and where, had it not been for bad advisers, by which my advice at first was disregarded we would have been living in peace with all, and in my Bosom forever

This remark I could not in justice to myself refrain making, but I have done. every time the subject is named it makes my heart bleed afresh, for since the remark in S. D.² letter my tears are dried.

I am yr affectionate uncle

ANDREW J. DONELSON TO JACKSON.¹

WASHINGTON, October 30, 1830.

My Dear Uncle: Allow me to correct the reading of the remark made by me in my note of yesterday and which you have quoted in your answer to it.

"In your house, my dear Uncle, I acknowledge that the same comity and politeness are due to Mrs. Eaton as your guest, from my family, that are due to the ladies of your other cabinet officers or those of other gentlemen". I hope you will allow the foregoing to be substituted in the place of your quotation. Nothing was farther from my mind than to

² These letters from Major Donelson reveal Mrs. Eaton as vindictive and belligerent. Her influence over Jackson was strong, and she used it in fighting for recognition. In this connection see Van Buren's description of the last call he made on Mrs. Eaton, in company with Jackson, just after Eaton's resignation of the office of Secretary of War, in which she showed marked coolness for Jackson. Van Buren's *Autobiography*, p. 407.

¹ Library of Congress, Donelson Papers.

² Probably means Samuel Donelson. The letter has not been found.

¹ Library of Congress, Donelson Papers.

express such an idea as that we considered ourselves, or were considered by others as guests in your house. The whole difficulty of the case turns in my mind upon our duty as a part of your family to your guests.

What I wrote yesterday evening was done by twilight and I did not take a copy.²

yr. affectionate nephew

² In the Library of Congress, A. J. Donelson Papers, is preserved the following "private" letter from John C. McLeMORE, of Nashville, to Maj. A. J. Donelson, dated Nov. 10, 1830, which is notable on account of its frank statements by a devoted Jackson editor and relative:

"My Dear Donelson, Your letter of the 28th ulto. has just been handed me by Colo Armstrong. fortunately Mrs. Donelson and your sweet little children and Mary Easten are at my house. they reached here on yesterday. they had recvd. the Genls' letter to Mary Easten and had come here expressly to get me to aid in answering it. I had written a proper answer and Emily had just finished copying it when yours to her and the one to me reached us—after the receipt of yours we made some alterations in Emilys letter to the Genl. You will see it, as she requests the Genl. to shew it to you, from which you will discover she is perfectly willing to remain here until after the rise of Congress and longer if necessary. You will not have the sligh[t]est difficulty in getting Emily to conform to your wishes. She is in excellent health and so are your sweet little ones, all cheerful and happy. we will endeavor to make her as happy and contented as possible. I see in the Genls letter to Mary, a *saveing clause*; from which I infer clearly that it is his determination to send E. abroad and to retain you, that his object is in case of Emilys return before the rise of Congress that, she shall treat Mrs. E in a way to strenthen Mr. E so that it will aid him in getting him through the Senate etc. and as she cannot consistently occupy any other position than the one she does, I am decidedly of opinion, she ought to remain where she is, until after the rise of Congress and that the ground you have taken is correct. And here let me *implore you to be mild in your correspondence with the Genl.*—his feelings are not in a situation to bear irritation; he is wholly rong, no one but yourself has spoken candidly to him.

"I have written him a short letter by the mail which takes this, apprising him of a new paper that is getting up here with Tannahill for its ostensible editor, but which no doubt will be supported by all the writing talent of their party here, that it openly avows its opposition to him, and its support of Henry Clay and the American sistem, that it is intended no doubt for foreign consumption and that it will be used to abuse him etc. I have also told him as one of his devoted friends that I shou'd [be] prepared to defend him and our pure republican principles, that if a few thousand can be of use in the strie it shall be afforded, that I have much to say to him on maney important subjects in which I know he will feel a deep interest, and that I will write him at large on Sunday next etc., that I shall speak as I have always done to him in sincerity, that my attachment to him will not permit me to speak otherwise than candidly etc. the object of this letter is intended to prepare him for what I shall write him on Sunday.

"My object is to write him such a letter as I think will support you and have a good effect. I intend in it, to risque *every thing*. I will tell him the *whole truth and nothing but the truth*. I will shew him the true state of feelings and politicks here; will tell him and *prove it too*, that Wm. B. Lewis is the prime cause of all his misfortunes and that he ought to *get him out of his house etc.* I shall praise Eaton and tell him he ought to send him abroad, and that the ground you have assumed, that Mrs. Donelson shall not visit Mrs. Eaton is right, that you are one among his few devoted and disinter[est]ed friends etc. etc. I shall duly consider every thing and its consequences. I am truly devoted *as you know* to the Genl. and conceive it my duty to risque his frowns for my country and his good. If I dont tell him the whole truth it will not reach him, unless it does through you. I know you have a heavey weight on you. I will bear a share of that weight for the good of the Genl and you for I am concious you are right. I will however be prudent. my letter to the Genl shall be enclosed to you open for your perusal—after you have read it if you think it prudent and his feelings in a state to receive it hand it to him as I shall request you to do. if not such a letter as he ought to get, burn it. I will add nothing more now further than to implore you by all that is sacred, *not to desert our dear old friend*—the time will come when he will appreciate the honest course we have persued—all will work well—time will cure all things. "Never give up the ship" "dont give up the ship"—light is only wanting to bring the old hero right, and as I said I will, be the consequences what they may, tell our dear old friend the *whole truth and nothing but the truth*—that he is rong and you right, will give him the reasons and the causes in full, now is the time for all true friends to speak the whole truth. In great Haste, Yours truly and affectionately"

TO SECRETARY VAN BUREN.¹

WASHINGTON, November 1, 1830.

my D'r sir, I have read mr. Camberl[e]ngs letter with attention, it augurs well for the republican success. you know I never despair, I have confidence in the virtue and good sense of the people. god is just, and while we act faithfully to the constitution, he will smile upon and prosper our exertions.

I have read the consul for the Kingdom saxony's letter with some interest. his remarks embrace good common sense, and are worthy of consideration. In my message, while a judiciary revision of the Tariff and a reduction of duties may be recommended, still we must also recommend, a just adherence to the rule that will give us the means of national defence in time of war, by placing our own labour on grounds of fair competition with that of Europe, by raising the necessary revenue from articles that come in competition with our own Labour, and so soon as the national debt be paid a reduction on all articles that do not come in competition with our own labour. In your suggestions the other day I think you fully embraced this idea, and when you digest them please send them, that I may prepare and arrange them for my message.

I will send you today, what I propose to say on the Bank for your remarks. so soon as you get through the Foreign relations, I would like to have it. room can be left for any news from Mexico or France etc. etc. I have read mr Pringles letter. I shall not touch him for the present. I return the letters.

yr Friend

TO ROBERT J. CHESTER.¹

WASHINGTON, November 7, 1830.

My D'r Sir, Your letter of the 25th ultimo has just been received, and I hasten to reply to it. There are no complaints here against Genl Purdy, nor have we received any intimation of his intention to resign, but should the office become vacant you may rest assured your enemy shall not be appointed.

I recd a letter from Mr Steel my overseer informing me that Charlotte had applied to you to purchase her, being discontented where she is now. I bought her being the wife of Charles at his request, he appears now desirous that she with her children be sold. I have therefore come to the resolution to part with her. but from the great reduction of hands on my plantation by recent deaths since the first of the year 1829, having lost six of my best hands, I was glad to hear that you had said to my overseer, that you would pay me here, so that I can get Andrew to reinstate Charlotte by purchase here in due time to aid in the next years crop. I have therefore concluded to let you have them, that is to say Charlotte with her three children for eight hundred dollars, paid here in all the month of February next, and on your application for them, and handing to Mr

¹ Library of Congress, Van Buren MSS.¹ Tenn. Hist. Soc.

Steel on a note payable in this bank to me with Doctor Butler endorser, I have directed him to deliver them to you, or if it will suit you better, to place a note in bank at Nashville, due and payable, by the 10th of Febry next, which will enable the cashier to remit a check for the amount to me here by the last of February, it will answer as I wish to send my son out early in March, by whom I would send the purchase in lieu of Charlotte and her children.

I give my overseer \$500 pr annum and my hands have decreased so much, that really this year with the bad season I will not clear from my farm what its culture has cost me. I think I have placed Charlotte and her children as low as they could be bought now here, and sent to my farm, but I do it that she may be contented. let me hear from you on the receipt of this letter. I wish you to say to Col S. D. Hays, that he must get, and send on here, as early as he can, testimonials of his sobriety and capacity as a surveyor. This will be necessary, for so sure as an opportunity offers if one should, to give him a surveyors District, that in order to mortify me his appointment will be opposed in the senate and Crockett and Deshea² will represent him as intemperate. Let the recommendations be strong and go to his capa[bil]ity, and ability to give the necessary *security*, if required. This must be attended to early to be here by the middle or 20th of Decr next if practicable.

TO ANDREW STEVENSON.

Private

WASHINGTON, November 10, 1830.

My D'r sir, The Secretary of State has submitted to me (confidentially) yours, to him of the 8th instant. Your own reflections cannot fail to satisfy you of the impropriety of his entering into unofficial explanations upon the points refered to. In addition to the communications received by the Department of State from Mr. Randolph at St. Petersburg, one addressed to myself from him at London (the only one from that place) has been recd., From which the following is an extract "I trust my dear, Sir, that you will excuse this hurried letter written in pain and sickness. By the next Packet Ship you shall hear more fully. I purpose going to the continent to try and renovate my shattered system. If the season were a fortnight earlier I would embark at once for the United States—as it is, I shall if it please god return to St Petersburg (with your approbation) in the spring, and to the U. S. in September next, if not sooner."

Mr Randolphs communication is altogether affectionate and in an suitable spirit. Every step that has been taken by the Executive branch of the Government in relation to his mission has passed under my own observation, and by them he has received as he shall unto the end receive, perfect and strict Justice. His friends, accustomed to the misrepresentations which his political opponents have always been in the habit to indulge in, respecting him, should wait with patience the result, trusting as I do, that it will never appear that he has been wanting in duty.

² Robert Desha, M. C. from Tennessee 1827-1831.

By mr Randolphs original instructions the state of his constitution and the delapidations to which his long career of public service had exposed it, was taken into consideration, and he had a discretion given to him to leave St Petersburg and spend the winter in a milder climate if he should be satisfied that, that indulgence would work no prejudice to the business of his mission.

The reservation of privacy imposed upon this letter is only to be considered as imperative in regard to newspapers and indiscreet publications of its contents. Whenever it is clear and, in the exercise of a sound discretion, necessary to communicate its contents in relation to facts you are at liberty to make it, trusting to your discretion not to do so on slight grounds, and much less to repel mere newspaper slander which is not of a character to injure any one.

I am sir with great respect yr mo. obdt. Servt.

STATEMENT OF ANDREW J. DONELSON.¹

WASHINGTON, November 10, 1830.

On this day about 12 oclock the President remarked to me that he had received my note of yesterday in relation to the difficulties which opposed the return of Mrs. Donelson to the city of Washington. The views which he took of that subject were so extraordinary and indicate so firm a determination to hold the members of his cabinet as well as myself who had not coerced their families into an intercourse with Mrs. Eaton, officially responsible to him, that I have felt it due to myself hereafter to reduce to writing what passes as leading to this object.

Tho well aware from the moment of the organization of the cabinet that the repugnance of society to recognize Mrs. Eaton as a proper associate would deeply affect the feelings of the President and expose his excitements to the arts of office seekers and to the many biasses which must naturally attend the incorporation of private feelings with the action of the Government, yet I relied upon the checks, which, an overruling sense of justice, the tendency of time and good counsels, and the inherent weakness of such combinations contained, to dispel the delusion, and ultimately redeem the administration from the odium of such a feature. This anticipation has been banished by the conversation which the President held with me to day. An infatuation kept alive by the timidity of weak friends and the interests of the political party which have used Majr Eaton as an instrument first to obtain the confidence of the President and afterwards to controul him, has long since classed those who associated with Mrs. Eaton or who countenanced her pretensions to virtue and innocence, as the confidential friends of the President, and those who did not as secretly favoring the views of an opposition to his fame and character. The circumstances which ought to have removed this infatuation have confirmed it. It has now become a principle of the administration, and as such consigns to destruction those who do not subscribe to the means which are necessary to secure it power.

¹ Copy. Jackson MSS., Presidential Messages and Misc., Box D. In the handwriting of A. J. Donelson.

Independently of the importance of the subject in this point of view, it is more so to me individually, in another. My relation to the President as his private secretary, the object of his early favor and care, and but for this impediment the sharer with his adopted son of his estate—this and all the influences which it sets in motion calculated on the one hand to enjoin obedience, forbearance, conciliation, love and gratitude, as my duty; and on the other, opposite and corresponding vices or faults as the just measure of my character, if my agency in this event separates me from his person; are considerations of the deepest import to my future happiness. That the world may know that they have been justly appreciated—that if I am borne down as others are by this evil tide, neither my honor, my character, nor my duties are sunk beneath it, by whatever standard they may be estimated, I have yielded to the necessity of preserving up to this period some evidences of my conduct in relation to the attempts of Mrs. Eaton to subdue the moral sentiment of society, which will be found in another part of this book. The same necessity has also induced me to reduce to writing the conversations which I hold with the President; and I commence with that of this day.

The following letter was before him dated 9th Nov. 1830

My Dear Uncle, Understanding you in that part of our conversation last evening relating to the return of Mrs. Donelson to this city, to say, that I must not anticipate this happiness until I could consent to her visiting Mrs. Eaton, or in other words would coerce an intercourse between Mrs. Eaton and Mrs. Donelson, out of your house as well as in it, as far as the latter was concerned, it becomes my painful duty to apprise you again that such terms cannot receive my approbation.

If I have misconceived your meaning, pray, let me know what are the difficulties which I have to remove before my family can be allowed to occupy the same house that I do.

yr. grateful and affectionate nephew.

P. S. I do not wish another correspondence on the subject—all that I desire is the knowledge of your wishes in relation to the extent of the intercourse in question, that I may be able to be governed by them, or occupy no longer than may be necessary a position which you think unfriendly to them

yr. etc A. J. D.

The President said he had read with much pain this letter, that I knew very well he would not part with his friend Majr Eaton, and that this was the object of those who did not allow their families to associate with Mrs. Eaton. I replied to him that whatever might be the views of others in regard to Majr Eaton that mine only looked to his fame and the protection of my own honor and character. That I had never seen any authority for his inference that a non intercourse with Mrs. Eaton was evidence of Political hostility to Majr. Eaton or himself.

The President continued. It is evidence of hostility to me. The refusal of my cabinet to associate with Mrs. E has already produced a coldness between several of them, which was daily exhibited. That he would not look to the cause of that coldness, but would at a proper time remove it by appointing officers that would harmonise in all their relations. I am, Sir, advised of the combinations which were formed in this city to keep Mrs. Eaton out of society, and the existence of similar ones at Nashville and elsewhere. They will fail. I shall never separate from Majr. Eaton, no influence can ever force me to do it. The time is not far off when I will give the Gentlemen of my cabinet who cannot harmonise with Majr Eaton some honorable proofs of my confidence in new stations: vacancies will shortly take place in the corps of foreign ministers: they must take these or retire. I can do without them.

I replied to him: This will be a fatal step. It is that which your enemies are looking for. You have not a right to interfere with the private family relations of the cabinet, and the attempt to do it must be seriously injurious. It was to avoid such an imputation that I chiefly desired the return of Mrs. Donelson, whose absence had been already ascribed to his determination to coerce her into an intercourse with Mrs. Eaton.

He said. It was not true that he wished to coerce the intercourse, but that Mrs. D should not return until such intercourse could be maintained, or until she could be on the same terms with the families of all the Heads of Departments. That forty members of Congress during the past winter, understanding that the female part of his family and the ladies of the cabinet officers did not associate with Mrs. Eaton, had asked him if Genl Jackson was at the head of the Government, that this was the language of his friends every where. It was the language of truth, and he would shew the world that Genl Jackson was at the head of Government, that he would not put up with what Mr. Monroe did. he knew his duty and would produce harmony. He also spoke in bitter terms of Govr. Branch as having treated Majr. Eaton cruelly (I was struck with this remark as corresponding with one of Mr. Triste's in which he mentioned that Westcott said every body knew that Eaton appointed the cabinet,² and that Govr. Branch among other things was reproached with ingratitude to Majr Eaton—Mr. Triste so informed me to day. It may be proper also to state that Westcott has recently been foiled in an attempt to get his Brother a midshipman reinstated, is one of Mr. Van Buren's officers, and has been quite indecorous in his official intercourse with the Secretary of the Navy. I was stating my opinions of the error into which the President had fallen by not discriminating between the rights of society as it regarded the character of Mrs. Eaton, and his own, when we were interrupted by the appearance of Sent Smith.

Nov. 13th. On this day the Pennsylvania enquirer containing the proceedings of the dinner given to Col. Watmough was in the hands of the President when I entered his office. He had the day before authorised me

² On Branch's appointment see Bassett's *Jackson*, II. 414. See also p. 186n., *ante*.

to apprise Mr. Simpson of his determination to appoint him commissioner to distribute the indemnity which Denmark had agreed to pay to our claimants, if he would resign his clerkship under Mr Gerard who was a claimant. Simpson attended this dinner, has long been known to the President as a violent enemy of Mr. Ingham, and as a mortified candidate for office had in various ways exhibited his hostility to the Administration. The toasts will show that the sentiments of Mr Simpson were the prevailing ones at the dinner. The President read many of them in my presence. He did not seem to feel the slightest regret at the open assault which they made upon the character and services of Mr. Ingham but rather to acquiesce in it.

In relation to the inquiry which had been instituted at the Treasury Department into the charges which had been exhibited by Mr Gowan against Mr. Gwyn, and which were the subject of the most unfeeling remark at the dinner in question, the President expressed much discontent, and disclaimed any agency in it. I told him that he had certainly authorised it, and had given an order to Mr. Ingham to dismiss Mr. Gwyn if upon investigation he should find the charges substantiated. He answered that the subject ought not to have been presented by the Department—that Gowan had acted incorrectly, and should have fought it out without troubling the Government. These expressions were evidently much excited, and I could not account for them, until I reflected that Majr Lewis had left the room soon after I entered it. His known agency in the election which had resulted in the defeat of Mr. Miller by representing him as having lost the confidence of the Executive, which was the foundation of Mr. Gowans difficulty, readily explained the cause of the Presidents excitement, which did not stop here. He expressed his doubts of the sincerity of the counsels of Mr. Ingham, and a determination hereafter to be more guarded in his intercourse with him.

It will be found that the President not only authorised the inquiry in question but on being informed that Mr. Gwyn had refused to answer to interrogatories touching one of the charges (alleging the want of power in the Government to question his exercise of the right he possessed to govern himself as he pleased as a voter), he the President directed Mr. Ingham specifically to prosecute the investigation in relation to this.

Nov. 17th. After the receipt of the letter of this date to me in which I am informed that I am at liberty to retire from the office of Private Secretary, I called upon the President to let him know the injustice he had done by the assertion that I represented myself and family as his guests. In my letter to him of the 30th of oct speaking of the duty which I owed his guests, I unfortunately thus expressed myself. "In your house, my dear Uncle, as your guest, I acknowledge that the same comity and politeness are due to Mrs. Eaton that is to the ladies of your other cabinet officers." He considered the term guest as applied to myself and family in his house, altho the whole subject forbid such an idea. The context shews clearly my meaning. But that there might be no misapprehension about it; I beg'd leave to correct the sentence so as to make it read as

follows—"In your house, my dear Uncle, I acknowledge that the same comity and politeness are due from my family to Mrs. Eaton as your guest, that are due to the ladies of your other cabinet officers or those of other Gentlemen." After this no one can deny that the allegation that I had made an unfounded and ungenerous statement going to shew that Mrs. D and myself had been considered and treated by the President as his guests, is altogether erroneous. The President however admitted it verbally, but in writing will not acknowledge it. In conversation he will not reject the force of truth and honor. But in writing Mr. V and Mr. Lewis are his counsellors, and he will express no ideas that are not capable of perversion or material to the game which they have made the President play from the commencement of his disagreement with me, and which aims at my destruction.

He flew from the criminations of my conduct which are contained in his letter of the 16th; and indulged in observations upon the conduct of Mr. Ingham shewing that he is completely estranged from him. He also alluded to the Post office Department as obnoxious to the same influence which did not harmonise with his friend Majr. Eaton. said that he had written to Col. Powell and explained the conduct of Majr. Bary.³

Nov. 21st The President handed me a letter from Col. Hamilton to him as well as one from the same Gentleman to myself. They both related to the removal of Majr. Laval by the city authorities of Charleston,⁴ which had very highly excited the feeling of the States right party in which no doubt the friends of Genl Jackson were nearly all ranged. The object of the removal and the circumstance of its being effected thro' the agency of Mr. Pringle the collector whose influence was stated to have been used in such a manner as to make him obnoxious to the principles which the President had avowed in his Inaugural speech, formed the leading features in the letters of Col. Hamilton who had recommended the removal of Pringle and the appointment of Laval in his place. It became necessary for me to write such a letter in reply as the President would approve. This I did. After he read it, he said that Hamilton's indiscretion in this case was as great as that of Gowan's in Gwyn's: that both cases were directed by the influence of Mr. Calhoun whose hypocrisy and selfish ambition knew no limits, and would destroy his best friends to accomplish his purposes. He connected these incidents with the Watmough celebration, which he considered as a development of public sentiment which had been cherished by Calhoun and was designed to destroy Mr. Ingham for the purpose of reaching ultimately the President himself.

I told him that the influence which had gotten up the Watmough dinner was composed of disaffected men—men who had from the organization of his administration taken bold ground against it, and particularly against Mr. Ingham: and instanced Simpson and Jack as the leading spirits at the dinner. He said that Simpson was his friend—that the voice of his old

³ William T. Barry, Postmaster General.

⁴ Meaning, their desire for his removal. Major Laval was reported a violent nullifier. He was still in the custom-house in 1832, and Poinsett, writing to Jackson on Nov. 16 of that year, suggested that Laval be transferred to New Orleans.

friend called for his appointment, and he would obey it—that Mr. Ingham was becoming unpopular in Penna., and would fall a sacrifice to the intrigues of Calhoun—that Ganes was one of the puppets of the latter as was evinced by his letter to Watmough, and by his general deportment. He added other general remarks all pointing to a change in the cabinet, and such a change as would ensure harmony. A cabinet he said ought to be a unit; otherwise like the interests of a divided house it must fall. These views were followed by others denouncing Calhoun as having attempted to stab him in the dark. He mentioned a declaration of Mr. Ringgolds, the present marshal of the district, to Lewis, that Mr. Monroe resisted the inclination of Mr. Calhoun to arrest Genl Jackson for having transcended his orders in passing the Florida line—that Genl Jackson owed a great deal to Mr. Monroe etc. It ought to be stated here that Ringgold was interceding for Lewis favor and influence in behalf of Mr. Monroe's accounts against the Government, which are yet pending before Congress: ⁵ and that it is probable he saw no better plan than that of access to the Presidents prejudice against Calhoun. Lewis was a fit and is always a ready instrument in such an operation.

TO MARTIN VAN BUREN.¹

WASHINGTON, November 15, 1830.

The President with his respects returns the letter, of master smith, and presents his thanks for its perusal. What a gem! cherish it—never let a bloom of it be withered by oppression, change his position, unless the superintendant *atones* for the punishment of innocence; for who can doubt the candor, when he “swears to the Bible”. I would not take a million for such a son, and I protest against permitting his *high sense* of honor and *propriety* from being subdued into abject servility, by newengland despotism—take him away, and send him to Nashville, or Educate him here.

This is in haste.

TO ANDREW J. DONELSON.¹

WASHINGTON, November 16, 1830.

D'r Andrew, After the last full and free conversation I had, and held with you upon the painful subject, to which yours of the 15th instant alludes, and which was this evening handed by yourself, I had a hope my feelings would no more be harrowed up by your written communications when you were daily with me, and could orally have communicated your

⁵ It is interesting to learn that this wretched intrigue to turn Jackson against Calhoun had its origin in Ringgold's effort to secure the payment of Monroe's claims against the government. For Major Lewis's unblushing acknowledgement of his part in it, see Parton's *Jackson*, III. 321-324. The reader will observe that Major Lewis puts the Ringgold revelation in November, 1829. Major Donelson says Jackson told him of it in November, 1830. Are we to suppose that Jackson kept the matter a secret from his nephew and confidential secretary for a whole year, or can it be that Lewis got the date wrong? Lewis wrote his account in 1850 and, seemingly, he wrote from memory.

¹ Library of Congress, Van Buren MSS. “master smith” was Van Buren's son, Smith Van Buren. He had been a student at the Berkshire Gymnasium, Pittsfield, Mass.

² Library of Congress, Donelson Papers.

views upon this, or any other subject. I had supposed that my views were well understood by you. I had often repeated them to you, and Emily.

Were you and Emily ever constrained by me to become part of my family, I thought it was of your free choice; have I ever attempted to retain you against your will; I believe not; tho, would always be happy to have you both part of it, so long as you would conform to such rules as I deemed proper all my family should, and no longer. That whenever the rules of my House became irksome to you and her, you were at liberty to withdraw.

When Emily was placed in my house as the representative of my dear departed wife I did not suppose that she would have thought it discreditable to fulfil those duties to my friends, that if my D'r mrs. J. had been living she would with pleasure have fulfilled. Emily was never required to do more than to extend equal comity to every one of the heads of the Departments and their families. This from me, and my household was due to them. The moment that this could not be submitted to, by such an important member of my family as Emily; it became her duty to withdraw. If an idea has been taken up that I wished to constrain you and Emily to remain part of my family when you would not conform to the rule before stated for the Government of my family when you wished to withdraw, you have laboured under a great mistake, for I have often said and at all times repeated, that I could not have any one a member of my family that would not conform to this rule; and particularly one as mrs Donelson who, was placed as the representative of my D'r departed wife, from whom if living, or her representative when dead, justice required that the same comity should be extended to all.

One remark and I am done witting to you upon this subject. you must hereafter speak, not write to me upon it. ? why do you ask me for a copy of a letter that I burnt before your eyes? You cannot have forgotten the reason why they were committed to the flames. You must recollect the ungenerous and unfounded statement you had mad[e] to me in one of yours that "you and Emily had only been my *Guests* etc. When I brought this to your view, your calm reflection had brought conviction to your mind of the great injury in *this*, you had done me, and you asked to correct it. To think that you who your father had called for and bequeated to me, that I had raised and loved as a child, should under the same roof be carrying on a written correspondence filled me. I burnt the correspondence, and hoped I was done with the subject. *I keep no black books for my friends*, I have no copy.

I have said before my D'r Andrew, whenever your own inclination leads, and you determine, you are welcome to withdraw. and when my friends and companions, are in your opinion, not fit companions for you, and yours, surely I would be the last man on earth that would desire to restrain you—all I wish is, that your *newly acquired* friends may act as faithfully to you and protect your honor and your morals, as well as I have done. Therefore whenever you desire to withdraw, you have only to name the day, and means and those shall be ample are ready for you. To conclude, I hope no one may ever attempt to controle you from the

management of your own household, and your own family—should they, it is a duty you owe yourself to resist it.

When you retire from me, you will *still* carry with you, my prayers for your welfare and that of your family. yours affectionately

ANDREW J. DONELSON TO MRS. DONELSON.¹

WASHINGTON, November 20, 1830.

My dear Emily. I cannot express the happiness which your letter of the 30th ulto. rec[e]ived a few days ago, afforded me. The assurance, if circumstances should render it necessary for me to quit Washington, "that you can return to our farm and apply yourself as happily to your domestic duties as if you had never been in Washington or lived in the President's house" is worth more to me than the favor of all the world without it. It has converted the indignation which the sinister influence around me has so justly excited, into smiles. I can now look down upon it, and rejoice that while it has not made us its companion, it cannot weaken the support which a firm reliance upon our own resources promises us.

Nothing now detains me here but the desire to leave nothing undone which can attest the faithful devotion of my labours to the interests of Uncle. I have long seen that the period had passed when the manifestation of this feeling was acceptable to those who had his ear: when in fact the wish to intercept it has been more apparent than the power to misrepresent it. To separate from Uncle under such circumstances will be painful indeed: but it does not become me nor you to murmur, if this be his decree. I can never let go the plank of conscience. I will never attempt to take it away from another. It is all that God has given us to buoy us upon the sea of life, and if mine is unable to carry me to the port where gratitude and the chords of memory and filial inclination draw me, it will yet not throw overboard these affections, nor I trust lose the *God speed* which their influence deserves.

I need not say more to you now, than to ask you to cultivate the spirit which you have displayed in your last letter to me. Tell Jackson that his Pa expects to be with him this winter. Kiss him and little Mary Rachel for me, and with my love to your mother and the family generally, be assured of the constant devotion of yr. Husband

TO MRS. ANDREW J. DONELSON.¹

WASHINGTON, November 28, 1830.

Dear Emily, Your kind letter of the 8th ult. has been some days received, and has, owing to the press of business, been laid over for answer until now. I thank you sincerely for this letter, it is the only one I have recd., except one from Mary Eastin; from any of my connections since I left the Hermitage, one from Mr. Mc. Lamore accompanied yours.

I intended my D'r Emily when I sat down to have given you a long friendly answer to you kind favor, but was interrupted in this intention by

¹ Library of Congress, Donelson Papers.

¹ *Ibid.*

the receipt of letters from Mr Caruthers, and others, giving me a detailed account of the disgraceful and unwarrantable course of Genl Desha at Gallatine. The last I saw of him was at my own House where he visited me as a friend, and parted with me as such. I know I had never said or thought harm of him, and any objection to his course, I had freely named to him on his enquiries made of me, and to him alone, and never suspected his friendship, until a few days after he left my house, I was informed by a friend, that he had declared in Gallatine on his return home that he intended to come out against Major Eaton and myself, and what astonished me still more, was the positive falsehood he stated as the ground of his hostility to me. I must confess this Sommersett of the Genls. did not much surprise me, for I had cause from my first appointment of Major Eaton to believe, that he was united with the combination, and wielded by the great Political Magician who has worked all the political wires in this drama, to coerce me to abandon Eaton, and thereby bring on me disgrace for having appointed him, and thereby weaken me in the affections of the nation, and open the way to his perdition on my ruin.

I now clearly see, (as I thought I did from the beginning) in this movement of Deshas, the first public movement under the conspiracy here on the great political chess board. The Nashville letter, the secret slander whispered as it is said by a certain judge, referred to by the Genl who was an invited guest at the marriage, and whose attendance gave the lie direct to the assertion, or is proof of the abominable hypocrisy, and baseness of the judge; the antimasonic meetings and the late movements in Philadelphia, begin to unmask themselves and will be fully developed before long, when I must have my Cabinet a unit, when harmony will prevail; and when it will give me pleasure to bring you and your sweet little ones here.

I have suffered much and may suffer much more in feeling, but never can I separate from my friend without cause. What a wretch he must be who can. "a friend in need is a friend indeed", and he who can forsake his friend in distress, against whom one of the most base and wicked conspiracies have been formed here, under the sanctity of religion to destroy him followed up in Tennessee with a malignity of persecution, against an innocent unoffending man, that none but demons can possess, and in none has this demoniac spirit been more conspicuous than in Genl Desha. His late conduct at Gallatine has set a mark of disgrace upon him that he must feel to his grave, and the pit of disgrace that his imagination had prepared for Major Eaton and myself, he has tumbled into. These remarks are founded upon the relation I have before me from Mr Caruthers and others that I know to be men of truth, and name it to you that your brother Stockly may be more guarded, or he will get into difficulties, from which danger of disgrace may arise. ["A House divided cannot stand"].

I thank you my D'r Emily for the privation you are willing to forego in the separation from your D'r husband—no one can appreciate more than me such a privation, and none will remove it with more pleasure than I will, when it can with propriety be done. I at first my D'r child saw, and with heartfelt sorrow regretted that my counsel could not prevent

it. I knew the depth of intrigue with which we were surrounded, and the hypocritical cant of friendship and piety, with which it approached innocence, and inexperience, when they would have destroyed any, and every one, who stood in the way of their vengeance, and ambition, but it is done, and ought to be left behind us, and only remembered as a buoy to guard us from quicksands a head. my D'r Emily, I never *desert a friend, without cause; I never will, a friend in distress*, and particularly one who has displayed his acts in so many ways as Eaton has to me, and mine.² If I thought there could be an earthly influence that could induce me to do such a base act, I would despise myself, and be certain that I never could obtain the smiles of my god, whose attributes is, love, charity, and justice; I will write you again as soon as leisure will permit. in the mean time, accept of my prayers for your health and that of your sweet little ones, who I beg you to kiss for me Your D'r Husband is well, but like myself busy. Daniel and Margaret is still here, may leave here next week, my son is here and well, who with yr Andrew, my son, major Lewis mr Earle, all request me, with mary Ann Lewis, to be present[e]d affectionately to you. Please present me to your mother and all enquiring friends. say to mary Easten, with my kind salutations, that she promised to write me, when she visited the garden at the Hermitage to let me know, whether there were sufficient care taken of the shrubery planted by her D'r Aunt in the garden, that I had directed to be planted around her tomb.

I am affectionately yrs

TO MARTIN VAN BUREN.¹

WASHINGTON, November (?) 1830.

my D'r sir, I inclose for your perusal and free remark my answer to the President of mexico, which when read and made, you will please return, that I may inclose it with a private letter I am preparing to Col A. Butler, in which I charge him to deliver, with such remarks as may be suitable on the occasion. This may expedite the conclusion of a Treaty so much desired, on our boundery and commerce.

I return you mr Livingston' letter—it breaths the feelings of a large majority of the nation, which will encrease in the ratio of one hundred percent pr annum, if we continue our course with prudence and with care looking solely to the good and prosperity of our country.

When will you be able to send me your corrections and additions to my view of the points on the Light House, and Portland and Louisville canal, bills.² I am beginning to look now to the message, still hoping to hear from Rives and Butler favorably in due time for the message

yr friend,

² Eaton's disposition to take up his wife's wrongs was manifested in the two letters which he wrote to Mrs. A. J. Donelson, Apr. 8 and 9, 1829, and which are printed, with Donelson's reply, in the foot-note to p. 29, *ante*.

¹ Library of Congress, Van Buren MSS.

² See pp. 41n., 137n., *ante*. In the Van Buren MSS., vol. 12, at the end of November, 1830, is a document of 61 pages, in Van Buren's handwriting, which seems to comprise the "corrections and additions" here alluded to.

TO JOHN RANDOLPH.¹

WASHINGTON, December 3, 1830.

Confidential

My Dear Sir, My views in regard to the more immediate subject of your letters are so fully detailed in the official communication from the Department of State, which accompanies this, as to leave me but little to say in a private letter. My principle object, therefore, in writing is to assure you of my sympathy in your personal sufferings from bad health, and my continued confidence in your disposition and capacity to serve your country. I beg you to speak your feelings and wishes in regard to the future without reserve, and to count with confidence in the steadiness of my friendship for you. Thoroughly convinced that the interests committed to us by the people, will never be intentionally prejudiced in your hands, you shall not as far as I can avoid it, suffer by the implacable malice of your enemies; And allow me as an act of justice to add that in this sentiment and desire, no one more sincerely participates than our mutual friend Mr. Van Buren. From the first inception of your mission to the present moment he has evinced a solicitude for your success and personal credit which could not have been exceeded by your nearest relations.

It is unnecessary to enlarge upon the reasons for the preference. I have directed to be expressed in the letter addressed to you from the State Deptmt. that you should return to St Petersburg in the Spring, if your health will admit of it, and you should have reason to believe that you will be able to accomplish the whole or apart of what is desired. The motives for that desire will be obvious to you: If however either circumstance should be wanting and you should prefer to return to the U States, in the Spring, let me know your wishes freely, and as early as practicable, and I will see that the necessary directions are sent to you without delay. Altho, I should in common with your friends regret the necessity which compels you to come home, I will nevertheless cherish the hope, that the Country will not in that event, if your life is spared, be wholly deprived of the benefit of your talents and experience. You will probably, by the same conveyance which brings you this, receive my message to Congress. That every part of it will meet your approbation, is perhaps not to be expected. The condition of the Confederacy will scarcely admit of one which will be entirely acceptable to every part of the union. If you find in it, more to approve than to question, it is perhaps, as much as I have a right to expect.

We are on the eve of a short but I fear a stormy and intemperate session. It is too plain to be disguised that the opposition are determined not to be pleased with any thing that advances the public interest, and mean to throw every obstacle in our way which their malice can invent, and their ingenuity suggest. I have however no apprehensions for the general result. The people are honest and firm, and if we do not receive their ultimate approbation, it will be because we do not deserve it.

Write me occasionally, and believe me to be

your sincere friend

¹ Copy. Handwriting of A. J. Donelson.

JACKSON'S OUTLINE OF THE SECOND ANNUAL MESSAGE.¹

December 6, 1830.

The Message—

1st Introduction

2d. Our Foreign relations and Concerns

3d. the amendment of the Constitution etc., etc.

4th. The state of our country, agriculture commerce and manufactures—and operation of the Tariff, graduation of duties etc. so as to place our own on a fair competition of other Countries

5th. The Treasury—and our Public debt—long credits injurious to our revenue—ware houses for deposits—Smuggling—The supervisor of the Treasury—bring again to the view of C. the necessity of power to discharge persons debtors to the Govt.

6. War Department—Military academy—Indians—The course pursued since last session under the act of Congress—The result.

7th. The Navy Department—it improvement etc.—The case of the John Adams—Marine corps—recommend the pay of the Navy officers placed on the same footing as the army.

8th. The Post office Department.

9th. Call their attention to the Judiciary and refer to message of last year.

10th. The Census being taken, a law apportioning the representation etc., etc.

11th. The Bank of the U. S. again brought to view and my former message refered to etc.

I now fellow citizens recommend you to the protection and guidance of almighty god, in a full reliance on his goodness for the maintainance of our free institutions, with an earnest and constant appeal to him, that whatever errors I may commit in discharge of the important duties which devolve on me may find a corrective in the united harmony and wisdom of your deliberations.

TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOHN COFFEE.¹

WASHINGTON, December 6, 1830.

My Dear Genl. I have not had a line from you since I shook you by the hand in Franklin. I have heard from you thro our mutual friend Major Eaton to whom you have occasionally written, and am happy that you and your amiable family are well.

We are here, going on very well, altho loansome, still out of the way of the gossips of the city. The faction are marshalling their forces, *in secrete*, but the imprudence of Genl Desha, has unmasked their views, rather early for the benefit of his prompter. I can assure you the *pitt* dug for Eaton, in which they expected to plunge me into, will be the grave (politically) of the movers, a party cannot flourish with such a tool as

¹ Jackson MSS., Presidential Messages and Misc., Box D. This outline throws light on the often proposed question about Jackson's responsibility for his own state papers.

¹ Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.

Doctor Boyd McNairy, he is the depraved wretch, the letter writer from Nashville, and it is only necessary to expose his name, which carries with it nothing but infamy to convince the moral portion of the world, of the wicked designs, of the faction. congress has not made a House to day in consequence of the absence of the speaker who is sick, but expected tomorrow. I enclose you my message, I would like to hear your opinion of it.

I have just received a long letter from my friend McLemore, upon the subject of my cabinet, and Major and Mrs. Eaton. I fear he has been conversant with only those who profess friendship for me, but who would destroy Eaton however unjustly, to injure me. I intend to answer it the first leisure, friendly and frankly. I love my connections, but if it is believed, that I can ever abandon a friend, and that under circumstances with which my friend Eaton is surrounded, they know nothing of me. "a friend in need, is a friend indeed" and I loath the wretch that would abandon his friends, for the smiles of a faction. by me it never has or will be done. Ere long I will have my cabinet as it ought to be, a *unit*. The double dealing of J. C. C. is perfectly unmasked. he is now as to myself perfectly harmless.

you will receive inclosed the prospectus of a paper to be published here, by Mr Blair, the former editor of the Ky Argus,² and aid of Mr Kendall. It is of the true faith, and I hope you and the Winstons will patronise it. Mr. Blair arrived here five days ago, and tomorrow his first paper will appear. I will send it to you.

Present me affectionately to your amiable family, to Miss Mary Eastin and your daughter if with you and believe me,

Your friend,

TO WILLIAM S. FULTON.¹

Strictly Confidential

WASHINGTON, December 10, 1830.

D'r Sir, It has been stated to me that an extensive expedition against Texas is organising in the United States, with a view to the establishment

² R. M. Johnston, writing to Jackson from Blue Springs, Ky., Oct. 27, 1826, said: "You will discover that the *Argus* has taken up your cause. Kendall deserves great credit for his independence. He is equal to Duane in his best days." See also p. 156n., *ante*

¹ William S. Fulton was secretary of the territory of Arkansas, governor 1835-1836, senator 1836-1844. This letter occasioned much discussion. Jackson's copy fell into the hands of Dr. Robert Mayo, and he gave it to J. Q. Adams, who saw in it evidence that Jackson knew beforehand, and connived at, Houston's movements in Texas. After prolonged searching the original letter was found among W. S. Fulton's papers in Arkansas and given to the world by David Fulton, Feb. 16, 1839, with the following statement:

"LITTLE ROCK, Arkansas, February 16, 1839.

"The following is the copy of a Letter from Genl. A. Jackson to William S. Fulton. It was found after much delay and search among the private papers of W. S. Fulton, sought for at his request to be transmitted to him at Congress. Not having been found although anxiously desired at an earlier day, and apprehensive of its not reaching Washington before the adjournment, this copy is taken in order to ensure its forthcoming, preservation and authenticity."

On account, however, of one or two obvious errors in this copy, it has been thought better to take our text from the *facsimile* of Jackson's draft, in his handwriting, published by Dr. Robert Mayo in his *Political Sketches of Eight Years in Washington* (Baltimore, 1839), at p. 124.

of an independent government in that province and that Genl Houston is to be at the head of it. From all the circumstances communicated to me upon this subject, and which have fallen under my observation, I am induced to believe, and hope (notwithstanding the circumstantial manner in which it is related to me) that the information I have received is erroneous, and it is unnecessary that I should add my sincere wish that it may be so. No movements have been made, nor have any facts been established which would require, or would justify the adoption of official proceedings against individuals implicated. Yet so strong is the detestation of the criminal step alluded to, and such are my apprehensions of the extent to which the peace and honor of the country might be compromitted by it, as to make me anxious to do every thing short of it, which may serve to illicit the truth, and to furnish me with the necessary facts (if the[y] exist) to lay the foundation of further measures.

It is said, that enlistments have been made for the enterprise in various parts of the Union, that the confederates are to repair as travellers to different points of the Mississippi, where they have already chartered Steam Boats on which to embark. That the point of rendezvous is to be in the Arkansa Territ[or]y, and that the cooperation of the Indians is looked to by those engaged in the contemplated expedition.

I know of no one whose situation will better enable him to watch the course of things, and keep me truly and constantly advised of any movements which may serve to justify the suspicions which are entertained than yourself, and I know I can rely with confidence on your fidelity and activity. To secure your exertions in that regard, is the object of this letter, and it is because I wish it to be considered rather a private than an official act, that it is addressed to you instead of the governor, (who is understood to be now in Kentucky).

The course to be pursued to effect the object in view must of necessity be left to your discretion, enjoining only, that the utmost secrecy be observed on your part. If in the performance of the duty required of you any expenses are necessarily incurred by you, I will see they are refunded.

I am respectfully yours

Private and Confidential	}	Inscription
Wm. Fulton Esqr.		
Secretary of the		
T. of Arkansas		

We the undersigned do certify that the foregoing is a true copy of the original in the known hand writing of Genl. Jackson examined and compared by us

DAVID FULTON
ROBERTSON CHILDRESS.

[*Indorsement in Jackson's handwriting:*] Copy of a letter from A. Jackson President of the United States dated Decbr. 10th 1830. The copy of this letter to Wm. S. Fulton then secretary of the T. of Arkansas, was purloined from the secrete Bureau of the President by Dr. Mayo,²

² Dr. Mayo, in *Political Sketches*, p. 123, states quite otherwise the method by which the draft came into his hands. For some account of Dr. Mayo see p. 290n., *post*.

and read in congress by J. Q Adams, to prove that tho this letter had been written it was deceptfully retained, so that the alledged invasion of Texas might be successfull, that I was secretly encouraging that invasion inconsistant with our nutrality. what a scamp. A. J.

TO COLONEL CHARLES E. DUDLEY.

December 18, 1830.

The President with kind salutations to Colo. Dudley, of New York, acknowledges the receipt of his note of the 15th instant accompanied with the highly esteemed present from Mrs. Duddley of Hickory nutts, "from a tree in Ulster, the only one of the kind known in Newyork", which he accepts with peculiar pleasure. To perpetuate this memento of the kind regard of Mrs. and Mr Dudley, he has sent one Dozzen of those nuts, to be planted in his garden at the Hermitage, to encircle the Tomb of his departed wife, and to have the following inscription ingraved on the marble—"The Dudley Hickory of Ulster Newyork, presented by Mrs. and Mr. Duddley to the President."¹

The President requests his sincere thanks to be presented to Mrs. Dudley for this kind token of her respect, in whose welfare he will always take the most lively interest.

TO SECRETARY INGHAM.

WASHINGTON, December 20, 1830.

Sir, A communication, of which the within is a copy, has reached me from a quarter entitled to credit, and I think it due as well to the public interest as the credit of the Bank that its truth or falshood should be established. you are therefore requested to send Mr McGilleycuddy a copy of the inclosed memorandum¹ and request him to say how far it is war-

¹ This is probably the origin of some fine hickory trees that grew in the garden at the Hermitage until within recent years, when they were removed to satisfy a mistaken desire to "improve" the place. Some time after the hickory-nuts were received, probably in the spring of 1831, Jackson, in giving direction to his adopted son, about to visit Tennessee, wrote as follows:

"I sent by mr Danl S. Donelson some *hickory nutts*, with a request that he would hand them to the overseer with a letter directing Steel to plant them around your mothers tomb. Danl has never wrote me the scrape of a pen since he left here—enquire about it and write to me, so soon as you get home, write me whether poor Poll is living and give a charge to Hannah that she take care of her—give me a description of the colts by name, and of their probable value, of the negroes, and their health, the state of my farm, and stock generally, the number of Cattle, Sheep, hoggs and horses—present me kindly to all my neighbours and friends, and as soon as you can return to me, bring on the Trunk of papers that I charged your cousin Andrew to bring on to me. This trunk of papers is to be carefully attended to, that it be, not lost on the way, it would be an irreparable loss to me, attend to it with care." These instructions are undated. See Jackson MSS., vol. 115, p. 55.

¹ This memorandum, dated December, 1830, and in Eaton's handwriting, is as follows: "It was stated to me in 1828, that the Branch of the United States Bank at Louisville in Kentucky, by the act of two of its Directors, did, on the Sunday preceding the state election in 1825, give to Samuel Q. Richardson and others \$250 of the funds of that Branch, to be applied in carrying the election in Jefferson county in favor of the party then called the Old Court Party; that two persons on the same day, went to Shippingport and opened several grog-shops with a part of the money and collected together the boatmen and loose characters preparatory to next day's operations; that another party made

ranted by the facts in the case, to the end that if his statement corroborates the inclosed, it may be communicated to the Bank and steps taken to correct such abuses in future

I am very respectfully yr mo. ob. Servt.

TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOHN COFFEE.¹

WASHINGTON, December 28, 1830.

My D'r Genl, I have just received your letter of the 12th instant, and in reply, will recollect the conversation that took place between Governor Moor and myself on the subject of Colo. McKinleys course in the appointment of Marshall for North Alabama, and also your communicating to me the conversation you had with him on this subject—viz, that my information had fully convinced him of the fair and upright course of Colo McKinley in that case, and that he would not oppose him for the senate. Colo. McKinley and Colo King the senators for Alabama, had presented young Mr Moor, brother of the Governor as a candidate for the marshals [office] of upper Alabama, they had waited upon me three times on this subject, and pressed Mr Moor upon me with great earnestness, for this appointment. I replied, I could not appoint him in preference to Mr Patterson who had fought and bled under my immediate command, and whose claims I could not overlook, and give it to a young man but a short time in the state, and who had no claims upon the country more than other young men of equal merit.

They replied, that it was a subject Governor Moor had much at heart, and nothing they could say or do would convince him that they had done their duty, but his nomination. I observed to them, that, I at all times regretted in my nominations, to have to differ with the senators of a state, but in this instance, the duty I owed to the merit of Mr Patterson, and his real claims upon his country, was imperious, and compelled me as an act of duty, to nominate him to the senate, and that I would so write, to the Governor. I did so right to Governor Moor; and when I met him at Franklin, I enquired of him if he had received my letter and his answer in the affirmative, and after a full conversation with him on the subject, he assured me that he was fully satisfied with the conduct of Col McKinley and said it had been urged by some of his friends that he should be a candidate for the senate of the U States, but that he would not permit his name to be used in opposition to Col McKinley. on the same day you communicated to me the conversation the Govr had with you, and the request he had made that you should say to Col McKinley, that I had fully satisfied him, and that he would not oppose Col McKinley for the senate.

I was pleased that he had thus instructed you to communicate to Col McKinley knowing as I did how faithfully both the senators had urged

similar arrangements and hired all the hacks in Louisville for the election, with the balance of the money; that on Monday, the first day of the election, the hacks so hired, with banners and mottoes, were constantly employed in carrying up the voters thus influenced and collected, from Shippingport and other places: By which means the Old Court Party carried the election by about 400 majority. The next year, when this influence was not exerted, the New Court Party, succeeded in that county by more than 400 majority."

¹ Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.

the claims of young Mr Moor upon me. when I heard that the Govr was the opposing candidate to Col McKinley I gave to it a contradiction, and my reasons therefor, that he had said, both to you and to me, that he would not permit his name to be run in opposition to Col McKinley and if he did, after the pledge he had made, no one could have any confidence in him hereafter, and sure I am, if he has permitted it, that no honest man ever can have confidence in him again.

If it be true that he is elected over, and in opposition to Col. McKinley² the good people of Alabama has but one course to pursue, and that justice points to—elect Col McKinley governor of the state, for I hesitate not in believing, that this has been a secrete intrigue of the great *nullifyer*, and after he had tried to convert McKinley, to his nullifying doctrines and could not, through his agent Mr L of Alabama, set to work this secrete conspiracy against Col McKinley, and the better to disguise it, Govr Moor give you and me the assurance that he would not permit himself to be run against him, knowing you to be his friend, and knowing as he must, that it was only by silent intrigue, that McKinley could be beaten. That Moor if elected comes here an opposer of the present administration, and perfect nullifyer, and supporter of the So Carolina nullifying doctrine. see to this.

I sent you the first copy of my message, two days in advance of others, by mail and I hope it reached you in due time. it has been well received by the great body of the nation, and my principles being candidly avowed upon which I will continue to act, I trust it will prevent m'ch loggroling legislation, being assured, that I will negative all such, and put down the corrupting system of union with corporations; and appropriations for local objects.

I have been much pressed with business, and my domestic concerns have harried my feelings more than any other event of my life. my family were overreached by the hidden intrigues of the great magician, who believed that the popularity of Eaton would be in the way of his ambition, and be bestowed upon another, therefore that it was necessary to coerce me to abandon him, by which, I must suffer in the public estimation for having appointed him, and that he might wield me to his views, or secretly use it to my destruction. A man who could secretly make the attempt, as he did in the cabinet in 1818, to destroy me, and that under the strongest professions of friendship, is base enough to do anything. the attempt was on my family, believing if they could be enlisted against Major Eaton, my attachment to them, would compel me to yield Eaton to the fabricated slanders, rather than seperate from them. I saw the evil, remonstrated and persuaded my family against the snare, but without effect.

I have the copy of a letter from Mr Crawford to Calhoun, in reply to the one written to me, a copy of which was furnished him, that proves that he, and he only, made a movement for my punishment and disgrace. This is supported by Crowningshield³ and Mr. Adams; what think you of

² Gabriel Moore was elected senator for the term 1831-1837. John McKinley was M. C. 1833-1835, and an associate justice of the Supreme Court 1837-1852.

³ Benjamin W. Crowninshield of Massachusetts, Secretary of the Navy 1815-1818. M. C. 1823-1831.

such baseness under the warmest professions of friendship, and support. such has been the prejudiced feelings of Major Donelson, that it was with some persuasion I could get him to read the copy of Mr Crawford's letter to Mr Calhoun. when read he admitted it was severe, but said no more. I never witnessed such infatuation before as took possession of Emily and Andrew. they viewed me their worst enemy, and really, that I wanted to disgrace them by associating with Major and Mrs Eaton. This was urged upon them, and the ulogy pronounced, that they deserved golden medals for departing from my councils. weak delusion, arising from a want of experience and the corruption of this world; for those advisers, who under professions of friendship had endeavoured to destroy me, as soon as they had wielded my family to aid in the destruction of Major Eaton and his wife, would have employed the same wicked and insidious arts, to destroy them. I hope all things may come right again, but I have not yet ought to expect much from any change I have experienced in Major Donelson, his demeanor towards Major Eaton is more free, and pleasant, than formerly, but I have seen much of the old leaven in the old junto. *my cabinet must become a unit again.*

I regret the shortness of your crops, altho mine is not more than a half crop. I hope peace will continue in Europe. still the speech of the King of England displays warmth on the subject of Belgium. I think Europe is not prepared for war, it has too much revolutionary combustible within itself, not to dread a war against France *now*.

I am happy to learn that Col Ward is at length clear of debt. I wish him and his family happy, he has been perplexed very much by his kin, and it is time that he should be freed from his troubles. Hutchings, or no one for him, could have given, in justice, \$9000 for it. Bolden will I expect be soon tired of farming.

When your leisure will permit I will thank you to remind William Crawford, that one half his note I expect he will pay soon, when you will deliver it up to him. when I can learn that this and Mr Griffins debt is in your hands I will be satisfied. I hope our friend Fulton will be able shortly to pay his debt.

I regret to hear that your health of late has not been so good as formerly, your late exposure in the choctaw nation was well calculated to fill you with accumulated bile, and until you remove it by a potent dose of calomel letting it lay upon your stomach 6 hours, and then working it off with an active dose of Epsom salts or Herodsburch salts. try this and I will insure you good health for one year.

Present me kindly to Polly and your amiable family, and when you find leisure please write me. before I close I must remark how much I am crowded with business, and company and how little time I have to write to a friend. you will see the hurry in which I commenced this hasty scrawl to you, by beginning on the wrong side of the sheet, which I never discovered until I had wrote to the bottom. I had not time to write it over, and continued on you see, but you will I trust excuse it and believe me
your friend.

THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE TO JACKSON.

PARIS, December 28, 1830.

My dear Sir, I Have Had the pleasure to Receive your friendly Answer to my Letter from the Hotel de Ville, when, after the three great days I thought it a matter of duty and Affection to Report myself to you. Now my own Situation is Changed But not so the success of the Revolution which, as you may see in the European papers, Has already Contributed, By the force of Example, to the liberties of some other parts of the Contin[en]t and to the overthrow of the Wellingtonian Ministry. the new Representative of france in the U. S. Mr Serrurier¹ will give you more particulars than Could Be Comprehended within the Compass of a Letter. He is an Excellent man, most sincerely atached to America, and Having in the Negociation of the Claims Been zealous and well intentioned. I much Lament it Has not yet Been settled Beyond the principle which Has Been freely Recognised, But further than that it is yet in the Hands of a Committee and the Minister of foreign affairs with the Hope and promise of a Speedy Conclusion. So I Report myself to Mr Serrurier, observing By the By that in affairs of Government it shows that my influence is not so powerfull as might Be generally Supposed: this However I must say that Both King and Minister are well disposed, and that the financeering Situation, owing to the Revolutionary times, is much embarassed. I Hope Mr Rives will Be able to send more positive news during the Session of Congress. My Resignation of the Command of the french national guards will Be explained to you By the papers, By my order of the day, my observations in the House, and By Mr Serrurier;² I shall only add the Best Wishes and Respects of Your affectionate friend. Mrs Donaldson to whom I offer my Best Regards will find Mrs Serrurier a very amiable Lady

GRAVES W. STEELE TO JACKSON.

HERMITAGE, December 30, 1830.

D'r Genl, I have riced your letter of the 9th of this instant as respects your picture and *Mrs. Jacksons*. I am trewly sorrey that this unplesent Circumstance has hapeind their is not a man Living that I have moore respect for the feelings of than your Self. I am not Capable of making the necessary acknowledgements for this transgression. Somtime befour you left home you told me that a artist who Resided in nashville would Come up and take A copy of *mrs. Jacksons* potrait. this Gentleman Came up sometime after you left home and informd me that it was out of his power to coppey this at your house and request me to let him take them to nashville. I objected to this—this Gentleman's reply was that it your wish and earnest desire for him to Coppey them and send them on to you. not

¹ Louis Sérurier, envoy from France 1811-1816, and Mar. 7, 1831-1835.

² Lafayette's resignation was offered to the king, Louis Philippe, Dec. 25. He urged its recall, which Lafayette refused, and it was announced to the public on Dec. 27. On the same day Lafayette issued an "Ordre du Jour" taking leave of the guard. See *Mémoires de Lafayette*, VI. 498-513.

nowing but this was your wish and by the infleunce of your friends who were present and under a solemn promise that it Should be taken ceare of and returnd without the least injurey which has been don. this my dear sir is the only reason that I have to give you for this transgression.

You request me to Send you Doct Hoggs a/ct count, their is two trunks In your Room one of them ar open the otheir is fast and I have not got the kee of the Large wone nor Could not find it about the house. I examined all the papers that was in the Small trunk but this a/ct count was not in it. the otheir beaying fast and the kee not beaying with me their was know chance In making eney examineation in that. If you wish me to open that trunk you must write to me and I will attend to it for you.

whilst you was at home you sent me too nashville to make a settlement with Doct Hogg for his attendance after you left home. I went agreeable to your request and had the a/ct Count posted up from the time of *Mrs.* Jacksons Death untueill the time of this settlement. the a/ct count was about \$127 dollars. I had a/count against him for upwards of twenty dollars that with some Deductions for extrivagant Charges redust it to about one hundred dollars. You gave me a Letter to him and one directed to Cozzen John Coffee directing him to pay doct Hogg. this is all the a/ct Count that I have ever Contracted with Doct Hogg. I see som ould a/ct Counts against you for part of the year 1825 and 26 and 2[7?] and maid mention of it to you and you stated that you had paid up to the time that you left home. If he has presented aney otheir a/ct Count that has bin Contractted by m[e it]is fauls. I have not had him in the family [since] you Left this place.

Your familey ar all wel[l and] Your Stock of Brood horses Look as well [as] you Can wish for. I have only taken inn [mut.] About thirtye three thousand pounds of Se[ed] Cotten. I maid application to *mr.* Donelso[n's] over seer (after Ginning your Crop for his he faild to send. I then Gind for Nichol and Hill 20 Basls. I then maid application to Wm Donelson for AJD Crop. he then informd me that was a request of AJD by letter that he Should Gin the Crop but his beaying behind has since sent it to me which at this unusual time has bin the means of my Loosing wards Crop and his motheirs which is and hundred and tenn thousand lbs. of Seed Cotten which would have bin worth upwards of \$200.

I Am respectfuley your most Humble Servant

TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR.¹

[1831 ?]

Private

The case of Johnston and McIntosh (and Wheaton) has settled, that the north american, Indian tribes, east of the Mississippi are a conquered and

¹ This memorandum is not dated, but it seems to have been written in 1831. It is addressed to the Secretary of War, *i. e.*, to John H. Eaton if written before June 20, to Lewis Cass if written after Aug. 1. For Johnson *v.* McIntosh see 8 Wheaton 543.

dependant people—that their hunting grounds were subject to be granted and that the Indian tribes had no right to grant to Individuals. Then they are dependent; not on the Federal power in exclusion to the state authority, when they reside within the limits of a state, but to the sovereign power of the state within whose sovereign limits they reside. No feature in the Federal constitution is more prominent, than that the general powers conferred on congress, can only be enforced, and executed upon the people of the union. This is a government of the people. 1st The House of Representatives are their immediate representative or agent. 2d the senate is their agent elected by their agents in the sovereign state assemblies. 3d The President is their agent elected by their immediate agents the electors. ?who does these represent? the people of the *Union*. as law makers over whom does their jurisdiction extend? over *the people of the union*. who are the people of the union? all those subject to the jurisdiction of the sovereign states, none else. and it is an idle feeling that can advocate any other doctrine, or a total ignorance of the real principles upon which our federal union is based—an absolute independence of the Indian tribes from state authority can never bear an intelligent investigation, and a quasi independence of state authority when located within its Territorial limits is *absurd*.

If the Indians were not subjects of the states within whose Territorial limits they were, what right had the Genl Government to accept cessions of Territory that the states had no right to? What right had Virginia No Carolina. etc. to pay part of the claims which was incurred in the revolution struggle by grants of land within her territorial limits and in the actual occupancy of the Indians and afterwards cede the same country to the united states. If the Indians were an independent people, then these grants are void, and the titles granted in Kent'y Tennessee and parts of ohio are void. Such a doctrine would not be well relished in the west, by those who suffered and bled so freely by being the first pioneers to enjoy the land so dearly bought by their privations in the revolution[ar]y struggle.

I have rose from my couch to give you these crude and undigested thoughts, that if you see mr Bell ² you may give him the ideas. tho crude, he can digest them. We have acted upon these principles, they are *sound*, and are such, upon which our *confederated union rests*. I cannot abandon them. I will thank you to preserve this and return it to me—it may be of use hereafter to guard my consistancy

very respectfully yours

[*Indorsement*:] on the subject of the state sovereignty over the Indians within their chartered lands.

² John Bell, chairman of the House committee on Indian affairs.

TAILORS' BILL.¹

January 3, 1831.

Mr A Jackson Jnr

To Tucker and Thompson Dr.

1830					
Jany	11	To	3 pr	Viginia Drawers	\$ 6.75
	18	"	1 "	Lav Cas Pants	13.00
	21	"	1	White Valencia Vest	5.00
Feb'y	22	"		Blk Slk Handkf	2.00
March	27	"	1 pr	Gloves	1.00
May	17	"	1 "	Blk Nankin Crape Pants	9.00
June	8	"	1 "	Sattean Stripe Pants	5.50
		"	2 "	Linen Drawers	4.00
					<hr/>
					\$46.25

Octo.	6	To	fancy V Vest	\$10.
		"	" Caster Gloves	1.25
Dec.	20	"	Suspenders	2.00

13.25

Recd Payt T AND THOMPSON

\$59.50

p W. W. Watkins

Genl Andrew Jackson

To Tucker and Thompson [Dr.]

1830					
Jany	15	To	repg	Pants	\$.50
March	1	"		Velvet collar to Coat	1.75
	15	"		Blk cas Pants	14.50
		"		Repg. Blk coat	3.25
					<hr/>
					\$20.00

JOHN RHEA TO JACKSON.

BLOUNTVILLE, SULLIVAN CO., TENN., January 4, 1831.

Dear President, Some days past I wrote to you in answer to your letter to me.¹ in that letter I mentioned the names of two Gentlemen. I did

¹ Tucker and Thompson were a well-known firm of tailors. Their place of business was at first on the south side of Pennsylvania Avenue, but in November, 1830, they removed to a new store one door east of Brown's Hotel. They advertised that they had a large stock of cloth of the best quality "and a variety of fancy articles belonging to their line of business". They employed a large number of hands and their "London pattern clothes", they said to the public, regulated the fashion for the season (*National Intelligencer*, Nov. 16, 1830). Dec. 14, 1830, Jackson bought one "superfine Blue Cloak" for \$60.00, and one pair of "pants" of the same quality for \$12.00. On Mar. 7, 1831, he bought of C. Eckloss "1 Blue Cloth Coat and Pantaloon, \$20.00", and "1 Blue Cloth Vest, \$2.50".

² Jackson had called on Rhea to support him in his contention that he, Jackson, had received a letter from Rhea in 1818 saying, in substance, that Monroe approved of Jackson's plan to attack Florida. This letter shows that, when it was written, Rhea had no recollection of the affair but that he was willing to have one if he was told what it was about.

not nor do intend to intimate that either of them know of the letter you allude to, but only that they or either of them might know of the design respecting you. That our friend from N. J. was ignorant of that business, is most probable—so may the other also. You may however get some information.

I observe by my papers that you was in Washington in January eighteen hundred and nineteen—as yet nothing more. At that time I was continually occupied with the business before the committee of Pensions and revolutionary Claims, and therefore I desire to have something to bring matters fully to my recollection. You did not write it to me but I see by the Newspapers what is going on. I request you to send to me at Blountville a copy of the letter (in which you mention my name) to Mr. Monroe. I am desirous to have it and trust all will come to light. As you are on the defensive I will help you all I can. I desire nothing to be known of me in the business, untill I speak out as fully myself as I can and therefore this letter so far *CONFIDENTIAL CONFIDENTIAL*.

We have had a very inclement time—frost, snow rain and Storm. the day the snow fell (friday) I rode on my horse twelve miles, without being off him and was nearly frozen, pushing to be at Washington previous to the rise of Congress I attended not to the fury of the elements: but I am hindered. however I will be with you as soon as I can, if the Almighty who governs all will permit.

Accept my best wishes. believe me to be, truly your friend and Servant

JOHN RANDOLPH TO JACKSON.

LONDON, January 5, 1831.

My dear Sir, Yesterday, I had the pleasure to receive your valued and most welcome letter of the 2d of December. It more than compensates me for "*the implacable malice of my enemies*". The storm of obloquy and calumny, which has been poured upon my defenceless head is, so far as I know, without precedent. It seems as if the assailants thought there was nothing too absurd, or preposterous, to be asserted of me. There are other besides publick reasons, which have made me particularly obnoxious to the Duumvirs, who lead the coalition forces; and I have no doubt that their caterers are well aware of the appetities of their masters. "If what they allege (or any part of it) be true, then am I unfit for my country; if false, (and of general belief) then is that country unfit for me". But no! it is not my country that brings, or credits, these monstrous allegations of the creatures of C. and W.¹ But let me dismiss them and the subject, on which I have already wasted too many words—forever! Of Mr. Van Buren's personal regard and good feeling towards me I have never entertained a doubt. On my part, I have cherished the kindest dispositions towards him, which have perhaps rendered me more sharp sighted to the difficulties of his position. My best wishes and regards attend him.

It gives me pleasure to inform you that my health has so far improved that I confidently look back to a return to St. Petersburg as soon as the

¹ Probably intended for Clay and Webster.

Baltic shall be open : unless indeed all hope of success in either of the objects of my mission shall be desperate. Events have been very untoward for us, The French Revolution, that of Belgium, the Cholera Morbus, but above all, the Polish insurrection. I do not consider that my own ill health, or absence from Russia, have had any ill effect upon our negotiation. Before I left St. Petersburg I had put the Imperial Ministry in full possession of all our views, and here, I am conveniently situated for communicating with them as well as with my own Government. I have found in Prince Lieven² not only an accomplished gentleman, but one who has won upon my esteem. His deportment towards me is so frank and cordial (to all he is courteous) and so unequivocally indicative of good opinion on his part, that I am sorry he is not charged with the conclusion of the Negotiation which I opened with him.

I had read "the Message" in the Times Newspaper a few minutes before I received the official Copy. It is unnecessary for me to use the privilege which you so generously and kindly accord, but I cannot refrain from expressing my admiration of the manly and lofty spirit in which it is conceived, as well as the general correctness (in my humble judgement) of its views. There are points of dissent of which you are not unapprized : but Anti Tariff as I am, and ever shall be, I cannot overlook the glaring absurdity of those who oppose themselves to that measure as "unconstitutional", while at the same time they defend the constitutionality of the Bank of the U. S. They belong to that class who confound Tyranny with Usurpation, as if that made any difference to the victim—"for it is not perhaps so much by the Assumption of unlawful powers, as by the unwise, or unwarrantable use of those which are most legal, that Governments oppose their true end and object". Who doubts the *constitutionality* of the Corn Laws, that are starving the English labourers? Are they therefore more bound to submit to starvation?

Occupied as your time always is and especially during the sitting of Congress I feel as if I were indiscreetly intruding upon it. I cannot close this unreasonably long letter, however, without saying that it is not the least of my gratifications arising from the favourable change in my health, that it will enable me to comply with your wishes and to manifest my sense of your noble conduct towards me. . . .

TO JOHN OVERTON.¹

WASHINGTON, January 16, 1831.

My d'r friend, I have recd. your two letters on the subject of my message, and the one confidential, the latter after reading, I committed to the fire without shewing it to any one, but duly noting its contents. The political, I could not withhold from shewing them to Mr. Van Buren. his note on perusing them I enclose for your satisfaction, as it contains, my own feelings and sentiments. I also enclose you a report, (2 counter reports of the minority) of the committee of manufactures. The majority has displayed a littleness and vindictiveness of feeling with a little Yanky

² For many years Russian ambassador in London.

¹ From transcripts in the possession of Professor St. George L. Sioussat.

wit, unworthy of representatives of the people, but the minority, has demolished them, and particularly the chairman Mr. Malory, whose speech on a former occasion, they quote as the member from Vermont.

The minority has managed this, well, Mr. Morell of New York one of the minority got the report from Mr. Mallory, to examine, and the counter report was prepared, and the majority informed that their report would be met by a counter report when made, I enclose you them both for your amusement.

Mrs. Judge White is very low, I have not heard from her to-day, we are quite embargoed by a snow storm that has drifted so much and formed hillocks impassable so that there has been no church open to-day.

I regret we will not be able to see you here this spring. Nothing could give me so much pleasure as to see you here. present me kindly to Mrs. Overton and your family and believe me yr friend

TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOHN COFFEE.¹

WASHINGTON, January 19, 1831.

D'r Genl, On the 17th instant I received your letter of the first of this month, and on the same day refered it to the commissioner of the general Land office, and have the pleasure to inclose you his reply which will be satisfactory to you. you will be renominated unless congress should do away the office which I do not suppose will be the case. So soon as we hear from the Chickasaws and Choctaws mission to the Arkansa, we will take measures to obtain the location of the Chickasaws within the boundary of the Choctaws, *west*.

I expect Emily and Mary Easton will come on in March or april. could you not pay us a visit and bring on your daughter. It would afford me much pleasure to see you both here, and I am sure nothing would be more pleasing to your friends *here*, and particularly your friend Eaton. If you should agree to come on with Mary, I have no doubt but Mr McLemore will bring on his daughter with you and you could come with Mrs D. and Mary Easton.

You will see from the papers that there are much angry feeling springing up in the opposition in congress. They die hard, *but die the[y] will*. The Clay candidate has not succeeded in Kentucky, the supporters of the administration might have succeeded but they could not unite *all* upon one man.

I have no time to say more at present. write me on the receipt of this and advise me if you will be on that I may not be absent when you arrive. Present me affectionately to Polly and all your family and believe me
your friend

TO THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

WASHINGTON, January 19, 1831.

My D'r Genl., An extract from a letter of yours to General Bernard received at the moment of his departure for Paris has been shewn to me,

¹ Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.

by which it appears that you are interesting yourself in the satisfactory adjustment of those claims which have so long been a subject of discussion between the United States and France. This evidence of the pure affection you cherish for both countries will excite no surprise on the part of our people. It accords so well with your whole career that its ultimate announcement will be received by them as only the confirmation of anticipations arising from the confidence universally entertained in your unalterable friendship. I should however be wanting in duty and do injustice to my own feelings were I to omit an acknowledgement for this new evidence of your friendly concern. allow me, my dear sir, to thank you and to solicit your perseverance.

The course you have adopted is worthy of one who is regarded the champion of liberty in one Hemisphere, and its founder in another. It must be acknowledged that the relations between the two countries, although generally amicable and liberal, have not been of that unalloyed character which the events of our Revolution were calculated to impart.

It would be equally unwise and unprofitable to review subjects long since disposed of for the purpose of tracing the causes of a result so unnatural, and so inconsistent with our mutual interests: The attempt would probably shew that in this case, as in others, that there have been faults on both sides, and we are led by the dictates of true wisdom, as well as the suggestions of christian charity, to look to the future only, for what the past has failed to supply. Those relations ought ever to have presented the characteristics of a close and liberal friendship; and it would be a waste of time to enlarge upon the cogency of the reasons furnished by recent events for indelibly stamping these characteristics upon them at the present moment. no one has it in his power to aid more effectually in this good work than you; and it is a cause of gratitude to the supreme disposer of all good, that for this among other great objects, you have been spared till the present auspicious period in the history of the world.

Excuse me Sir, for inviting you to a vigorous prosecution of the work you have commenced under such favorable auspices; and be assured of my liberal and indefatigable cooperation. The natural disposition of this people towards France is one of warmth and kindness, and it requires only the discharge of what all candid and just men must regard as a duty on his part, to call that disposition into active and vivid cooperation. They expect this from the present King: for the impression that he takes a personal interest in the entire removal of all causes of differences between the two countries, has taken full possession of the public mind. They view it as the natural consequence of the estimate they have formed of his character, and of the principles upon which his throne is founded. Am I wrong in thinking that good acts could tend more to consecrate those principles than one which would bring justice, long delayed but immutable justice, to a people who looking beyond the forms of the respective governments feel the influence and the justness of that Sympathy which belongs to institutions congenial with their own, to awaken.

May I ask the favor of you, and I know not where I could find a more favourable channel, to express to the King the high personal respect I

entertain for him, and my sincere and ardent wishes for his health, happiness and prosperity, and allow me in conclusion to salute you with the assurance of my respect and unalterable regard.

TO MRS. ANDREW J. DONELSON.¹

WASHINGTON, January 20, 1831.

My dear Emily, I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your affectionate letter of the 30th ultimo, and rejoice to hear that your sweet little Mary Rachel have been restored to health, and that you and Jackson with that of all your connections enjoy that blessing. may a gracious providence long continue that blessing to you all. Your Dear husband is in good health, as well as my son, mr Earle and major Lewis, who, all unite in kind salutations to you and mary Easton.

your dear Husband will proceed as soon as congress rises, to unite with, and bring you and mary Easton on here, with the sweet little children; unless advised that Mr. McLamore and Genl Coffee, with their daughters, are coming on in the Spring; on which subject, major Donelson has written Mr. McLamore, and I have written Genl Coffee.

Before this can reach you, Genl Donelson and margaret must have arrived, from whom you must have recd. all the news of this vast matropolis. The winter has been severe, and we have been for the last five days embargoed by the depth of snow—we have not received a mail from New York for some days. The weather is now fair, and promises a good clear and dry atmosphere, which must be beneficial to the health of the city, much afflicted with bad colds.

How much I feel indebted to you for your visit to the Hermitage. How grateful it is to me at all times to hear that care and attention is paid to that sacred *spot*, that holds the remains of almost all that made life desirable to me. *She still*, and must *ever*, live fresh in my memory, and affection. *she* often hovers around me in my nightly visions, and could I with honor to myself, and with the consent of the good people of these united States, retire to the Hermitage, with what pleasure would I hasten to it; but this is forbidden, and I must submit with humility, to my fate.

I sent by Daniel a small memento to jackson, and mary Easton, which I hope they have got, and also those little things sent by andrew to you, I hope has been handed to you. Altho we have been visited by a vast number of ladies and Gentlemen, and inundated as usual, by office hunters, still we have appeared loansome—several times have I been left to sup alone. The Levee was numerously attended, but still, there being no lady of the House, there was something wanting, and the ladies appeared without a pivot to move on. we have had but one, and the House will be open only two evenings more. mr Van Buren is often enquiring after you and mary, and is the same open candid friend as usual.

I cannot close without naming my friend major Eaton. he is the true unvarying friend to me. nothing that concerns my welfare, that escapes his notice, and no intrigue against me, that is not at once counteracted, as far as he has the power, and the various movements made known to me.

¹ Library of Congress, Donelson Papers.

You cannot then but suppose how much disquietude it has occasioned to me, that harmony did not exist between you, your dear husband, and him, and his family. Mrs. Eaton, like all others, may have her imprudencies, if she has, let them be so considered and treated as improprieties, but not treated as lady without virtue, for my dear Emily, I now assure you, that the time is not far distant when the injuries done her in this respect, will be made manifest. The whole will be traced to what I always suspected, a political manœuvre, by disappointed ambition, to coerce major Eaton out of the cabinet, and lessen my standing with the people, so that they would not again urge my re-election. But enough of this my Dr. Emily; you have given me assurances, sufficient to satisfy me, that your course will be that of propriety *to all*; and I am sure that I would be the last on earth that would require any sacrifice of feeling that did not comport with that, from you, or any of my connections.²

MAUNSEL WHITE TO JACKSON.

NEW ORLEANS, January 29, 1831.

D'r Sir, I some time since had the Honor to receive the Letter you were so kind as to address me under date 18th Nov. last; informing me, that you had directed your Cotton to be sent to me for sale, and expressing a hope that I would find it nicely handled and well put up. I should have long

² The following letter from Maj. A. J. Donelson to his wife, Jan. 15, 1831, throws some light on the situation in Washington with reference to Mrs. Eaton:

"*My Dear Emily*, I avail myself of the leisure of this Sunday which we are all compelled to spend within doors on account of a violent snow storm, to write you a short note. The week has been excessively cold, and has been otherwise signalized by a Levee and very interesting debates in Congress. The Levee was attended by nearly all the few visitors that are in the city this winter and will serve as an introduction to similar amusements by the Heads of Departments. Mrs. Ingham has already had one. Mrs. Branch will probably have another in a few days, and then Miss Berrien. Uncle's house will be open every other Thursday during the remainder of the season.

"I have had a very satisfactory conversation with Uncle in relation to our social difficulty, from which I do not perceive that there is now the slightest disposition on his part to alter the ground upon which I have always met that unpleasant question. He has left to my own discretion the period of your return without alluding to the influence which produced your stay in Tennessee; and with his former tenderness of feeling has disclaimed any wish to controul in any way our own views of propriety touching it. Nothing could be more gratifying to me than the expression of such a sentiment, as it enables me now to continue with him as long as I can in any degree lighten the cares of his office and contribute by my grateful attention to his interests whatever can secure them from the many annoyances to which they are necessarily subjected.

"After what has occurred on the Eaton subject it will be proper for us to observe our usual silence about it, but at the same time never to deviate from the path in which we have walked from the beginning. A future period may find us differently circumstanced in relation to it. The thing itself is susceptible of change not merely as regards its own moral, but also the right and duty of society. But it is impossible that there can be at this time any modification of the course which we have pursued; and tho' I am at a loss for reasons less palliating for others than myself, it is still unnecessary and perhaps improper that we should reflect upon the different example of others. It is enough for us to be right ourselves, and have the privilege of exercising it under circumstances where there have been many inducements to withhold it.

"Uncle has also offered me the means of purchasing a negro boy and girl which I shall endeavor to do in the course of this month. If so, I will bring them out with me. Under the impression that it would be more agreeable to you and safer for our dear little children to make the journey about the last of March or first of April, I shall defer making any arrangements for your return until I can come for you myself. I can leave here the 4th of March the day of the adjournment of Congress."

since replied to you, but knowing how much your time is Occupied with public affairs, I wished to be able before I wrote to give you my Opinion of your Cotton; this I have now the pleasure to inform You that I am Able to do. It arrived a few days ago in beautiful Order, and was put away safely without a Drop of rain, 59 Bales. I cut seven of them indiscriminately and it gives me great satisfaction to say to you that your Overseer has done his duty so far. it was without blemish, and the quality (by Judges,) pronounced good; but I am sorry to say no One offered me more than 9 cents lb. in place of what you were in hopes of getting. Our choisest crops dont bring over 10 cents, altho quoted at 10½, and our market is Unus[u]ally dull, but this is to be attributed to a scarcity of shipping as well as the Unsettled state of politics in Europe, added to the failures and Disturbances in England. We ought to have had much later dates than the 11th Decr. from England the latest we have recd. and I am therefore in hopes that our Next advices will inform us that all is Once More quiet in Europe, if so we may confidently look forward to immediate improvement both as respects price and Demand. I therefore intend to hold your Cotton at 10 Cents, which I think it is fully worth Until better or Worse News reaches us. the lat[t]er I do not by any Means Calculate on, but it is within the range of probability in the event of a general War in Europe. on this subject however, you Must be better advised than any one else in these states, and if it were not asking too much, or what might be improper for me to ask, I would ask yr opinion on that subject. . . .

JACKSON'S CASE AGAINST CALHOUN.¹

February, 1831.

Memorandum. In the year 1813 the creek Indians, instigated by Foreign Agents, and Stimulated by the great Prophet of the Northwestern Indians, who about this time were assailing our inhabitants on the Northern frontier, waged a ferocious and bloody war against our Southern borders. The destruction of Fort Mimms, and general massacre which was committed there and at the mouth of Duck river so aroused such sympathies of the people in behalf of the sufferers, and feelings of indignation against the Indians, as justly occasioned the state of Tennessee by Legislative enactment to call into the field 5,000 militia to march into the creek nation, and put an end to this murderous war. The command of this force was entrusted to Major Genl. A. Jackson, who had tendered his services to the General Government, under acts of Congress of April and July 1812, with 2,800 enroled volunteers of his division, and which had been accepted by the President of the United States in due form, and in the most flattering manner.

The creek war terminated in the month of May 1814 by the conquest and submission of the whole nation, except a few hundred warriors, who fled to Florida, and took shelter under the Spanish Authority in Pensacola and St. Marks, where they were excited by British and Spanish Agents to

¹ This "memorandum" seems to have been prepared by Jackson as a reply to Calhoun's pamphlet, which was published Feb. 17, 1831. Probably it is the reply to which Benton referred in his *Thirty Years' View*, I. 167. See also p. 243n., *post*.

a continued hostility against the Citizens of the United States. In the month of July 1814, Woodbine, and Major Nichols, with a British force, took possession of Pensacola, organized, armed and equiped the Indians who had taken shelter there, and aided by a British naval force in Sept. attacked Fort Bowyer and was repulsed both by sea and land. General Jackson, then commanding the 7th Military District, in consequence of these overt violations of our rights, collected a sufficient force, and on the first of November, marched for, and expelled from Pensacola this British and Indian combination which secured quiet to our borders up to the declaration of peace.²

² The following interesting letter from Col. John Williams to Van Buren, Mar. 22, 1831 (Library of Congress, Van Buren MSS.), may well be read in connection with Jackson's defense of his own action:

"Dear Sir, Mr. Calhoun's pamphlet is the all absorbing subject of conversation in this part of the Country. The pamphlet and the comments of the Telegraph news paper have made a strong impression on the public mind in favour of the Vice Prest. Great pains had been taken to give an extensive circulation to Duff's paper and his influence cannot at once be extinguished. When in the Senate I voted against Duff's nomination to a land office in Missouri on the ground of his want of principle and have never subscribed for his paper. When any publication appears in the Globe relative to his controversy I will thank you to send the paper containing it to me. Having been treated unkindly by most of the prominent persons concerned in this controversy I have not permitted myself to take a part in it. But I feel an interest in knowing what is said on both sides, And I still retain some of my old personal partialities. Perhaps no man living (except Mr. Monroe and his cabinet) knows as much as I do about the events connected with the Seminole campaign. It was at my instance that Mr. Monroe was prevailed on to extend the orders to the commanding General to enter Florida in pursuit of the Indians.

"The project of obtaining an informal intimation from the administration to Genl. Jackson to take possession of Florida originated with me. My anxiety to occupy the Floridas was so great that I was willing to risque a war with Spain to effect that object. I believed Genl. Jackson on such an intimation would cheerfully incur the responsibility of that measure. When discussing the propriety of authorizing the Com: g General to cross the boundary of the U States in pursuit of the Indians Mr. Monroe often remarked "we must respect the Spanish authorities wherever their flag is maintained or we may become involved in a war not only with Spain but likewise with the *Holy Alliance*." On hearing that Genl. Jackson had occupied St. Marks and Pensacola I supposed it probable that the admn. had given the intimation I had suggested thro' some other channel than myself. Shortly after the manifesto of the admn. was published in the Intelligencer the letter from Washington referred to by Mr. Crawford appeared. Many reports were industriously circulated in Ten. calculated to prejudice Mr. Crawford.

"On my arrival at Washington in 1818 I sought the first opportunity to enquire of Cr: what part he had taken in the Cabinet Council. He then gave me substantially the same account contained in his letter to Mr. Forsyth. Genl. Jackson arrived in Washington during the discussion of the Seminole Campaign in the H of Repres: On hearing that he was profuse in his abuse of Crawford I stated to many persons with the view of its reaching the Genls. eares that he was misinformed as to the part Mr. Cr: had taken in the Cabinet deliberations, that it was Mr. Calhoun and not Cr: who had proposed the Court martial. On returning home in the Spring of 1819 I continued to make the same statement and offered to prove it by the Prest. and his Cabinet if desirable to Genl. Jackson. But this all went for nothing. Public prejudice had been excited against Cr: I was identified with him and a thousand slanders were circulated vs. me. Finding that the Genl. wrath could not be appeased, I determined on a defensive position. The Genl. and some of his friends resolved to have an investigation into my conduct before the succeeding Legislature, I prepared my defence containing all the facts within my knowledge relative to the campaign and embracing many of the circumstances disclosed in the late correspondence. No movement was made however in the Legislature, altho Genl. Jackson in a letter to a gentleman in Nashville now in my possession stated that such a measure was intended. I had witnessed the obsequiousness of Mr. Calhoun to Genl. Jackson in Washington.

"I supposed the latter knew that the former had moved his arrest in the cabinet council. I could not account for what had passed in Washington except on the supposition that all the *Pretenders to the Throne* except Clay had confederated to demolish

Shortly after the Treaty of peace between the United States and Great Britain this banditti of Indians and negroes assembled at a Fort on the Apalachicola built by the British and influenced by Foreign Agents, and Spanish Officers of Florida again commenced their murderous war upon our borders having no respect either to age or sex. The greivances and complaints of our Frontier inhabitants were very great, and the call of Georgia, and Alabama upon the general Government for aid and protection was frequent, and sanctioned by the emergency of the occasion. Spain, by the 5th article of her treaty, was bound to keep all Indians *within her Territory* at peace with the United States; but, in consequence of her weakness or treachery, she failed to comply with it. This non compliance on the part of Spain and the principles of self defence, under the laws of nations, gave the United States the perfect right to enter Florida, and obtain for

Cr'd This strengthened my zeal for him, as I knew he had been unjustly assailed. In Decemr. 1818 Cr'd stated to me that Calhoun was highly sensureable for not answering Jacksons letter to Monroe in which Mr. Rheas name was introduced and that this circumstance had great influence in determining his course in relation to the incidents of the campaign. Cr'd I knew had no unkind feelings towards Jackson until after he had been much traduced. I was intimate with him and believed him to be a man of unsullied honor. The only thing which has ever transpired to his discredit is that he is now mustering in the ranks of his enemies without any attonement having been made (to my knowledge) for the outrages committed on his character. My lot in life has been singular. I have recd. the greatest injuries from those on whom I had conferred the greatest benefits. On my arrival in Ten. when a young man I contracted a partiality for Genl. Jackson. I stood by him thro' good and thro' evil report and there were times when he needed friends. At one period when on his return from Richmond as a witness on Burrs trial persons of this place who now have his confidence shuned him as they would contagion. He cannot have forgotten this. When his militia army mutinied and abandoned him on the Creek Campaign he wrote me under date of the 16th Decemr. 1813, by Judge White requesting me to march to his relief, (having no power to order me) with my Regiment of regular troops in order he said to "support the campaign and save the character of the State from disgrace". In violation of the orders of the War department of the 29th of October 1813, I did risque my com'n and my fortune, march to his relief, support the campaign and save the State from disgrace. After the close of the War without the slightest provocation on my part unless it was preferring another for Prest. he declared an interminable war against me which I presume will be prosecuted until death.

"Altho the General has some good points and possesses an extraordinary knowledge of human character yet he can be approached thro' his credulity and induced to make war on his best friends. I doubt whether any one whose life has been spared has ever recd. so much injustice at the hands of another as I have from him. I expect to die in total ignorance of the causes of his implacable and deadly hostility. The character of our former relations, and the nature of the war which he waged in 1815, precluded me from inquiring after the cause. I must beg pardon for this effusion. It is a subject in which you can feel no interest. And perhaps it is improper that I should have said so much to you. I am labouriously pursuing my profession, and expect to do so during the remainder of my life. I was provoked into a canvass for our Legislature in 1827, by persons who ought to have been my friends. On ascertaining that I would have no opposition at the next election I withdrew. Within the last twelve months I have been strongly urged to represent this district in Congress, Which I could do almost without a struggle. But I have determined not to go to Washington to be put under the *ban of the Empire*. I shall be content to assist in putting out the late incumbent and putting in any other of a little better capacity and who has not descended from a Tory stock. This will seem strange to you, but the election in August will probably verify it. I understand that mr. Balch of Nashville has assumed the superintendence of your future views in this State. He is without either much personal or political consideration. And the Prest. will tell you so if you make the inquiry. I was a little surprised at Crawfords correspondence with him. Respectfully your Huml. Servant

"N. B. I was hurt at the removal of Major Callaway late Marshal of E Tennessee because he was my personal friend. I had withdrawn from public life and it was cruel to punish a man because he had a good opinion of me."

herself that safety which Spain had bound herself, but failed to secure, and consequently treat all as enemies who were aiding and abetting these savages in their unwarrantable attack on our citizens. The government of the United States, for the protection of our Citizens, ordered the erection of a Fort at the junction of Flint River with the chateauchey, and directed Colo. Clinch, with the necessary troops, to pass round by Sea, ascend the Appalachola with his supplies and occupy this Fort. The Colo. was attacked by this association of Negroes and Indians, and, having some of his men killed, he determined to reduce the Fort, and, therefore, advanced and blew it up by a hot shot.

The Indians, negroes and their white associates then retired to Mocasoochee, near St. Marks and to the Suwanee, where they were again excited to war by Arburthnot, Ambrister, Woodbine and the Spanish officers, and by their atrocious conduct again attracted the attention of the government to the situation of the suffering and bleeding inhabitants of the frontier of Georgia and Alabama. Mr. Crawford, who had been Secretary of War, was transferred to the Treasury Department, and George Graham, Chief Clerk, was charged with the duties of Secretary of War. Mr. Graham ordered Genl. Gaines to protect the Frontier inhabitants; but not to cross the Florida line into the Territory of Spain. Under this order Foultown was attacked by Gaines. Mr. Calhoun entered upon the discharge of the duties of Secretary of War on [blank] day of Decr. 1817, and Colo. Bankhead, previous to this time, had been ordered to dispossess Aury from Amelia Island. Mr. Calhoun writes him, on the 16th of Decr. 1817, that the evacuation was desired by the President to take place without force; but concludes by saying "you are to understand, that if force should be ultimately necessary, that it should be resorted to" (See order) And on the same day (16 Decr. 1817) Mr. Calhoun writes to Genl. Gaines, that "on the receipt of this letter, should the Seminole Indians refuse to make reparation for their outrages and depredations on the Citizens of the United States, it is the wish of the President that you consider yourself *at liberty to cross the Florida line, and attack them, within its limits*, etc. unless they shelter themselves under a Spanish Post. In the last event, you will immediately notify this Department."

This order was not only disreputable to the Government; but displayed great weakness and was calculated to bring disaster and defeat upon the General and his command. If the Genl. had become engaged with the Indians, *within* the limits of the Spanish possessions, and they had taken shelter under a Spanish post, the observance of this order would have entirely defeated the object of the attack, inasmuch as the Genl. would have been bound by his orders to cease the attack. If Gaines had a right (as the Govt. ordered) to cross the Florida line and attack the Indians when going *at large*, much [more] did a right exist to attack them if permitted to shelter themselves under a Spanish post. In the first case Spain would be regarded as partially *passive*; but in the second must be considered *active* and as having become an accomplice of the murdering Indians. The Indians might enter the neutral ground without the *express assent* of the Spaniards; but *could not* take shelter under one of the Spanish posts without the consent or connivance of the Government.

On the 16th of Decr. 1817 I received Genl. Gains' letters of the 9th and 21st of Novr. communicating intelligence of the outrageous depredations of the Indians, and his orders from Major Graham, then acting as Sect'y of War, requiring him not to cross the Florida line. In answer to this communication I stated to Genl. Gaines that the Indians *must* be brought to know and feel our Strength, that no ideal line ought to shield the savage whose hands had been steeped in the blood of our unoffending women and children. (See letter of the 16th Decr. 1817). On the 1st of January 1818, I acknowledge the receipt of Genl. Gaines letters of the 26th of Novr. and 2nd of Decr. detailing the particulars of the cruel masacre of Lt. Scott and his party by the Indians—See this letter. It appears from the documents referred to that, although the Government had ordered Amelia Island to be taken by force, if Aury would not evacuate it, Graham (as Sect'y of War) opposed the crossing of the line of Florida in pursuit of the murdering savages, and that Mr. Calhoun, on coming into office, gave permission to the General to cross the line, and pursue the Indians unless they took shelter under a Spanish post, etc.

On the 6th of January 1818 I acknowledge the receipt from the Secretary of War of copies of his letters to Genl. Gaines and Col. Bankhead of the 16th of Decr. 1817 in respect to the taking of Amelia Island and to which I have already referred. On this same day (6 Janry. 1818) I wrote my confidential letter to Mr. Munroe in which Mr. J. Rhea is referred to, and which, with others, Mr. Calhoun has published without my consent. This confidential letter it appears was shewn to Mr. J. Rhea, who was directed to answer it, and state that its contents met the approbation of the Executive. I received the answer to my confidential letter of the 6 Janry. 1818 from Monroe, through Mr. J. Rhea, on my way to Fort Scott, after I had left Hartford, Georgia. It may be proper to remark that, when I wrote my confidential letter to Mr. Monroe, I had no idea that I would be ordered into Florida.

On the night of the 11th of Janry. 1818 I received the order of the Secretary of War of the 26 Decr. 1817 requiring me to repair to Fort Scott and take the command of the Army. (For my proceedings in Florida see reports). Observe this order of the 26 Decr. 1817 from the Secretary of War and his to Genl. Gaines. These are ample and sufficient to prove that, (as Mr. Calhoun said in his letter to Govr. Bibb) "I was authorized to conduct the war as I pleased". I often told my friends that the executive could not complain of my execution of his orders, except that I did not pursue the Indians from Suwanee to St. Augustine, and, in the event of the Spanish Garrison opening their Forts and letting them in, follow them with my bayonets.

For the purpose of shewing clearly my understanding of my powers, under the orders of the Government at the time, it may be well to notice the orders I sent Genl. Gaines, after I had returned to Tennessee, when it was reported to me that the Indians had concentrated their force in the neighbourhood of St. Augustine. I then ordered him to punish them, and, if the Spanish permitted them to enter their garrison, to view the Spaniards as identified with them, and act accordingly. In a short time after my return home, being still in such bad health as that none of my friends ex-

pected me to recover, I saw in the Georgia Journal that the Executive council had divided in respect to the propriety of my conduct in the Seminole campaign and the subject of my arrest. This Secret movement in the cabinet against me was charged to Mr. Crawford, and the Nashville papers published it as a fact, and charged that Mr. Calhoun and Mr. Adams had supported me, and that Mr. Crawford and Mr. Crowninshield were in favour of my arrest and punishment.

Mr. Crawford and myself were not on good terms, and my feelings towards him, at that time, were well calculated to induce the belief, in my mind, that Mr. Crawford was the mover of these secret propositions in the Cabinet, which, it were hoped, would accomplish my destruction. When I reflected on the fact that my orders were issued by Mr. Calhoun, and explained by himself, in his letter to Govr. Bibb, to be a *Chart Blanch*, that he had read my confidential letter to Mr. Monroe, who approved its contents, and requested Mr. Rhea so to answer me, as he did, I could not believe that Mr. Calhoun countenanced the idea of my having transcending my orders. Because to have believed it I must have concluded that Mr. Calhoun was one of the basest men living, and, *at that time*, I entertained, as I expressed, a high opinion of him. I had not only the public orders, but the expressed private wishes of the Government to justify my conduct, and could not suppose that those who were conizant of the facts could, for a moment, entertain a doubt as to the strict propriety of my conduct. And therefore when I was told by Mr. Rankin and others in 1823 and '24, and once was informed in the presence of Colo. Thos. L. Williams (then of the senate) that I was blaming Mr. Crawford unjustly, and that Mr. Calhoun was the instigator of the attacks against me, I could not, did not believe them, and supposed that they were misinformed. In the spring of 1825, Mr. Cobb told me that I blamed Mr. Crawford wrongfully both as it regarded the attempt to injure me in the Cabinet council, and the caucus that framed the resolutions which were offered by him against me. Mr. Cobb, on this occasion, amongst other things, remarked that Mr. Crawford, when the resolutions were read in the caucus, rose and with great energy and earnestness said that, if the resolutions were presented to the House, they would ultimately benefit me, recoil upon and injure their supporters, as I had, whenever I choose to use it, a sufficient defence. No doubt is entertained but that Mr. Crawford in this declaration had allusion to the confidential letter, which was produced and read in Cabinet Council.

As a further evidence of my entire confidence in the justice of my defence, and firm conviction of my exact compliance with my orders, it will be well to allude to the fact that, when Mr. Monroe (as appears from his confidential letters to Mr. Calhoun, which I believe was procured by the management of Mr. Calhoun, and for the purpose of inducing me more firmly to believe in his friendship, which he had repeatedly expressed in his conversations and writings, and induced me to confide in it), was trying to amuse my vanity, and get me to use some ungarded expression, which might be construed into an acknowledgement of my having transcended my orders, I always replied that, so long as my country is to be

benefited by my responsibility, I was willing to bear it; but that, the moment my country was to be deprived of the benefits procured by the Seminole campaign, every *tub* must stand upon its own bottom. I here had *direct* reference to my compliance not only with my public orders; but with Mr. Monroe's *private wishes and views* as expressed to me through Mr. Rhea. The great intimacy which existed between Mr. Monroe and Mr. Calhoun, and the nature of the contents of my confidential letters, and the circumstances attending the case, will not authorize any other conclusion than that they deliberated together and concurred in their Sentiments on the subject.

I was determined never to violate a confidence reposed in me unless they who confided it *first* betrayed mine. I never wrote Mr. Monroe more than three confidential letters, and they have all been published. It is presumed that Mr. Monroe's memory failed him when he stated, in his letter to Mr. Calhoun that he never shewd my letter of the 6th of January 1818 to any one but Mr. Calhoun and Mr. Crawford, as we have *positive proof* that "that confidential letter or the substance of it (*he*) did communicate to (J. Rhea)". See Rhea's letter to Mr. Monroe of the 3rd June 1831, and that it was in the hands of Mr. Lacock, chairman of the senate committee on the Seminole War has been distinctly asserted by those who are honorable and whose Situation afforded them the means of correct information. Mr. Crawford denies, ever having seen it except in the Cabinet Council, and it is not fairly presumable that it was not, at the same time, seen by the other members of the Cabinet.

It is found that Mr. Calhoun brought this letter to the view of Mr. Monroe in Decr. 1818. And if I had not been too confiding, and placed such implicit reliance in the strong professions of friendship which Mr. Calhoun made to myself and my friends, when I saw Mr. Calhoun and Mr. Lacock so intimate, and Mr. Calhoun appoint him to a sinecure Office, worth say \$3000 per Annum, immediately after he made that vile and wicked report, which he and Mr. C well knew contained a tissue of misrepresentation and false colourings from beginning to end, I would, long before I did, have suspected Mr. Calhouns treachery. But for my *then* confidence in the sincerity of Mr. Calhouns declaration to sustain me, I would have scrutinized his acts more attentively, and could have perceived his *real* disposition to crush me. The motives which induced Mr. Calhoun to appoint Lacock to office after his base attempt to injure an Officer under his command, and whom, by every principle of honor, he was bound to defend as far as truth and Justice would warrant, and who, as Mr. C positively knew, had not transcended his orders, are susceptible of *at least* unpleasant Suspicions by no means honourable to Mr. Calhoun. Pending the discussion of Cobb's resolution, Colo. Robt. Butler wrote me, from the City of Washington, that my safety and reputation made it necessary for me to repair immediately to the City, which I did. It now appears that Mr. Calhoun, hearing that Col. Butler had thus written me, and meeting with the Col. asked him if [he] had so written, and being answered in the affirmative, evinced dissatisfaction, etc., etc. See Col. Butlers letter of [blank].

When I arrived in the City Mr. Calhoun and Mr. Monroe treated me with great apparent politeness, and, after the vote in the House, and about the adjournment of Congress, Mr. Rhea came to my lodgings from the Presidents, and asked me if I had received his confidential letter in reply to mine to Mr. Monroe of the 6th of January 1818. I told him that I had received it on my march to Fort Scott. He then asked me where it was, and I replied that it was with my confidential letters safely *locked up at home*. Mr. Rhea then said to me I have waited upon you, with the request of Mr. Monroe, to which I add my own as a friend and brother Mason, that you would burn it. Having full confidence in the friendship of Mr. M and Mr. R, and not fearing but that if it become necessary its contents would be admitted, and the House of Reps having, by a large majority, approved my conduct, and it being suggested by Mr. Rhea that Mr. Monroe was fearfull, my health being delicate, that the letter would fall into the hands of my Executors, I yielded to the request, and promised that on my return home I would burn it. Accordingly on the 12th of April 1819, in the presence of Mr. Saml. Overton, I did burn it, and made a memorandum of the fact on the margin of my letter Book, opposite to that part of the letter which alludes to Mr. Rhea.

Mr. Calhoun had my confidence to such an extent that, when I was installed into the office of President, he being the second officer in the Govt., I consulted him, as I did the heads of Departments, on the subject of my inaugural address, which was prepared before I left home, and the matters of great national concern. It was with feelings becoming such a confidence towards Mr. C that I entered on my Executive duties. It is true that there were circumstances attending the conduct of some of his friends that I did not *then* correctly understand or I should most certainly have acted differently. Being determined to have either Judge White or Major Eaton as one of my Cabinet, and Judge White declining to serve, I prevailed on Major Eaton, who with much reluctance, did accept a station in it, and, as soon as this was known, I discovered among Mr. Calhoun's friends considerable anxiety and opposition to Majr. E's appointment. I however did not hesitate on the subject knowing, as I did, the value of Eaton and the confidence that might safely be reposed in him. Some, who I knew were the satalites of Mr. Calhoun, approached me with *slandorous rumours* about Mrs. Eaton; but, after having upon all occasions asked them if they knew anything of themselves derogatory to her character, and being invariably answered in the negative, I dismissed them with a moral lecture on the value of female character, and the baseness of the attempt to destroy it by the circulation of mere rumors, which are so often engendered in envy and put forth in malice.

Major Eaton having recommended the appointment of Messers Berrien and Branch and acquiesced in that of the others, we came together in the utmost seeming harmony, and there existed every appearance of the greatest friendship between Ingham, Eaton, Branch and Berrien. Mr. Van Buren and Mr. Barry had not yet arrived. These appearances induced me to anticipate a very harmonious administration; but in this time and circumstances have proven me to have been mistaken. I was then ignorant of

the fact that there existed among some of the members of the Cabinet an hostility to Major Eaton, and a fixed purpose on the part of those whom he had faithfully served to have him expelled or force him to withdraw from it. I was not then aware of the fact that, in order to get Major Eaton out of the Cabinet, I was still to be annoyed by the approach of some, professing friendship, with their slanders about Mrs. E. which they attempted to whisper to me in confidence, that a few female gossips had had a meeting in the City to determine who should, and who should not come into society and I was not then informed that Mrs. Calhoun and Mrs. Ingham were at the head of such a clan. I had conversed with a certain Divine, who professed great friendship for Major Eaton, on the subject of the slanders which were secretly and insidiously circulated against Mrs. E, but had not then been, as I afterwards was asked by him, with great earnestness, if Major Eaton was not politically opposed to Mr. Calhoun. This question at first astonished me and I replied by asking the gentlemen to explain to me what connection poletics had with the propagation of slanders against a female. From all the circumstances attending this conversation my eyes were so opened as to enable me to perceive the *true* cause of the vile slanders against and cruel persecution of Major Eaton.

I heard it Stated that Mr. Crawford had made a statement of the transactions in the Cabinet on the subject of the Seminole campaign, and about this time Mr. Monroe happening in the City was invited, with the heads of Departments and others, to dine with me. Whilst dining the Marshal of the District of Co[lumbia] introduced the subject to Major Lewis, and among other matters spoke of Mr. Monroe's strong friendship and support of me in this matter, and, being informed by Major Lewis that I had always regarded Mr. Calhoun as my firm and undeviating supporter, Mr. Ringgold also remarked that Calhoun was the first man who had made a movement against me. Being informed of this, and having heard that Mr. Crawford had made a statement on the subject, and seeing the mysterious opposition that had sprung up and was shewing itself among those over whom Mr. Calhoun was known to have influence, I made enquiry concerning and obtained the statement of Mr. Crawford, which, in one hour after its receipt, I laid before Mr. Calhoun and I need not reiterate, what I have always said, that his (Calhouns) answer surprised, yes astonished me.

JOHN OVERTON TO JACKSON.¹

TRAVELLERS REST, February 3, 1831.

My Dear Genl, Since my last I have seen Mr. Crawford's letter to Mr. Calhoun respecting the Seminole affair. It is written with talent, point, and ability. You may safely leave him in the hands of Crawford, which is not an unpleasant affair, as they were opposed to you. Let them worry and fight and quarrel it out, keeping yourself at a distance from both. Your determination, fixedly, to place yourself on the defensive, is certainly correct. And were I in your place, but one earthly event, should remove me from that position. Viz the union of Mr. Monroe with Mr. Calhoun evi-

¹ Tenn. Hist. Soc. Travellers Rest was Overton's estate near Nashville.

denced by his (Monroe's) affirmative positive assertion denying the rect. of your confidential letter, or making it known to his cabinet, or other person, after he did receive it.

Crawford has now Calhoun pretty well on his beams end; which God knows, he must most poignantly feel. And hence you may look for his reaching and throwing himself about, by intrigue and small management, among his following, women, children etc. to lay hold of something, on which he can right himself.

Never mind it—let it pass with a smile, for if man will, by his indirect and immoral conduct lay the foundation of his own ruin [*mut.*] too insignificant, he will always find enemies enough to crush the superstruction.

If Monroe has not entirely lost ordinary prudence, he will not come out in Calhoun's favor, and however favorably inclined, if he says anything, it will be that in his present state of health, etc. he has forgotten, or cannot relate any part of the affair with confidence. I hope the man will take such a course as this, or tell the truth, which would be far preferable, if he recollects.

It is my earnest wish he should, both on his, and your account, as it will be with pain I shall witness the necessity for making a single move further than you have done. Crawford as he says, has already retired, and but let them alone, Calhoun will soon have to take the same step; accompanied with perfect *silence* on your part. Both your letters to Calhoun, I have seen, which leaves you in an elevated position; which should not be lightly jeopardized. It seems to me, that should Monroe, not recollect, I should not interfere with these combatants. Thus my friend I have given my opinion frankly—take it for what it is worth.

As to Mr. Van Buren, it will in all probability be necessary through the newspapers (beginning in some distant one) to say something in his behalf; as I verily believe he knew nothing about this affair. I have intimated to Hall in the course of a week or two, to throw out some hints of this kind.

There is not a man in the U. S. with respect to whom, my opinion has more changed. I once viewed him (Calhoun) among the highest order of men. The moment your first message, or rather your inaugural address came out, in both of which, if I recollect right, you strongly recommended a change in the mode of electing Pres't and V. President, I expected Mr. Calhoun and his friends would with avidity lay hold of it as the only road he could travel to the presidency—but instead of this, I saw the man was only fit for nibbling—small matters in his situation—such as his friends support U. S. Bank; intriguing to divide your cabinet, etc.

Present me respectfully to all friends. My health is slowly returning. *appropos* It was with pleasurable feelings I recd yours and Mr. V. Burens flattering notice of my conscientious limited powers. Experience God knows, both of men and things I have much—of literature but little; far inferior to what you both imagine; but such as I am you have always, and will I hope, continue to know me.

When I wrote you last I was just able to set up, but perfectly recollected facts, which I stated to you—but not dates. Should you stand in need of

my statement, which I hope you will not, I desire that you will not use the letter written.²

Please remind me of dates. I can only state to you my present impressions. Viz. that you recd your *Carte Blanche* to prosecute the Seminole War, in 1817. This you shewd me, soon after receiving it, on which I gave you my opinion, to be cautious etc. And my present impression is, that you shewed me a copy of your confidential letter to Mr. Monroe, with an ans. thro Jno. Ray—after you returned from the Seminole Campaign. I am certain however that when I set about defending you, not only in pamphlet form but in the newspaper (*Impartial Review*) I was in possession of all the facts. I repeat, as to the informal order of Monroe through Ray, practised by all Govts. on delicate occasions—that it is peculiarly delicate in a Gov. like ours (*Republican*) and I certainly hope you may not be under any necessity to put pen to paper on the subject again.

As usual

ROBERT Y. HAYNE TO JACKSON.

WASHINGTON, February 4, 1831.

Dear Sir, I understand from Col. Drayton, that you have informed him, that *it has been objected* to the appointment of Mr. Finley to the office of District Attorney for So. Ca. that he entertains political principles which ought to prevent him from holding an office under the U. S. Not being informed of the quarter from whence this suggestion comes, I think it due to all parties, that you should be made acquainted with the fact that in presenting the name of Mr Finley for the office in question, accompanied by a recommendation of *seven* out of *eleven* of the South Carolina Delegation, we were not influenced by party considerations, but by his distinguished talents and high character. In recommending this Gentleman we did not speak of one with whose character, talents and principles we were unacquainted, but who was well known to us, and for whose fidelity in the performance of the duties of the Office we were perfectly willing to pledge ourselves.

That Mr. Finley is a distinguished member of the State Rights party of So. Ca. is true, that he believes with Thos. Jefferson that a state acting in its sovereign capacity has a right to interpose for the preservation of its rights reserved under the Constitution, I have no doubt, for these are principles common to the party to which he belongs, as may be seen in the proceedings of the Legislature of So. Ca. at their last session. But

² Jackson asserted that the letter received from Rhea in 1818, telling him Monroe approved the plan to attack the Spanish garrisons in Florida, was later destroyed at the request of Monroe, and that he showed it to Judge Overton before it was destroyed. It is evident that in a letter just previous to the date of this letter of Feb. 3, Jackson had asked Overton to confirm his assertion. Overton's reply is not preserved. In this paragraph he indicates that it was indefinite and that he did not mean it to be published. Overton and John Rhea were the only persons mentioned by Jackson as having seen this letter. It is worthy of note that when called upon, both men were hazy in their recollections and neither gave positive evidence supporting Jackson. At this time Rhea was seventy-eight. He died a year later, and after his death his will was disputed on the ground that his mind was affected by old age. The court held that he was competent to make a will. Overton was then sixty-four and possessed all his faculties, as this letter shows. Before his death he destroyed all his letters from Jackson. His desire to avoid making a statement continued; when made, June 2, 1831, it was indefinite also.

that he would impair the Constitutional powers of the federal government is I am persuaded wholly without foundation. It is, I trust, not to be apprehended, that in the discharge of his official duties as District Attorney, he could ever be called upon, to sacrifice his obligations to the State of which he is a Citizen, and should such an unhappy state of things ever arise, I undertake to pledge myself that Mr. F. would not remain for an hour in any office the duties of which he could not conscientiously discharge. Unless therefore it should be considered that *a crisis now exists*, in the relations between South Carolina, and the federal government, which forbids the appointment to office of any member of the State Rights party, I must consider the objections to Mr. Finley as altogether groundless.

Believing that attempts will on all occasions hereafter be made, to confine appointments to members of the party opposed to that of which Mr. F. is a member, I take the opportunity presented by this case, of informing myself whether it is to be considered as an insuperable objection to any gentleman's receiving an appointment to office under the federal government, that he belongs to the State Rights party of S. Ca. As the objection which has been raised should it prevail, would apply to a majority of the people of that State I am induced most respectfully to request to be informed what weight it will be considered as entitled to in the estimation of the President. I will only add that if the Executive of the U. S. should act on the principle that *a crisis now exists* in the relations between So. Ca. and the federal government which renders it improper to appoint to a federal office any member of the party now in power in that State, such a rule of action will be the very opposite of that, which has governed the conduct of the State Rights party of that State, who during the last Session of the Legislature elevated to the Bench of their Appeal Court, a Gentleman whose political opinions were known to be opposed to their own, and who selected as their *Attorney General* a gentleman not only opposed to nullification and convention, but who acknowledges the supremacy of the federal Judiciary over the Judicial tribunals of the State. In these acts South Carolina has shewn that in appointments to these high offices she disregards the party distinctions which now exist in that State, and I should deeply regret, that they should prevail in appointments to be made by the federal government

I am with great respect

ROBERT S. GARNETT TO JACKSON.

TAPPAHANNOCK, VA., February 7, 1831.

My dear Sir, In consequence of a letter I received yesterday from Mr Carter Beverly informing me that he had sent you a copy of a statement which he has made to me concerning a conversation between Mr Crawford and myself, I have thought proper to offer to you the following statement. I have no recollection of several of the details given by Mr Beverly, but with regard to the conversation with Mr Crawford, and also that between Mr Monroe, Col Taylor ¹ and myself, so far as relates to the declaration of Mr Monroe that there was no division in the cabinet, my recollection is clear and distinct, and I can be under no mistake. Mr Beverly is also mistaken in saying that I intended his statement for the public eye, as on

¹ John Taylor of Caroline.

that subject I gave him no assurance one way or the other. In consequence of his having informed me that when he was in Tennessee, at your house, he had told you of my conversation with Mr Crawford, I addressed a letter to him to enquire whether his recollection of that conversation corresponded with my own. I have conversed with several other gentlemen who heard me repeat it soon after my return from Washington, and they all confirm the statement which I am now about to give you. During the period I refer to, I kept a journal in which I wrote down at night, or the following morning, every thing I had heard or observed in the course of the preceding day which I thought it important to remember. In this case, one day only intervened between the conversation and the record. From this journal I send you the following extract.

"The night before last Col Taylor proposed we should go and see the President, as Everett said he frequently complained of our not coming, though we lived so near. Newton w'd not go because he had to shave and put on a clean shirt. We found him in the drawing room with Hay, Everett, Moore and Farely. M. and F. and E soon went out, and so did Hay who was going to Sect'y Thompsons. The P. then talked very freely about public affairs, gave us an account of the proceedings of the government in relation to the Seminole war. He stated what I have frequently heard before that the cabinet were perfectly agreed that he should not answer Gen: Jackson. It is however well understood that Crawford, out of the Cabinet, used his endeavours to have Cobb's resolutions passed; and I could not forbear telling the President, that in conversation with me about Cobbs resolutions, while they were pending, Mr Crawford had said, 'Jackson ought to be censured'. He expressed surprise, and seemed to look regret. He says 'the members of the cabinet are still in harmony among themselves, apparently'."]

I again say, that in this statement, there can be no mistake. I am as certain of it as that I exist and am now writing to you, and I recollect the tone and the emphatic manner in which the speech was made. The truth is, that Clay and Crawford both candidates for the Presidency, and fearing your great popularity with the American people, were anxious to put you down, and thus remove the principal impediment to the gratification of their ambition. This opinion was expressed to me by judge Nelson during the debate on the Seminole war, and I dare say must have occurred to many. Subsequent events have greatly confirmed its correctness. . . .²

² Later on Garnett sent Jackson the following corroborating statement from J. S. Barbour, dated Feb. 14, 1831:

"Soon after the meeting of Congress in the month of December 1823, I visited Mr Garnett of Virga. at his lodgings in this City. The ensuing election of President became a prominent topick of Conversation. I remember very distinctly that Mr Garnett said in the progress of the conversation; that at some previous session of Congress, Colo: John Taylor of Caroline and himself had called to see Mr Monroe, when the Seminole war and General Jacksons conduct in it, were subjects of enquiry on the part of Colo Taylor. And that in reply Mr Monroe assured Colo Taylor, that the Cabinet opinion in relation thereto, was without any division among its members. Mr Garnett further said, that at some antecedent period of time Mr Crawford had expressed himself in terms of strong disapprobation of General Jacksons course in that war. Colo Taylor who was present corroborated what Mr Garnett had said of his enquiries of Mr Monroe and the reply given to those enquiries. I recollect that Mr Newton then a member from Virga. was also present."

TO ROBERT Y. HAYNE.¹

WASHINGTON, February 8, 1831.

My Dear Sir, I have read your letter of the 4 inst. The Gentleman presented by you for the appointment of District Atto. is respectably recommended, and the confidence reposed in you is sufficient to induce me to believe that he is as you represent, fully competent to fulfil the duties of the office; There are others, however, who are also well recommended. You suggest that I may entertain objections to the appointment of your friend, and that they arise from the consideration "that he is of the party in S Carolina, who assist and maintain State rights; and express a desire to be informed if this class of your fellow Citizens are to be excluded from a fair participation in offices. Permit me to premise, that in appointing persons to office it is not incumbent on the President to assign the reasons which govern his conduct. To appoint one, and reject another, is by the Constitution left to his discretion and if he errs in the former case, the Senate affords a safe guarantee. It is by his acts that he is in this respect to be judged by his constituents.

Sensible of the propriety of this course, and the importance of its pr[e]servation to the salutary action of the executive power, it has been with great difficulty that I have brought myself to depart from it, in the case under consideration. The peculiar circumstance and the sincere personal respect and esteem which I entertain for you, induce me to make the explanation for your personal satisfaction. For the rights of the states, no one has a higher regard and respect than myself, none would go farther to maintain them: It is only by maintaining them faithfully that the Union can be preserved.

But how I ask, is this to be effected? certainly not by conceding to one state authority to declare an act of Congress void, and meet all the consequences and hazard that such a course would produce, far from it; there is a better remedy, one which has heretofore proved successful in the worst of times, and all must admit its power. If Congress, and the Executive, feeling power, and forgetting right, shall overleap the powers the Constitution bestow, and extend their sanction to laws which the power granted to them does not permit, the remedy is with the people—not by avowed opposition—not thro open and direct resistance, but thro the more peaceful and reasonable course of submitting the whole matter to them at their elections, and they by their free suffrage at the polls, will always in the end, bring about the repeal of any obnoxious laws which violate the constitution. Such abuses as these cannot be of long duration in our enlightened country where the people rule. Let all contested matters be brought to that tribunal, and it will decree correctly.

This is, in general political questions, the only course that should be pursued, and which the constitution contemplates. That a state has the power to nulify the Legislative enactments of the General Government I never did believe, nor have I ever understood Mr. Jefferson to hold such an opinion. That ours is a Government of laws, and depends on a will of

¹ Copy.

the majority, is the true reading of the Constitution; the time I hope is far distant when the abuse of power on the part of Congress will be so great as to justify a state to stand forth in open violation and resistance to its measures; In all Republics the voice of a Majority must prevail, consent to this, and act upon it, and harmony will prevail; oppose it, and disagreement, difference and danger will certainly follow. assert that a state may declare acts passed by congress inoperative and void, and revolution with all of its attendant evils in the end must be looked for and expected—compromise, mutual concessions, and friendly forbearance between different interests, and sections of our happy Country must be regarded and nourished by all who desire to perpetuate the blessings we enjoy. These being my opinions, religiously entertained, situated as I am, charged with the Executive of the laws, and the preservation of the union and the Constitution, it could not be expected that I would select any one to prosecute for a violation of them, who holds that a portion of our revenue laws is not binding, and who would declare that the Union should be dissolved rather than these laws should be permitted to be enforced.

I would be highly blamable to appoint any man however well qualified he might be in other respects, Attorney for the District whose duty it would be to collect the Bonds given for the revenue to be paid to the Govrmt. after he had declared the law unconstitutional, and that disunion was preferable to submission to them. Mr. Findley is represented to me, to have expressed himself substantially as I have stated, surely then, if this be true, it could not be expected by any one of my friends that I could appoint him attorney to prosecute defaulters under these laws.

When the ground is moreover taken deliberately that the Bonds given to the Government for revenue are void and that their collection may be successfully resisted, could it be regarded in the faithful discharge of my duty to select for an office to which the collection of such bonds will belong a gentleman however respectable whose honest opinions are opposed to the liability which it might become his official duty to enforce; I think not and in coming to that conclusion I am not influenced by any want of confidence in the personal character of Mr. Findley, and much less by any unfriendly feeling towards him or his supporters. I understand that Mr. Findley's opinions are of that character and so believe, I think I shall better perform my duty by selecting one whose views upon this subject are more in unison with the interests of the Government.

You ask me whether it is to be considered as an insuperable objection to any Gentleman receiving an appointment to office under the Federal Govmt. that he belongs to state right party in S Carolina; This is a broad question, and goes far beyond the point under consideration. I will however in the spirit which dictates this communication reply to it. I proscribe no man for an honest difference of opinion, and I shall be the last to withhold from any portion of my fellow Citizens the privileges of the Constitution for an honest exercise of opinions which they sincerely entertain and cherish from good motives. I understand your reference to the State right party in S Carolina and recognize among those who are thus described many of my earliest and warmest friends—men who have always been true to honor, and their country, and who I am persuaded could

never knowingly harbor a thought that is adverse to the welfare of their country. neither they nor those who are like them will ever, I assure you, recieve any treatment at my hands which candidly and dispassionately considered can with any justice be regarded as proscription. I may differ with them but I will do them justice: No official or personal act will give me more pleasure than to endeavour to heal the breaches which have unhappily been made in your society. I have on more occasions than one shewn that I entertain no such views in regard to them as are refered to by your question, and sincerely hope they may not be the last. I have now in frankness and in the spirit of sincere friendship given you the reasons which influence me in this matter, in doing so, I have departed widely from the course I have, in conformity with what I understand to have been that of my prede[ce]ssors, laid down for my government. In what I have said it is not my intention to call in question the motives of any who may entertain opinions different from those which I have felt myself called upon to express to you in this familiar way, or to involve myself in a discussion of their respective merits. I therefore trust so far as it regards the latter, the matter will be suffered to stop here.²

I am very respectfully yr most obt servt

PS. I will postpone the nomination until the 20th inst.

RICHARD M. JOHNSON TO JACKSON.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, February 13, 1831.

Dear Sir, In answer to your enquiry of this morning I state that I had several conversations with Mr Calhoun, while I was preparing a counter report for the minority of the military committee relative to your conduct in the seminole war. Mr Calhoun always spoke of you with respect and kindness, and approved of my course and he never expressed to me any disapprobation of your conduct on that occasion. The substance of this communication I made to Mr Calhoun at his request previous to the publication of his corres[pon]dence with you on that subject¹

With sentiments of respect

TO COLONEL ANTHONY BUTLER.¹

WASHINGTON, February 15, 1831.

Private and confidential

My Dear Sir, Your letter of the 22d December last has been received and I seize the (first) moment at my command, amidst the duties that surround me, to reply to it. The change of feelings of the Mexican

² To this letter Hayne replied in a long letter dated Feb. 14. He protested against any imputation against the patriotism or character of Finley, and argued at length against the policy of excluding states' rights men in South Carolina from federal office. Jackson took no further notice of the matter.

¹ Calhoun's correspondence with Jackson was first published Feb. 17, 1831. It was in a pamphlet of 52 pages, but was widely reprinted. For "several months" before this the papers had discussed the attitude of Monroe's Cabinet toward Jackson's Seminole campaign. *Niles' Register*, XXXIX. 441.

¹ Univ. of Texas, Butler Papers.

Government, from the most bitter to the kindest, since your presence at it, shows the propriety of your conduct, and is the strongest assurance that you will succeed in placing the relations of the two Governments on the basis of perfect amity

If the acting President be sincere in the profession which he has made to us, there cannot be much difficulty in convincing him that the most important step to the lasting harmony of the two countries will be a cession of Texas to us. Of the proper time for the suggestion of the many considerations that call for this step, you can better judge than I can, from a more intimate view of all the circumstances that affect the counsel and policy of that Government. It would seem to me that the most favorable auspices will follow the ratification of the commercial Treaty which you have negotiated and the knowledge of the disturbances to which the unsettled state of the boundary question has recently subjected us on the borders of Arkansas. These disturbances will be mentioned to you in an official letter from the Secretary of State, and will furnish an occasion which you may well improve, to introduce a discussion that may enable you to discern what turn the authorities of Mexico feel at liberty to give to the general question of *limits*. If they are disposed to survey with the eyes of Statesmen the relative position of the two countries, and to examine the causes which are likely to impede their mutual prosperity and intercourse, for the purpose of removing them, the policy of a cession of Texas may be canvassed without reviving those jealousies which you have recited as so artfully fanned by foreign influence during Mr. Poinsetts service there.

There is reason to fear that a project is already on foot by adventurers from the United States, acting in concert with disaffected citizens of Mexico, to take possession of Texas and declare it an independent republic; and altho' the Government of the United States has employed and will continue to employ all the means in its power to defeat it, that it may be difficult to undermine her authority for the purpose of wresting from her a part of her possessions. Should a concentration of force, west of the Sabine river, take place, it is easy to see that the limited authority of the executive according to our constitution would make his power, tho' exerted to the utmost, inefficient in arresting procedure so prejudicial to Mexico; and in spite of it that it might soon acquire strength to ensure its success. Emigrants from this country tempted by the promises which would be offered [*three lines torn off*] punishment for crimes committed within the limits of the United States.

An event so probable as this deserves to be seriously considered by Mexico, and may be at least adverted to by you for the purpose of counteracting the jealousies which its anticipation is so well calculated to excite. Strong assurances that everything in our power will be done to avert it, by punishing the citizens of the United States who may be detected as forming a part of the conspiracy against her authority, within the [*three lines torn off*] of foreign affairs, as to the safest means of removing the causes of it.

I cannot but think that a thorough examination of the whole subject will satisfy Mexico, that her true policy recommends a cession of the

province. Not yet placed in a situation by the harmony, intelligence and number of her citizens, to regard extent of territ[or]y, as we do, an important agent in the development and preservation of the Representative principle. she must be sensible that it is in truth the vital source of her weakness, and particularly that portion including Texas, in which natural as well as artificial causes combine to exclude that community of interests and feelings which are the basis of civil power in all countries.

From these hints you will see the ground which I would occupy in friendly conference with the Secretary of foreign affairs, and the process by which I would demonstrate the necessity of a prompt and lasting decision of this question of boundary. A revolt in Texas may close the door forever to its advantageous settlement, and may eventuate not merely in the loss of that Province to Mexico with much blood and treasure, but break up the friendly understanding which is now established between this Government and hers, and le[a]d to a train of events that may obscure for a long period the sun of liberty in that quarter. No period can be more favorable than the present for its impartial and wise consideration. European powers have now enough to do to preserve peace within their own dominions, which, with scarce an exception are in a state of revolution. We are looking with great anxiety for your Treaty. . . .

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES.

WASHINGTON, February 22, 1831.

I submit herewith to congress a letter from Mr. Rhind, stating the circumstances under which he received the four Arabian horses, that were brought by him to the United States from Turkey. This letter will enable congress to decide what ought to be done with them.¹

TO COLONEL CHARLES J. LOVE.

WASHINGTON, March 7, 1831.

. . . . The Tutor engaged from New England has not yet arrived, nor have I heard from the Gentlemen who were to make the engagement for me. Should I be disappointed in the one expected, I shall endeavour to engage one if I can, qualified and fit, and send him on to you. I find it more difficult in getting one of proper qualifications whose moral character can be vouched for, than I expected. Many has presented themselves, but it

¹ Charles Rhind had recently returned from Constantinople, where he had negotiated a treaty with the Sultan's government. In a letter which he wrote to Jackson Dec. 10, 1830, he said that after completing the treaty he had many conferences with the Sultan and his advisers, and was able to suggest many improvements to the Turks, useful to them in various phases of their lives; and thus he won their good-will. In order to express his gratitude the Sultan sent him four Arabian horses as a gift. Knowing that he was not allowed, as a diplomatic agent, to receive them as a personal gift, he had hesitated to accept them. But his friends in Constantinople warned him that to refuse them would be an insult to the Sultan and would endanger the ratification of the treaty. The horses were therefore in the United States, and it was for the President to say what should be done with them. Jackson's presentation of the case to Congress was followed by a refusal to take the horses, and in May, 1831, they were sold at Tattersalls, N. Y., at auction, bringing \$1990, not enough to pay for their transportation and keep. *Niles' Register*, XL. 70, 196, 283; Richardson, II. 536.

has been those in pursuit of office, whose terms are extravagant, or whose morals, and Capacity, have not been well vouched for.

major Donelson leaves me tomorrow for his family, to whom I must refer you for the news of this place. The papers will have furnished you with the somerset of Genl. Green, and the conspicuous and prominent display of Mr Calhoun. They are as compleatly prostrate as any two Gentlemen ever were. They have cut their own throats, and destroyed themselves in a shorter space of time than any two men I ever knew, and both have to stop short, veer about and take some other tack, what is, not yet known. I am as yet a silent looker on in Venice. "When a fit occasion occurs and leisure will permit, I will give to the world a historical account of treachery and duplicity which never has been surpassed." In mr monroe and mr Calhoun I had the most unlimited confidence. The attempt was made under that confidence, as appears now from their own letters published, to alter my letters and betray me into some expressions under the auspices of friendship, that might have been used by them to establish the charge of tra[ns]cending my orders. Truth being always my guide, I escaped the net for me, without suspecting it. They have without my consent published part of my private letters and Mr Monroes to me. when the proper time arrives, I will give all to the world.

I have a wish to sell part of my stock of blood horses if I can. I wish you would inquire for a purchaser for them. I will instruct my son on this subject. I would sell on a credit, if a company would buy the whole. I will sell singly, or put them up at public sale. Write me the prospects. Present me affectionately to Mrs Love and your family and believe me your friend

TO LOUIS McLANE.¹

WASHINGTON, March 8, 1831.

Confidential

My dear friend, The letter written to you by Mr. Van Buren at my table spoke fully my feelings and wishes towards you. But I trust that the nature of our relations excludes the necessity of professions. You have served your country faithfully and successfully, and as far as it is in my power to prevent, it shall not be ungrateful to you. Although I was well aware that those who did any thing, but rejoice in your success, would raise a clamour at your return, I had nevertheless determined, sensible of the reasonableness of your request, to grant you permission to return in the spring, and mr Van Buren wrote you to that effect. When I did so, my hopes were that I would have it in my power to do something that would be satisfactory on your arrival, stronger than mr. Van Buren expressed them. It gives me pain to say that a due regard to existing circumstances, and a respect for all interests that merit consideration have interposed obstacles to the gratification of my wishes in that respect which makes a posponement of them nearly impracticable. But that is not the principle inducement for what I am about to say to you, for I am satisfied you would be content to await circumstances, knowing well that no proper

¹ Library of Congress, Donelson Papers. McLane was minister to Great Britain 1829-1831.

opportunity would be left unimproved. I have said you have served your country faithfully and successfully, and to those who do so their country may naturally look for support in public exigencies.

We are yet without information from Mr Prebble and have no accounts of the result of his mission other, than what is derived from your communication, and the Public papers.² Taking them in connection with indications from Main, I apprehend that difficulties of no ordinary character may grow out of this affair. Should such be the case, I have had too much knowledge of your peculiar fitness for the station you occupy not to be sensible of the injury the public interest might sustain from your withdrawal, and I am confident the act would be disapproved by the people. Those, with several other considerations constrain me to require your continuance at London for one year more, or at least to fall; or until circumstances may so change, as to justify a different course; in which event, you may rest assured that they will not be suffered to pass unnoticed. I am sensible of the disappointment this will be to you, and I think you know me too well not to be satisfied of the pain I experience in announcing it. But I know also as well from my knowledge of your personal character, as from the Stock you are decended, that you will not stop to count the sacrifice, when it is your country which demands it.

you may happen to learn that on its being generally believed at the rising of congress that you were coming home, and indeed asserted that you were on the water, a hue and cry was raised by the opposition about outfits and extravagance etc. etc. I therefore think proper to assure you that this circumstance has not entered into my considerations in deciding on the present course. I would not have made up my mind to have given you permission to return if I had not believed it to have been right, and thinking so, it is not my course to heed the clamour of those who are disposed to rail on whatever may be done. I think it due to you, that it should be known that you have requested permission to return, and that I have on public grounds felt it my duty to insist on your remaining at your post for some time longer.

Repeating my regrets at the contents of this letter, and desiring to be affectionately remembered to mrs. McLane and all her children, whom I expect to see at Washington at no distant day, and under more auspicious circumstances, I am D'r sir very respectfully yr friend

MEMORANDUM FOR MAJOR DONELSON.¹

March 8, 1831.

I wish my trunk of papers brought on to me, with all letters from Colo Arthur P. Hayne to me on the subject of the Seminole war, and those of mr Calhoun which will be found in the pigeon hole in the paper press in my office—all the official papers on this subject are in the trunk. In my

² The reference is to the arbitration of the northeastern boundary by the King of the Netherlands. William P. Preble of Maine was our minister at the Hague.

¹ Library of Congress, A. J. Donelson Papers. It is in Jackson's handwriting. Major Donelson left Washington on this day for Nashville, to conduct his family, as he thought, to Washington. See p. 254n., *post*.

Bureau, standing in the picture parlor under my dear wifes likeness, and in one of the small drawers in the upper part, will be found the letter of Genl Houston to me inclosing the copy of the Confidential letter from mr monroe to mr Calhoun. These letters, as well as those respecting mr Southard, of Genl Houstons, I wish put into my trunk, with the correspondence with Southard, and brought on. I believe, these last are in my Trunk locked up. my letter Books are all in the Trunk. great care must be taken that the Trunk is brought on safe.

as to my stock, I would like to sell them all, indeed I will sell *all* if my son should not soon wish to take charge of the farm, as without his attention, the stock will not be profitable, but the oscar and virginia fillies and their colts, if a fair price could be had. The other mares and their colts I would sell all together or seperate—enquire. If the stud is to be brought here for major Andrew the filley may be also. I wish to sell the miller mares stud colt by Stockholder—he must be large and likely and worth \$500, but his price or value when you see them you will be the best judge. present me kindly to Emily and the children, to mary Easton and say to them I will be happy to see them here. Present me affectionately to mrs. Donelson and her family in which Stockly and his amiable lady is included, and to William and Elisabeth, to mr martin and his amiable family, to Alexander and Levan, and Severn and his. say to mr and mrs. McLamore I salute them kindly and will expect to see mary on with him Genl Coffee and his daughter when you come on. Write me when you reach home, and give me the health of the family and such information as you believe will be interesting

P. S. Please present me kindly to mr J Sanders and your mother, to Danl and his lady, to your Grandmother, and to your Unkle George and Aunt Tabitha and family. Say to Tabitha I recollect her with much good feeling. present me to all my neighbours respectfully and kindly

A. J.

TO ANDREW J. DONELSON.¹

WASHINGTON, March 10, 1831.

D'r Andrew, I have this moment recd. a letter from Emily and one from mary Easton to your address, with a request that they be returned if you have left this. They are herewith inclosed, and when you hand them present my love to each and kiss the little ones for me, and present my kind salutations to all my connections and neighbours.

On the subject of my papers, if Genl Coffee is not with you or Mr McLamore get my friend judge Overton to aid you in looking over the letters of mr Calhoun, all of which I wish brought on by you. some of these may have been casually put up in my old desk in the upper part. Look there as well as in the pigeon holes of my letter Press, and also in the drawers of the Bureau under the picture of my D'r wife. I want all Houstons and Calhouns on the private and confidential letter of Monroes and Col A. P. Haynes on the Seminole war.

¹ Library of Congress, Donelson Papers.

Major Eaton has been quite sick but is much better. When you part[ed] without going up to see him, he had a violent fever, and exclaimed was it possible you would not come to see him, when you might never again meet in this world. I regret sincerely you did not either call or send your complements to know how he was—such would have been soothing, when a different course would have a different effect, and produce harmony and a restoration of friendship between those that ought to be so.

I have but a moment to close this letter. wishing you health and happiness and a speedy return I am yrs affectionately

NOTES SENT TO JACKSON BY C. B. GARDINER.¹

March 22, 1831.

The following is the substance of a conversation held by Mr. Ingham with me this day.

There was a feeling prevailing, which rendered it difficult to do business here at this time. *He* had taken no part in the existing collisions, and found he had quite enough to do, to attend to *his own* official business. He had told Gen. Jackson, long ago, that his Department required his whole attention, and that *he* shoul[d] not have time to intermingle with the *political* affairs of the Administration.

"*Something* was wrong *somewhere*: and there was much discontent and bad feeling. Much of the present difficulties had grown out of the *early measures*. He never saw the propriety or necessity of many removals; nor of some *strong measures*, adopted solely on the ground of Gen. Jackson's personal popularity. He had asked them, what was the *use* of encroaching upon the popularity of Gen. Jackson. If it were strong, (as it undoubtedly was, *at that time*,) it was best, not only to keep it so, but to *increase* it by all conciliatory measures.

For his own part, *he* had no reason to complain. Congress had sustained *him* in all *he* had done, or asked. The reason of this, he supposed, was, because he had taken a quiet course, attending only to his own duties, and not participating in the quarrels or *prospective* views of others.

Ohio was not only debateable ground, but *worse than that now*. Pennsylvania was little better than debateable *now*, but he would not "*sign an insurance*" for her another year. She had much state pride; and plumed herself a good deal upon the fair and humane manner, in which she had acquired her territory from the aborigines—not by cutting their throats and murdering them, as most of the other states had done; but under the peaceable negotiations of William Penn. It was therefore that she took the stand which she did, on the *Indian question*. If such of her members as voted against the Indian bill last winter, had turned a somerset, and went entirely over to the enemy, as Stanberry did, they would have been re-elected by increased majorities, as he was. Some of them, who attempted to recant, or palliate their course, had been *beaten*.

¹ This paper was sent to Jackson by Gardiner with a covering letter dated Washington, Apr. 2, 1831.

Local feelings will, and generally ought to prevail. And the foolish attempts made here, to array the constituents of a member against him, because he did not pursue such a course as pleased *some here*, always had recoiled upon the Administration. Congress would think for themselves; and would not be *scolded* into measures. It was always better to *conciliate*, rather than *irritate*. When members complained of this thing and that, and were told that the *popularity of Gen. Jackson* would sustain it; they naturally became more tenacious of their own power, and less inclined to yield to the wishes of the President. No man's popularity ought to be a shield for a wrong measure. No earthly possession was so uncertain as popularity. Even Gen. Washington lost *his*, towards the close of his Administration. There was a majority of two against him in Congress, on a vote relative to the correspondence preceding Jay's Treaty. Gen Jackson was yet popular, but *no one could tell what two years had done, or what two years more might bring forth*. He would not endorse *even for Pennsylvania* for that time. He would not *sign a policy* for New York for 99 per cent. New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio, under the new census, could settle any question of power, in the union, *if united*. The non-slaveholding states *ought*, and *would* be united. For 34 years out of 42, we had been governed by slaveholding Presidents. He did not object to a fair reciprocity; but the odds had been too great on one side.

The anti-masons, to a man, were against Gen. Jackson. They acted foolishly in making their principles so strictly a political test. They lost their Governor in New-York by *that*; and in Pennsylvania, last fall, they did not effect as much as they might have done. If they would not *avow* that they supported a man on the *particular ground* of his being an anti-mason, they could be *equally united* in his support, and gain support for him from *others* at the same time.

There was to be a "tremendous meeting" in Philadelphia. Hemphill was to be placed at the head of it. It would have a powerful effect. Hemphill had become very warm. He had been a true friend of Gen. Jackson, and could forgive him every thing else, but the danger in which he had placed the Bank of the United States. Pennsylvania would not rest easy on that subject.

If the meeting at Baltimore should take up Mr. McLean, instead of Mr. Clay, he would *give us more trouble than any other man!* The Clay men were not very warm for *him* in Pennsylvania. They took him in preference to Gen. Jackson as a *choice of evils*. The case would be very different with *McLean* in Pennsylvania. The *methodist Jacksonians* in that State, (who were very numerous) would support him to a man, *and so they would everywhere*. Of the anti-masons doing so, there could be no doubt; but if they supported him *ostensibly* on the *main ground* of his being an anti-mason, they would not do him as much good as they could, if they united, and *agreed to leave that out of sight*. McLean was highly esteemed in New-York. In Ohio there was no kind of doubt about him. *The Clay men would prefer him, or any one else, before Jackson*. In Pennsylvania the Quakers and methodists, *in a body*, would go for McLean, and a *great many Presbyterians*.

The power of *sympathy* among the people of the United States was, perhaps, as strong as any other feeling. They would not look on with indifference and see *one friend* crushed and trampled in the dust, to gratify any present or *prospective* views of *another*. Pennsylvania *knew* Mr. Calhoun to be a strong and sincere friend to Gen. Jackson. *She called him her son; and would not see him sacrificed.*

He did not think Mr. Calhoun desired to be a candidate; because he had thought Gen. Jackson ought to serve a second term. His *reputation* was dearer to him than the Presidency.

The people had not yet looked to the question of a successor to Gen. Jackson. They did not wish to do so; but if they think we are divided here among ourselves, they may tell us all to go about our business. No *divided* Administration could be a successful one. At this time it was doubtful whether Gen. Jackson had a majority with him in Congress. And how is a President to effect, even the most salutary measures, without the co-operation of Congress?

Gen. Jackson may *possibly* get Pennsylvania; but it would be a *hard battle*.

Gen. Jackson would now be elected; but great changes might take place in public sentiment in two years. All depended upon the future course of the Administration.

He could not tell *why*, but it seemed to him that some men *would become popular*, without either *general* or *specific* causes. And others would *lose their influence*, without a *visible* dereliction of duty. Some how or other, *Mr. McLean's popularity was like a ball rolling in the snow*. [Here it was observed that *snow would melt* in a *southern clime*.] He said "an *avalanche* would last many years."

Too much anxiety to *retain* their places, had greatly tended to facilitate the downfall[1] of the *last* Administration—(Adams and Clay). He hoped *this* would be more prudent. No public man ought to desire to remain in office, longer than the people *voluntarily* approved of his acts. The people will not be *forced*; and it is *unsafe* to substitute *personal popularity* for *public utility*.

TO ANDREW J. DONELSON.¹

WASHINGTON, March 24, 1831.

Private

My D'r Andrew, We have not heard one word from you since you left us. I hope you have reached your family in safety and found them all in good health, and all your connections, and our good neighbours enjoying that greatest of blessings.

You have no doubt seen Genl Duff paper. The man has realised what I long suspected, by displaying to open day what his secretly workings were. I fear we have had more in our ranks, than Duff, who have been acting the double part. I have had a manuscript read to me to day² of a

¹ Library of Congress, Donelson Papers.

² Probably the document preceding, though the copy spoken of below was not given to Jackson until Apr. 2.

conversation had and held, with some of my advisers, that shews that there are more deceipt practised than by Calhoun, and well accounts for the divisions of Pennsylvania on the Indian and all other questions before Congress, than I ever understood before. The whole mistery, and all the real plots will, by this paper, be soon unraveled, and if I am right in my conjectures will bring it home to one that I am sure you would not suspect. but from the wicked combination to drive Eaton out of my Cabinet because he was thought oppose[d] politically to Calhoun, and the bitterness of his wife on this subject, I could not help believing he was not acting in good faith with the administration, but would sacrafice it to the promotion of Calhoun. I am to have a copy tomorrow, and the name of the individuals, when I will act with frankness, and ask, *if it be true*. I will purge all double dealers from my Cabinet come what may.

I have been much pressed with business since you left me. I wish you here but my dear Andrew from what I have suffered by my family being arrayed against my best friend, by the contrivance of those, whose object is no longer doubtful (as I always knew myself) to crush me; as much as I desire you, and your dear little family with me, unless you and yours can harmonise with major Eaton and his family, I do not wish you here because I have experienced so much pain, and my enemies have profitted so much by the division, that I cannot think of encountering such scenes again, but with harmony between my family, and Cabinet, I put my enemies at defiance. It has been the division in my Cabinet, and my family adhering to that part of it, who had combined together to prostrate me, thro Eaton, that has done the injury, as far as my enemies have succeeded, and all the influence of Calhoun and his secrete workers, that has defeated all my recommendations to congress (except the Indian bill), will be destroyed by union in my family, and Cabinet.

The *writing* read to me today, has unfolded a clue to all the workings in congress—the future plans and projects of my false friends and secrete enemies who have boasted of their support of the present administration, and has been apparently foremost in their wishes that I might yield to the expressed wishes of the people and consent to yield to a second election, and gives a clue to the conduct of Genl Creps³—remember I hinted to you my opinion that the plan of his letter to you was a sugestion whilst he was here. You could not think of such treachery. my experience, with a knowledge of the treachery of mr monroe, and Calhoun to invegle me under confidence and friendship to my ruin told me that the same might be practiced by others.

Look at the late publication by Green, that the publication of Calhoun was shewn to my confidential friend and approved by him,⁴ from which it was infered that it meet with my approval. a more palpable falshood was never uttered—the effect intended to be produced by this part of

³ Jacob Krebs, M. C. from Pennsylvania 1826-1827.

⁴ Calhoun's pamphlet in relation to his position on Jackson's Seminole campaign was issued as an attack on Van Buren, and he tried to keep it clear of Jackson. Duff Green said he submitted it before publication to Eaton as a friend of Jackson. Cf. Bassett's Jackson, II. 515-518.

the publication is most wicked—it will meet its reward, so soon as Eaton is able to write. In the meantime you can ask judge Grundy where he was, when by his invitation Eaton called at his lodgings, and who was in consultation with him at mr Inghams, and from whom he got the manuscript he read to major Eaton that evening, and why it was that I was not made acquainted with the intended publication, and by whose authority Green has published this impo[li]tic falshood that I had seen and was consenting to the publication of Calhouns Book. I was thunderstruck when I saw the publication and at once saw the wickedness of the design, and on inquiry found out the source and those concerned.

From the manuscript of a conversation this day read to me I have collected a clue to this, as well as other plans. The plot so well and secretly planned to rouse the feelings of the nation, first by circulating all over the union the tale of the deference between Calhoun and myself, then the attack by Tazwell and Tiler in the senate moved by Calhoun, and then upon Duff Greens election, ushering the Book before the public in the manner it was, all calculated to arouse virginia, and by Calhouns attendance at Richmond to obtain a nomination by the Legislature. all this having failed, Calhoun is to be dropped, and all hands unite on judge McLane who is to be nominated by the antemason, Pennsylvania got over with New-york, and Pennsylvania "*who calls mr Calhoun her favorite son*" this son is to bring her over, and another of her sons, in my cabinet (says the conversation) is to aid in this holy work—do not *stare*, I have not names but the conversation I have from a source that can be relied on, and when I get the written statement I will with my usual Frankness ask, *is it true*.⁵

I have been thus prolix, that you might have some idea of the treachery of this world, and how it has been made to operate on you and my dear Emily to estrange you from me, and heap injury upon my steadfast friend and his family to separate us and destroy me, knowing how much I loved you, and as they thought rather than separate from you, I would prove *recreant to friendship*, and abandon Eaton. when unguarded, I would fall an Easy prey to the wicked machinations of Calhoun and his adherents. I trust my Dear Andrew you will profit from experience, and when you and Emily returns, it will be to unite with me and my friends, live in harmony with me, and my bosom friend, aid me in all just and honourable exertions, to promote the best interests of my beloved country, and aid in bringing my administration to a happy close. with what joy will I hale your arrival with Emily and the dear little ones with mary Easten, who I wish to come with you, if you will come with this fixed determination. But o my Dear Andrew, unless you can come with this determination, to harmonise and unite in council with me and my friends, instead of associating with my hidden and secrete enemies, better not to come. Your aid I want, the society of Emily and mary, with the sweet little ones, would aid to cheer me in my labours, and malancholy moments, your counsel would add strength to my friends, and aid in shielding us from the snares of our professed friends, but secrete enemies, but to do this it must be in full fellowship, and harmony—for I repeat

⁵ See notes sent to Jackson by C. B. Gardiner, Mar. 22, 1831, *ante*.

the words of holy writ, "that a House divided cannot stand." Come then, but come in friendship, and with the determination to act courteously to all my Cabinet whoever they be. If Emily and you will do this, all will meet you in friendship, and will live in harmony and brotherly love.⁶

Mr Surrurier and his lady are here. I gave them a dinner, with my heads of departments and their families, the Foreign Ladies, were courteous and familiar with all, but the usual stiffness with some of my Cabinet, but it went off well. Mrs. Surrurier is a charming woman, has visited me once in the social way in the evening. I am much delighted with them both, and I am sure you, Emily, and Mary, will be. She was particularly attentive to Mrs. Eaton. How much I wish for harmony, and how much sorrow has the want of it occasioned me. I knew the wicked intention, it has fully developed itself, and how much you will be astonished when you come to find out all the hypocrisy practiced, and particularly the source, or I sho[u]ld rather say, *one of them*.

My Dr Andrew attend to bringing on all my public papers, in the trunk, all major Lees letters to me before he reached Tennessee on the subject of his writing the history of the war, and Mr Calhoun's letters to him (which he inclosed) on that subject, and all Colo A. P. Haynes from Decbr. 1817, to 1820. I have not recd. the scrape of a pen from Mr Levi Jones since you left me. . . .

JOHN RHEA TO JACKSON.

BLOUNTVILLE, SULLIVAN [Co.], TENN., March 30, 1831.

Dear President, I received your Letter of the fourth of March last. it appears to have been directed to me at Rutledge. I will be with you as soon as I can, but know not when. I desire to have a copy of the letter (from you) in which you alluded to me. I am gratified in being informed by you that Judge Overton and his nephew Samuel Overton saw the letter from me to you and know the contents, and I now request you to write to Judge Overton¹ and his same nephew Samuel, and desire them to inform you of all they know and remember of the contents of that Letter, and as soon as you receive letters thereof from them, please to send on copies to me here at Blountville, if I be not previously at Washington, that is before you receive them, and I request that the Judge and his nephew may tell the date of that letter or as near as they can. I desire every information you can give to me on the subject. All letters sent by you to me here, I will direct to be taken care of. You think you will have to come out. if so, be not in haste. When you receive this please write to me, this letter is confidential. beleive me to be with sincere esteem

P. S. *April 2d, 1831*. I have received your letter of the twenty first of last month, with the two accompanying papers. Circuit Court in Hawkins County, begins next Monday. I am to be there at Court and will return

⁶ In consequence of these sentiments Mrs. Emily Donelson refused to leave Tennessee with her husband. As he was setting out without her news came of the reorganization of the Cabinet, which made her return easy.

¹ Cf. Overton to Jackson, June 2, 1831, *post*.

I hope soon here. I will then return a copy of your said letter to you with the two papers, of which I will retain Copies, but I request you to send to me a copy of your said confidential Letter to Mr Monroe. it is necessary that I have a copy thereof; and copies of the letters from Judge Overton and his Nephew, containing their statements of what they know and remember relative to the letter you allude to to you from me. I request a copy from you of your said confidential letter to Mr Monroe. Accept my best wishes. your friend and Servant

JACKSON'S PEW RENT.¹

April 1, 1831.

The President, U. States

To 2d Pres: Church Dr

For 1 qr. Rent pew No. 29. due 1 Apl. 1831. \$7:50

Recd Payt

GEO GILLISS, Trea Ch

LEVI JONES TO JACKSON.

NOTTOWAY, VA., April 4, 1831.

My dear Sir, I had the honor to receive by the last mail your esteemed favour of the 28th Ult I have not been able to purchase to my satisfaction the two boys and Negroe girls for your son in time to send out with the Negroes I purchased for the estate of Genl. Chamberlayn [?] Jones. The Negroes of Irby's estate sold at enormous prices, 36 sold for \$10,114 00/100 and were mostly the inferior Negroes belonging to the estate. The sale was well attended by speculators, who were anxious to make out their droves for the South and were willing to give high prices. They have supplied themselves and are gone, in consequence of which Negroes (as I expected) have fallen, and as I did not meet with suitable negroes for Majr. Donelson and your son in time to send out with the estate of Genl. Jones's Negroes, I have concluded to purchase them one at a time at my leisure as favourable opportunities offers. When I purchase them I will send them by the Steam boat to Washington unless a favourable opportunity offers to send them direct to Nashville which frequently occurs.

If your son contemplates visiting Tennessee this Spring or summer, it will afford me great pleasure to see him at my house. And if I do not purchase his Negroes before his arrival he can stay with me until we can procure such as will suit him. I shall in the mean time avail myself of every opportunity to purchase them and Majr. Donelsons also. . . .

¹ Many receipts like this are found in the Jackson MSS. Sept. 8, 1829, he paid \$26 for a pew in "Mr. Post's Church" and on the receipt endorsed as follows: "2: 10\$—20. 1: 5\$—5 silver 1", a total of \$26. Oct. 7, 1831, he again paid pew rent, this time in the First Presbyterian Church, for the year ending Dec. 31, 1831. The amount was \$26, plus an increase of one-fourth just voted, a total of \$31.50. Mar. 18, 1834, he paid pew rent, \$13, at St. John's (Episcopal) Church for the quarter ending Dec. 31, 1833, and July 7 he paid a like sum to the same church for the quarter ending Mar. 31, 1834. On the same day he paid the rent for pew No. 6 in the First Presbyterian Church for the quarter ending Mar. 31, 1834. Receipts survive to show that he continued to pay pew rent in the First Presbyterian and St. John's churches. He seems to have attended more regularly at the First Presbyterian.

TO WILLIAM B. CONWAY.

WASHINGTON, April 4, 1831.

Sir, your letter of the 31st ultimo has just reached me; and altho I never answer political letters, still the subject matter of yours requires a passing comment.

The first intimation I have recvd that the meeting in this city in February last "to promote the establishment of Sunday schools in the valley of the Missi[ssi]ppi, was sectarian," is from your letter now before me. I was induced to believe, that it was a plan for disseminating the Gospel, by a *union* of *all christians*, in the valley of the mississippi, where it was considered from the late settlement of the country the circulation of the bible the education of the poor and an observance of the Sabath by children might be beneficial to their morales, and in the end prove essentially servicable to the indigent. These were my understanding of the objects of that meeting as the word *Union* imports. I am no *sectarian*; tho a lover of the christian religion. I do not believe, that any, who shall be so fortunate as to be received to heaven, thro the atonement of our blessed Saviour will be asked whether they belonged to the Presbetarian, the Methodist, the Episcopalian Baptist or Roman catholic. All christians are brethern, and all true christians, know they are such, *because they love one another*. A true christian, *loves all*, immaterial to what sect, or church, he may belong. The *Union* for promoting Sunday schools in the valley of the Mississippi, I understood and believed to have nothing sectarian in its view, but was designed to aid in the Education of the poor and to meliorate the condition and improve the morals of the present and rising generation; as such it had my best wishes, and as such will ever have them. But should it appear that the object is, to give ascendancy and preference to any sect or denomination, over others then, my constitutional notions will compel me to frown down such an attempt because in my opinion freedom and an established religion are incompatible with each other etc. etc.

JOHN RANDOLPH TO JACKSON.

LONDON, April 6, 1831.

My dear Sir, In your letter of the 3d of December last, you most kindly invited me "to speak my feelings and wishes in regard to the future without reserve and to count with confidence on the steadiness of your friendship for me." At the time when I received that letter, I had sanguine hopes of being able to return to Russia in the Spring, and accordingly wrote to you to that effect. But, subsequently, my health has been so entirely undermined that I despair of my ability to do so. I cannot express to you the anxiety and distress which I have endured from reflecting on this circumstance. It amounts, at times, to intense misery. As you were so good as to put my return to St. Petersburg upon the contingencies "that my health would admit of it, and that I should have reason to believe that I would be able to accomplish the whole, or part of what was desired", I feel some consolation; for I see not the most distant prospect of success (at present) in either object.

I must therefore, my dear Sir, avail myself of your indulgent invitation "to let you know my wishes freely" and to request that "the necessary directions may be sent to me without delay." I regret most deeply that I have delayed this communication so long. I have been cheated by the delusions of Hope. I have now none left but that I may be permitted to lay my bones in my native land.

Let me beg your excuse if there be any thing improper in the above, for it is written in great bodily pain, but much more of the mind: and believe me Dear Sir, with the truest respect and regard

SECRETARY EATON TO JACKSON.

WASHINGTON, April 7, 1831.¹

Dear Sir, On Sunday last I communicated to you my desire to relinquish the duties of the War Department, and I now take occasion to repeat the request which was then made. I am not disposed by any sudden withdrawal to interrupt or retard the business of the Office. A short time will be sufficient, I hope, to enable you to direct your attention towards some person, in whose capacity, industry, and friendly disposition you may have confidence, to assist in the complicated and laborious duties of your administration. Two or three weeks, perhaps less, may be sufficient for the purpose.

In coming to this conclusion candor demands of me to say, that it arises from no dissatisfaction entertained towards you; from no misunderstanding between us, on any subject, nor from any diminution, on my part, of that confidence which has ever been reposed in you.

I entered your Cabinet, as is well known to you, contrary to my own wishes; and, having nothing to desire either as it regards myself or friends, have ever since cherished a determination to avail myself of the first favorable moment, after your administration should be in successful operation, to retire. It occurs to me, that the time is now at hand, when I may do so, with propriety, and in proper respect to you. Looking to the present state of things, to the course of your administration, which, being fairly developed, is before the people for their approval or condemnation, I cannot consider the step I am taking objectionable; or that it is one, the tendency of which can be to affec[t] or injure a course of policy, by you already advantageously commenced, and which I hope will be carried out to the benefit and advancement of the People.²

¹ Van Buren says (*Autobiography*, p. 407) that he and Eaton agreed to resign on a certain unnamed day and that Eaton was allowed to antedate his letter of resignation, that it might seem to be the beginning of the break. It was dated Apr. 7 and Van Buren's Apr. 11. But Jackson's reply to Eaton was dated Apr. 8 and the letter to White was dated Apr. 9. Unless both these letters were antedated also, Van Buren's statement seems doubtful.

² It was Jackson's idea that Hugh L. White, senator from Tennessee, should succeed Eaton, who would step into the vacant senatorship thus created. White's refusal to enter the Cabinet defeated this hope. Eaton then came out as a candidate for senator against Felix Grundy in 1832, but in this race he was defeated. In 1834 he was appointed governor of Florida, then a territory, and in 1836 he went to Spain as minister. Returning in 1840, he came out as a Whig, much to the disgust of Jackson's old friends. Maj. W. B. Lewis, writing to his daughter Mary Pageot, Apr. 2, 1846 (see N. Y. Pub. Lib., Lewis MSS.),

Tendering my sincere wishes for your prosperity and happiness; and
for your successful efforts in the cause of your Country
I am very truly Your friend

TO SECRETARY EATON.¹

WASHINGTON, April 8, 1831.

your letter of yesterday was recd. and I have carefully considered it. When you conversed with me the other day on the subject of your withdrawing from the Cabinet I expressed to you a sincere desire that you would well consider of it; but however reluctant I am to be deprived of your services, I cannot consent to retain you contrary to your wishes, and your inclination to remain; particularly as I well know that in 1829, when I invited you to become a member of my cabinet, you objected, and expressed a great desire to be excused, and only gave up your objections at my pressing solicitations. An acquaintance with you of twenty years standing assured me, that in your honesty, prudence, capacity, and judgment, I could safely confide. I have not been disappointed. With the performance of your duties, since you have been with me, I am fully satisfied; and go where you will; or be your destiny, what it may, my best wishes will always attend you.

I will avail myself of the earliest opportunity to obtain some qualified friend to succeed you; and until then, I must solicit that the acceptance of your resignation may be deferred.

I am very sincerely and respectfully yr friend

TO HUGH L. WHITE.

WASHINGTON, April 9, 1831.¹

Strictly confidential

My D'r sir, When first elected President of the United States my first concern was to select a cabinet of honest talented men, and good republicans, amongst whom, I might have one, from personal acquaintance, I could with safety confide. You and Major Eaton were the only men with whom I had such acquaintance and intimacy that insured me my entire confidence were well placed, (and who could be thought of to fill such a place) one of whom I thought it necessary for the success of my administration, should be in my Cabinet. Both of you had taken a prominent share in my election, which drew me from my chosen retirement. I therefore thought I had claims upon you to aid me in the administration of the Government. With those feelings, on the close of the election in 1828, I addressed you, asking you to come into my Cabinet, and requesting if any thing of an imperious nature should deprive me of your services, make

had this to say: "I am not at all surprised, my dear daughter, at what you say about Mr. Eaton. I have thought ever since he returned from Spain that he would kill himself drinking or perhaps 'blow his brains out'. I received from him, not long ago, a very curious letter which indicates some derangement in the upper story, but still he has some method in his madness."

¹ Copy.

¹ See p. 257n., ante.

your determination known to major Eaton, as I calculated that one or the other of you would.

When I reached Washington, for reasons which you assigned as imperious, you declined, and it was with great reluctance and much difficulty, and persuasion, major Eaton consented. He has made known to me his intention to withdraw, and has tendered his resignation. It is with the greatest reluctance I part with him, but *his decision is final*. You know the confidence I have in him, but knowing how much he has unjustly suffered I cannot longer detain him contrary to his wishes and to his happiness. He has been cruelly persecuted, and from a combination of sources, that until lately, some of them, I did not suspect.

I have in my reply to Major Eatons letter of resignation, closed mine thus, "I will avail my self of the earliest opportunity to obtain some qualified friend to succeed you, and until then, I must solicit that the acceptance of your resignation may be deferred." I have therefore a right to claim your aid as my faithful friend. Eaton has determined to retire. The reasons that influenced your determination in 1829, does not now exist. it is true, you have drank the cup of bitterness to the dregs,² your bereavements have been great. With me you can live (I have a large room for you) who can sympathise for your sufferings, and you can keep your little son and daughter with you and attend to his education, and the duties of your office will give employ to your mind. This must be employed to preserve life, and in this employment you will not only render important services to your country, but an act of great friendship to me. I cannot hesitate to believe, but that you will yield your consent. I shall await your answer with much anxiety.

I pray you to look about and you will see the great difficulty, not to say impracticability, of supplying your place in case of refusal, and I therefore feel the more justified in adding the claims of private friendship, to considerations of public character. you must not my dear friend refuse my request. If at any time you should find the duties of the office too much for your health or other opportunity should offer to place you in a situation more congenial with your past pursuits, we will have time and opportunity to prepare for the gratification of your wishes, which shall continue as they have heretofore been the rule of my conduct in whatever relates to yourself always, satisfied that they will be none other than such as are reasonable.

Mr Van. Buren has also intimated to me his intention to withdraw. of course, a reorganisation of my Cabinet (proper) will be made. The Postmaster General will only remain. When Eaton and Van Buren goes, justice to them, and to myself, and that electioneering scenes in congress may cease, or the intrigues exposed, will induce me to reorganise my Cabinet. This I regret, but have a long time forsook—admonished, but could not controled—my Cabinet must be a unit. I sincerely regret to loose Eaton and Van Buren, two more independent republicans does not exist, who have laboured with me, with an eye single to the prosperity of the union. Still mr Van Buren, was singled out as a plotter. The cry of plot, plot

² See note 1; see also White to Jackson, June 15, 1831, p. 295, *post*.

in mr Calhouns Book brought me in mind of the old story—rogue, cries rogue rogue first, to draw the attention from himself, that he might escape. I say to you frankly, that Van Buren is one of the most frank men I ever knew, with talents combined with common sense, not rarely to be met with—a *true man* with no guile.

With my kind salutations to you and your little family and your connections believe me your friend

SECRETARY VAN BUREN TO JACKSON.¹

WASHINGTON, April 11, 1831.

Dear Sir, I feel it to be my duty to retire from the Office to which your confidence and partiality called me. The delicacy of this step, under the circumstances in which it is taken, will, I trust, be deemed an ample apology for stating more at large than might otherwise have been necessary, the reasons by which I am influenced.

From the moment of taking my seat in your Cabinet, it has been my anxious wish and zealous endeavour, to prevent a premature agitation of the question of your Successor; and at all events to discountenance, and if possible, repress the disposition at an early day manifested, to connect my name with that disturbing topic. Of the sincerity and the constancy of this disposition, no one has had a better opportunity to judge than yourself. It has however been unavailing. Circumstances not of my creation, and altogether beyond my controul, have given to this subject a turn which cannot now be remedied, except by a self-disfranchisement, which if even dictated by my individual wishes, could hardly be reconcileable with propriety or self-respect.

Concerning the injurious effects which the circumstance of a member of the Cabinet's occupying the relation towards the Country to which I have adverted, is calculated to have upon the conduct of public affairs, there cannot, I think, at this time, be room for two opinions. Diversities of ulterior preference among the friends of an Administration are unavoidable; and even if the respective advocates of those, thus placed in rivalry, be patriotic enough to resist the tem[p]tation of creating obstacles to the advancement of him to whose elevation they are opposed, by embarrassing the branch of public service com[m]itted to his charge; they are nevertheless from their position, exposed to the suspicion of entertaining and encouraging such views: a suspicion which can seldom fail in the end, to aggravate into present alienation and hos[t]ility, the prospective differences which first gave rise to it. Thus, under the least unfavorable consequences, individual injustice is suffered, and the Administration embarrassed and weakened. Whatever may have been the course of things, under the peculiar circumstances of the earlier stage of the Republic, my experience has fully satisfied me, that, at this day, when the field of selection has become so extended, the circumstance referred to, by augmenting the motives and sources of opposition to the measures of the Executive, must unavoidably prove the cause of injury to the public service, for

¹ Van Buren wrote to B. F. Butler and to Thomas Ritchie giving his reasons for resigning. See Library of Congress, Van Buren MSS.

a counterpoise to which we may in vain look to the peculiar qualifications of any Individual; and even if I should in this be mistaken, still I cannot so far deceive myself, as to believe for a moment, that I am included in the exceptions. These obstructions to the successful prosecution of public affairs, when superadded to that opposition which is inseparable from our free institutions, and which every administration must expect, present a mass, to which the operations of the Government should at no time be voluntarily exposed: and the more especially should it be avoided, at so eventful a period in the affairs of the World, when our Country may need the utmost harmony in her Councils.

Such being my impressions, the path of duty is plain: and I not only submit with cheerfulness to whatever personal sacrifices may be involved in the surrender of the station I occupy; but I make it my ambition to set an example which, should it in the progress of the Government, be deemed, notwithstanding the humility of its origin, worthy of respect and observance, cannot, I think, fail to prove essentially and permanently beneficial.

Allow me, Sir, to present one more view of the subject. You have consented to stand before your Constituents for re-election. Of their decision, resting as it does upon the unbought suffrages of a free, numerous and widely extended people, it becomes no man to speak with certainty. Judging, however, from the past, and making a reasonable allowance for the fair exercise of the intelligence and public spirit of your Fellow Citizens, I cannot hesitate in adopting the belief that the confidence, as well in your capacity for civil duties as in your civic virtues, already so spontaneously and strikingly displayed, will be manifested with increased energy, now, that all candid observers must admit their utmost expectations to have been more than realized.

If this promise, so auspicious to the interests of our common Country be fulfilled, the concluding term of your Administration will, in the absence of any prominent cause of discord among its supporters, afford a most favorable opportunity for the full accomplishment of those important public objects, in the prosecution of which I have witnessed on your part such steady vigilance and untiring devotion. To the unfavorable influence which my continuance in your Cabinet, under existing circumstances, may exercise upon this flattering prospect, I cannot Sir, without a total disregard of the lights of experience, and without shutting my eyes to the obvious tendency of things for the future, be insensible. Having, moreover, from a deep conviction of its importance to the Country, been among the most urgent of your advisers to yield yourself to the obvious wishes of the people, and knowing the sacrifice of personal feeling which was involved in your acquiescence, I cannot reconcile it to myself to be in any degree the cause of embarrassment to you during a period which, as it certainly will be of deep interest to your Country, is moreover destined to bring to its close your patriotic, toilsome and eventful public life.

From these considerations, I feel it to be doubly my duty to resign a post, the retention of which is so calculated to attract assaults upon your Administration, to which there might otherwise be no inducement: Assaults of which, whatever be their aim, the most important as well as most

injurious effect, is upon those public interests, which deserve and should command the support of all good Citizens. This duty, I should have discharged at an earlier period, but for considerations, partly of a public partly of a personal nature, connected with the circumstances, which were calculated to expose its performance then to mis-construction and mis-representation.

Having thus explained the motives which govern me in thus severing, and with seeming abruptness, the official ties by which we have been associated, there remains but one duty for me to perform. It is to make my profound and sincere acknowledgements for that steady support and cheering confidence which, in the discharge of my public duties, I have, under all circumstances, received at your hands; as well as for the personal kindness at all times extended to me.

Rest assured, Sir, that the success of your Administration, and the happiness of your private life, will ever constitute objects of the deepest solicitude with

Your sincere friend and Obedient Servant.

P. S. I will continue in Office of course until my successor is appointed.

TO SECRETARY VAN BUREN.

WASHINGTON, April 12, 1831.

Dear Sir, Your letter resigning the office of Secretary of State, was received last evening. I could indeed wish that no circumstance had arisen to interrupt the relations which have for two years, subsisted between us, and that they might have continued through the period during which it may be my lot to remain charged with the duties which the partiality of my countrymen has imposed upon me. But the reasons you present are so strong that, with a proper regard for the considerations which you urge, I cannot ask you, on my own account, to remain in the cabinet.

I am aware of the difficulties you have had to contend with, and of the benefits which have resulted to the affairs of your Country from your continued zeal in the arduous tasks to which you have been subjected. To say that I deeply regret to lose you, is but feebly to express my feelings on the occasion.

When called by my country to the station which I occupy, it was not without a deep sense of its arduous responsibilities and a strong distrust of myself that I obeyed the call; but, cheered by the consciousness that no other motive actuated me than a desire to guard her interests and to place her upon the firm ground of those great principles which, by the wisest and purest of our patriots, have been deemed essential to her prosperity, I ventured upon the trust assigned me. I did this in the confident hope of finding support of advisers able and true, who, laying aside every thing but the desire to give new vigor to the vital principles of our Union, would look with a single eye to the best means of effecting this paramount object. In you, this hope has been realized to the utmost. In the most difficult and trying moments of my administration, I have always found you sincere, able and efficient, anxious at all times to afford me every aid. If however

from circumstances in your judgment sufficient to make it necessary, the official ties subsisting between us must be severed, I can only say that this necessity is deeply lamented by me. I part with you only because you yourself have requested me to do so, and have sustained that request by reasons strong enough to command my assent. I cannot, however, allow the separation to take place without expressing the hope that this retirement from public affairs is but temporary, and that if in any other station the Government should have occasion for services the value of which has been so sensibly felt by me, your consent will not be wanting.

Of the state of things to which you advert, I cannot but be fully aware. I look upon it with sorrow, and regret it the more because one of its first effects is to disturb the harmony of my cabinet. It is, however, but an instance of one of the evils to which free governments must ever be liable. The only remedy for these evils as they arise, lies in the intelligence and public spirit of our common constituents. They will correct them; and in this there is abundant consolation. I cannot quit this subject without adding that, with the best opportunities for observing and judging, I have seen in you no other desire than to move quietly on in the path of your duties, and to promote the harmonious conduct of public affairs. If on this point, you have had to encounter detraction, it is but another proof of the utter insufficiency of innocence and worth to shield from such assaults.

Be assured that the interest you express in my happiness, is most heartily reciprocated, that my most cordial feelings accompany you, and that I am very sincerely your friend

TO SECRETARY VAN BUREN.¹

WASHINGTON, April 12 (?), 1831.

confidential

my D'r sir, you will find enclosed my reply to your letter, it is to be understood, that until the arrival of Livingston, your resignation is not considered accepted.

I have on a full view of the subject decided to appoint Mr Erwin judge²—he is recommended by 15 members of congress, besides others, and, altho, he may not be the best, they say he is so. I would like to have your suggestions on this matter. Mr. Ingham is in favor of Mr Potter or Mr Lewis in preference, but as I am charged with making my appointments under his influence, in this, for the reasons above, it may be as well to appoint Erwin. yrs.

SECRETARY INGHAM TO JACKSON.

WASHINGTON, April 18, 1831.

Sir, In communicating to me this morning the information of the resignation of the Secy of State and Secy of War, together with the reasons which had induced the former to take this step, you were pleased to observe that this proceeding was made known to me as one of those whom

¹ Library of Congress, Van Buren MSS.

² Thomas Irwin, M. C. from Pennsylvania 1829-1831, U. S. district judge 1831-1870.

you had associated with you in the administration of the Govt. and you suggested that I would after a few days reflection have a further conversation with you on the subject. But in recurring to the brief remarks made by you at the time, as well as the letter of the Secy of State which you were good enough to submit for my perusal, I have not been able to ascertain what particular matter connected with this event was intended to be proposed for my reflection. Under these circumstances and being desirous of avoiding the possibility of misapprehension as to your views, I would respectfully enquire whether the measure adopted by the Secretaries of State and of War is deemed to involve considerations on which you expect a particular communication from me and if so of what nature.

I have the honor to be with great respect

[*Indorsement in Jackson's handwriting:*] Mr Ingham not answered—sent for him and informed him I had for reasons which I made known to him determined to reorganise my cabinet proper and stated to him that Barry had offered his, and for reasons I stated, I had refused to accept it. A. J.

MEMORANDUM IN JACKSON'S HANDWRITING.

April 18, 1831.

On monday the 18th april 1831, the President sent for mr Ingham sec. of the Treasury, and informed him that he had sent for him to make known to him, that mr Van Buren and major Eaton had tendered their Resignations—that he had, on duly considering the reasons they had assigned, consented to, and agreed to accept the same, so soon as he had made proper selections to fill their respective offices, and having come to the above resolution deemed it his duty to make the same known to him and Govr. Branch for the present in confidence until they had time to deliberate upon the subject. To which mr Ingham made reply, that it was an event so new to him that it would require some time to deliberate, that he did not know the reasons that lead mr. V. B. to the conclusion. I explained to him the reasons, and then remarked, that in confidence I would shew him mr. V. B. letter of resignation. after reading it, he remarked, it was a well written letter and the reasons sound, and then said he supposed I had well considered the matter. I replied I had well considered the whole ground and having so considered, I thought it a duty I owed him and Govr. Branch, who was to be here at 2 oclock to make it known to them that they might also considered [*sic*]. he left me for to consider of it. Govr B. came, and I had a full conversation on the subject.

SECRETARY INGHAM TO JACKSON.

WASHINGTON, April 19, 1831.

Sir, I am gratified to find myself entirely relieved by your distinct explanation at the interview to which you invited me this morning, from the uncertainty as to the object of your communication yesterday, which I refered to in my note of last evening; and have to make my acknowledgements for the kindness with which you have expressed your satisfaction

with the manner in which I have discharged the duties of the station to which you had thought proper to invite me, and your conviction of the public confidence in my administration of the Treasury Department; I beg leave however to add in my own justification for not following the example of the Secretary of State, and Secy of War, in making a voluntary tender of the resignation of my office, as well as I was acquainted with theirs, that I was wholly unconscious of the application to myself, of any of the reasons, so far as I was apprized of them, which had induced them to withdraw from the public service. It therefore seem'd to be due to my own character which might otherwise have been exposed to unfavorable imputations that I should find a reason for resigning in a distinct expression of your wish to that effect; this wish has now been frankly announced, and has enabled me to place my retirement on its true ground. I have therefore the honor of tendering you my resignation of the office of Secretary of the Treasury of the U. S.; which you will be pleased to accept to take effect as soon as my services may be dispensed with consistently with your views of the public interest.

I seize the occasion to offer you my thanks for the many testimonials I have received of your kindness and confidence during our official connection and especially for the renewed assurances today of the same sentiments.

I have the honor to be

TO ANDREW J. DONELSON.¹

WASHINGTON, April 19, 1831.

(private)

Dear Andrew, I cannot say whether this will reach you before you leave Nashville, I have therefore only to say, that from circumstances that has arisen, Mr. Van Buren, and Major Eaton have both tendered their resignations, with feelings of patriots, and I expect the others of the Cabinet proper will follow the example. I respect all personally, And that misery may result to none, I have determined to reorganise my Cabinet proper, this being the only course, looking to justice to all, for me to pursue, under the circumstances I am now placed. You will therefore find an entire new Cabinet when you arrive.

I have been a good deal afflicted with my left arm since you left me, and my labours have been incessant, still providence sustains me. I have great need of your aid

I have recd. a letter from Mr Levi Jones, he had not made the purchase for you, but was endeavoring to do so. he had not been able to purchase for my son at the sale, and I have instructed him not to purchase for him, unless he can send them to Tennessee. yours will be sent here.

¹ Collection of Jackson MSS. in possession of Miss Pauline Wilcox, Washington, D. C.

Present my kind salutations to all my friends, and specially to Emily and Mary, yr children and the young ladies that will compose your family hither

yours respectfully

P. S. Tomorrow the resignation of Mr V. B. and Eaton will be announced and perhaps the others. A. J.

SECRETARY BRANCH TO JACKSON.

WASHINGTON, April 19, 1831.

Sir, In the interview which I had the honor to hold with you this morning I understood it to be your fixed purpose to reorganise your Cabinet and that, as to myself, it was your wish that I should retire from the administration of the Navy Department. Under these circumstances I take pleasure in tendering to you the commission which unsolicited on my part you were pleased to confer on me.

I have the honor to be with great respect

TO SECRETARY JOHN BRANCH.

WASHINGTON, April 19, 1831.

Sir, Your letter of this date by your son is just recd. accompanying it, is your commission as Secretary of the Navy. The sending of the latter was not necessary, it is your own private property, and by no means to be considered part of the archives of the Government. Accordingly I return it.

There is one expression in your letter to which I take leave to except. I did not as to *yourself* express a wish that you should retire. The Secretary of State and of war, having tendered their resignations, I remarked to you that I felt it to be indispensable to reorganise my Cabinet, proper—that it had come in harmoniously and as a unit, and as a part was about to leave me which would on tomorrow be announced, a reorganization was necessary to guard against misrepresentation. These were my remarks made to you in candeur and sincerity. Your letter gives a different import to my words. your letter contains no remark as to your performing the duties of the office until a successor can be selected

On this subject I should be glad to know your views. I am very respectfully yours,

SECRETARY BRANCH TO JACKSON.

WASHINGTON, April 19, 1831.

Sir, I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your's of this date in answer to mine of the same. In reply to your remark that there was one expression in my letter to which you must except, I would respectfully answer that I gave what I understood to be the substance of your conversation. I did not pretend to quote your language. I regret that I misunderstood you in the slightest degree. I however stand corrected and cheerfully accept the interpretation which you give to your own expressions

I shall freely continue my best exertions to discharge the duties of the Department untill you provide a successor.

I have the honor to be Yours etc

HUGH L. WHITE TO JACKSON.

FLINT HILL, TENN., April 20, 1831.

My dear Sir, By the last mail I received your favor under date of the 9th instant. I am sorry that any thing should have occurred, to render it necessary, that any of your Cabinet should desire to withdraw, or that you should request them to do so. With Major Eaton I was intimately associated for several years, in the course of which, I formed a sincere friendship for him, which I hope and expect will last as long as life is spared to me; and should he return to Tennessee, it will give me the most sincere pleasure, to contribute all in my power to place him in any public station desired by him, or his friends. It ought not however to be concealed from him, or you, that he will have difficulties to encounter, with some of our friends, on account of some of his votes while in the Senate.

With Mr. Van Buren I served several Sessions and ever found him frank, candid and firm, in the course his judgment approved. His talents are unquestioned even by his bitter enemies. You are correct in placing me among the number of those, who desired to withdraw you from your chosen retreat, and to place you in the conspicuous station you now occupy. For this I had many reasons. First I wished to see the good old democratic doctrines practically restored to the Federal Government, and the modern doctrine of construction powers abolished. With you at the Head of the Government I believed this would be more likely to be effected, than with any other man. Secondly I had some State pride. You were a Tennessean. Thirdly I believed the public owed you more, for services actually rendered, than it did to any living man, and lastly you were my friend, and my fathers friend, and I wished to do anything, and everything in my power, consistent with my Country's good, to prove my unlimited confidence in your capacity for business, and in your integrity of character. Happily, as I think, for the people of the United States, we succeeded to the extent of our wishes, and thus far I have not been disappointed.

My dear Sir, Your kind wishes towards me personally cannot be realised. Nothing would add more to my comfort than to be so near you as to have a constant personal intercourse with you so long as we both live: but I am a believer in the doctrine of the late Lord Littleton, "That every man who is fit for any public employ is a better Judge of what he is fitted for than any of his friends, and that he shews his weakness by permitting himself to be placed in a station, for which he is not qualified." I am not qualified to discharge the duties of the office your partiality would confer upon me, and to qualify myself would require more labour than at this time of life could conveniently be submitted to. Again I must retain a home in Tennessee, and were I to go to Washington, my property would not only be unproductive but much of it wasted. Lastly I am your *personal* and *political friend*, and from you cannot accept office. If I wished an office, within the gift of the President, it would be my hearts desire that you should be displaced: because from a man whose undeviating friendship I have experienced from boyhood to advanced life, I never can think of either asking or accepting office. In this rule of conduct my opinion is so firmly fixed, that nothing could induce me to depart from it, but a belief that unless the public could receive my services in some par-

tical office my country would sustain an injury. I have no idea that such a crisis has arrived, or ever will, in my day. Among your acquaintances there are many from whose services both you and the public would derive more benefit than any my humble abilities would enable me to render. With all the grateful feelings which a man ought to possess, for the honor your kindness would bestow, I must be permitted to decline the offer you have made in such obliging terms, under a conviction that farther reflection will satisfy you that my non acceptance was alike due to the public, to you, and to myself.

Your Sincere friend

TO SECRETARY INGHAM.

WASHINGTON, April 20, 1831.

Sir, Late last evening I had the honor to receive your letter of the 19th tendering your resignation of Secretary of the Treasury of the U. States.

When the resignations of the Sec. of State and War were first tendered to me, I deliberated well upon the reasons offered, and all the circumstances, with which the subject was connected, and after mature consideration concluded finally to accept their resignations. But when this conclusion was come to, I found from all the causes growing out of the circumstances of the times, that when I accepted their resignations I must reorganise my Cabinet. it had been invited by me to the stations each occupied, it came together in great harmony and was a unit, that under present circumstances with which I was surrounded I could not permit two to retire, without affording the malignant room to assail those who were permitted to retire and whose patriotism were such that they could not consistant with self respect and the quiet and prosperity of the administration remain, that Justice might be done to all—all coming into my cabinet in harmony as a unit and all having my confidence, I determined to accept the resignations, and reorganize my Cabinet proper, however painful this act might be to myself. I therefore felt it a duty I owed to you frankly to make known the whole matter. And whilst I accept the tender of your resignation, it is with great pleasure I bear testimony to the ability, and untiring zeal with which you superintended the fiscal concerns of the nation which has obtained for you my full confidence in your integrity and talents, and in the discharge of all the duties of your office over which I had controll. I have been fully satisfied [*sic*] and in your retirement you will carry with you my warmest wishes for your prosperity, and happiness.

It is expected that you continue to discharge the duties of the office until a successor is selected.

TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOHN COFFEE.¹

WASHINGTON, April 24, 1831.

Private

My D'r Genl You will see from the papers, that I am engaged in reorganising my cabinet. The secrete workings of Duff Green, Calhoun

¹ Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.

and Co, is clearly developed. I have now a clue to all the maneuvers, and secrete plans of this junto, with the members of congress, to produce opposition to my measures recommended, and particularly to the bill for the removal of the Indians. I have clear evidence why such a number of the members of Pennsylvania voted against this bill. The coalition believed, I would not part from Van Buren and Eaton, and that if I removed the secretary of the Treasury, it would arouse the whole state of Pennsylvania against me. How little do they know me. And judging of others by themselves, they could not believe that so much disinterested patriotism, would dwell in the breasts of Van Buren and Eaton as to resign office—when they were intriguing and using every wicked means, disregarding the best interests of their country in the great struggle, to get into office. They found themselves mistaking, and that by one move on the political chestboard, the whole combination with the coalition was checkmated.

This act of disinterested patriotism of Van Buren and Eaton, must be long remembered by a grateful country. It has placed me in a situation to renew my cabinet, which I will endeavour to do, by men over whom, the intrigues of Calhoun can have no influence, but will with the same zeal and patriotic ardor, and with an eye single to the public weal, aid me in my arduous duties, *as did Van Buren and Eaton*, if not with the same talents. I *now know* both Van Buren and Calhoun. the first I know to be a pure republican who has laboured with an eye single to promote the best interests of his country, whilst the other, actuated alone by selfish ambition, has secretly employed all his talents in intrigue and deception, to destroy them, and to disgrace my administration. The plot is unmasked, the unprincipled course of Duff Green has unfolded to public view, those intrigues with their objects, and Duff and Calhoun has politically destroyed themselves, never to rise again. Every one now stripped of his covering, will have to fight under his own colours, and not under the strength of others, and the people will judge them by their fruit. . . .

P. S. . . . Read the inclosed confidential note. I am much interested in the subject, I want strength in the senate, of good men and true, not such men as Tazwell and Tyler who, at this day, has just discovered that the construction of the constitution by Washington, Jefferson, Madison and which his own father approved, given at the early period after its adoption, is all wrong, and this too at the nod of Mr Calhoun, to rouse venom and prepare them for his Book, by which I was, with some of my administration of the government, to be prostrated; and by which he was to be announced by the virginia Legislature a candidate for the presidency. I *now know* Calhoun, you know the confidence I once had in him, and in his purity. I now believe him one of the greatest intriguers on earth, and the fullest of duplicity and deceit. I know he will *lie*, and knowing this, I know he is fit for any act of human depravity, that his selfish ambition may suggest. . . .

BRIGADIER-GENERAL COFFEE TO JACKSON.

NASHVILLE, April 28, 1831.

Dear Genl. I come to this place ten days ago, and intended writing you sooner, but having my family with me we went up to the Old Ladies; and among the connection, and at the Hermitage, I did not return here untill yesterday, and last evening I went out to see Judge Overton and have just returned into town. I left home rather in a hurry to see Andrew Donelson and family before they would leave here for Washington, as it was understood they were going in this month, indeed our daughter Mary had been here some time, and had asked us leave to accompany her Aunt to the City, which had been agreed to, on condition of her and Mr. McLemores daughter going together, and after stoping a short time to see you, they were to go to Philadelphia to school untill next winter or Spring when one or both of us would go on and bring them by you, and on home etc. But when we reached here we find that Andrew and Emily had declined going, as I understand on account of you, and them, not agreeing in your views, as to the proper course of conduct for them to pursue. this I regreted, as I had fondly hoped that all those things had been properly understood by Andrew before he left you, but which it seems he did not.

I have talked fully and freely with him, he says that your letter bears a construction that would injure both him and wife, as well as yourself. I read your letter to him, it certainly breaths the spirit of friendship and kindness throughout, and I am confident that you could not be induced to require of them to do any act that would tarnish their reputation. this they are willing to admit cheerfully that you would not knowingly do it, but under the excitement of feelings which has been aroused in you, they fear that you require more than they can consistently comply with, to wit, they understand you to mean, that Emily must become the intimate and social friendly visitor of Mrs. Eaton, which they think under all past circumstances would be degrading to them. they acknowledge their readiness to act as you wish them to do, at all times, and with all company that shall visit your house by your invitation or permission, that they will at all times, and all places where they meet with Mrs. E. treat her politely and respectfully. this is what they are willing to do, and I believe this is all you want them to do, as I think I understood you so, when we conversed on this subject last summer.

Andrew declares a willingness to render you any aid or assistance in his power now and at all times consistently with his views of propriety and he speaks with deep regret and concern of your being left at the present moment without suitable assistance, in the drugery of your business, and that is an other source of uneasiness with me, for there are so few men of suitable qualifications, to fill that place who are confidential, that I fear the employment of one who is not well known, and well tried, and in that Andrew has advantages that are possessed by very few. I believe his sence of honor is excelled by no man although he may differ in opinion with you, yet he is confidential and will not disclose what is intended by you to be known only by you and him, or any other person. he also has

more knowledge of your business, and of your views generally than any other person. And above all I hope he has a proper feeling towards you.

With all these reflections I feel mortified, nay I feel humiliated, at the idea of his leaving you under any circumstances whatever. you have reared him with parental affections, and he ought never to separate from you. I still have a gleam of hope that he may remain with you, and I would not urge it, if I did not believe you wished him to remain with you, and that he would be useful to you. I hope my dear Genl. what I have said on this subject, will be received by you, in the same spirit, which I offer it, and if so I am sure no harm will have been done. I know your capability to meet all emergencies be them ever so difficult, and in this case as in all others, you can determine what ought to be done.

I have mentioned before that we had visited the Hermitage. Mr. Steel politely requested me to go over and look at the farm stock etc. etc. and give him my opinion and advice on any thing I might think proper to suggest to him. I did so, and I found his farm in good order, and the stock in better condition than any that, I have seen this spring. your colts are in good growing order all doing well, and your horse Boliver is in fine condition. I think Dinwiddie has done him full justice. Your mechanics were at work on the improvement making on the mansion house. I took the liberty of suggesting some immaterial alterations in the addition, which was approved of, by the proje[c]tor of the building who said he would consult you about it. I mention it now, that you may not be surprised at the suggestion when you see it. Most of the family had met at Mrs. Donelsons to greet us on our arrival with them, where I proposed to Polley and her sisters to visit the Hermitage, which they chearfully agreed to. We went over and spent half the day, and dined. Mr. Steel was kind and provided an excellent dinner—the ladies visited the tomb of their beloved, and departed Aunt, and asked Mr. Steel to open her ward robe, which he done, and they opened and looked at the Robes which they had so often seen their dear Aunt clothed in, that it revived goneby times and feelings, and filled us all with mingled grief and Joy—grief to know that she who was beloved and idolised by all who knew her and more particularly her relatives, was now no more, and Joy to see the robes and Jewelry which she usually wore when mixing with us in social life in this world, but above all that she is now enjoying that bliss, which is provided for the just and righteous, and which will have no end, and where we all one day hope to Join her in immortality. My dear Genl. this was a visit of great interest to us all, and we left it with mingled feelings. . . .

TO HUGH L. WHITE.

WASHINGTON, April 29, 1831.

My D'r sir, Your letters of the 18th and 20th are just recd. your determination expressed in yours of the 20th has filled me with pain and I beg of you most seriously to reconsider it. The public confidence you possess in a most eminent degree. This is every thing to the administration, your talents are as good as I wish them, you are well acquainted with our Indian affairs which is the most important branch of the war

department, and no one I could get is half so well qualified as yourself. as for the mere arrangement of the military branch, you have whatever aid I can afford and also the aid of McComb¹ whose long experience in the military department will render that part of your duties easy. Your knowledge of law and your talents and acquirements will render the place easy to you.

Had I time to bring to your view the circumstances with which I am surrounded, the necessity, from actual experience, of having men round me in whom I can confide, and particularly one to whom I can freely unbosom myself I know you would yield to my wishes.

The great principles of democracy which we have both at heart to see restored to the Federal Government, cannot be accomplished unless a united Cabinet who will labour to this end. The struggle against the rechartering of the U. States Bank are to be met. The corrupting influence of the Bank upon the morals of the people and upon Congress are to be met and fearlessly met. Duff Green has violated his pledge on this subject and is neutralised. Many who you would not have supposed, has secretly enlisted in its ranks, and between Bank men, nullifiers, and internal improvement men it is hard to get a Cabinet who will unite with me heart and hand in the great task of Democratic reform in the administration of our Government. In this work if possible the Cabinet must be united, or the Executive whilst labouring to effect it, some one of the Cabinet may be secretly labouring with Congress to prevent it from being carried into execution.

As it respects your domestic concerns that can be arranged so that you can visit it every year, and one of the two succeeding years I will agree to accompany you or at least take you up on my return and bring you with me here. I cannot do without you for the two next years. if you should become wearied by that time, then I will if continued here agree to spare you, but if you should now decline you derange all my well laid plans.² Who can I get to fill the war office. I could get Col Drayton perhaps, who may be in favor of rechartering the Bank, acquainted with military matters, but unacquainted with Indian matters and whose appointment would arouse half of So Carolina, and let it be remembered that he has been a strong Federalist. I like the man but I fear his politics, and having taken McLane (a Federalist) into the Treasury I do not want to be compelled to take another. Your refusal at present would produce and throw around me a labyrinth of difficulties from which it would be hard to extricate myself. I will just add, if it had not been that I wanted your aid or that of major Eaton I never would have permitted myself to have been here. I trust you will reconsider this matter, and answer me speedily that you will accept. I will be more than happy to have you under the same roof, and you have no friend but will say you ought to yield to my request. What a sacrifice I have made to the solicitations of my friends and what a sacrifice am I still making to the request of my country: and I trust you will not hesitate to make the one I have solicited.

¹ Maj.-Gen. Alexander Macomb, commander-in-chief of the army.

² See p. 257n., *ante*.

TO ANDREW J. DONELSON.¹

WASHINGTON, May 5, 1831.

My Dear Andrew, Your letter of the 18th ult. in answer to mine of the 24th of march has been this morning recd. and I hasten, in friendship, and with frankness, to reply to it. mine was written to you in confidence, and with the feelings of a father and a friend, having in review, all the disagreeable scenes I have experienced here, from the intrigues of deceitful, but professing friends, who contrary to my admonitions, had operated upon part of my family, and whose counsels had alienated you, and your family, from my old and well tried friends who were *necessary* to my aid in the difficult task I had to perform and where those very men, had been instrumental in placing me; and because I would not bring into my cabinet men to suit the views of the *arch intriguer under the rose*, my friends were to be drove from my Cabinet; put into coventry by my family, and drove from me; and some out of society, who, if they had been subservient to *mr Calhouns views*, would have been *hailed* as worthy of their *situations*, and of all society. It was with a view, as your sincere friend, to open *your eyes to these things*, and plainly to set before you the imposibi[li]ty of a family so discordant, in its feelings, in its friendships, and its views, of men, matter, and things, and divided, in these things, against itself, could not stand—could not here continue together in harmony and Credit. Surrounded therefore, as I found myself with deception, and treachery, with the exception of my old friends, it required for my own credit, and that of my family, that unity of feeling, action, and harmony should exist between my family, and real friends, as well, as with my Cabinet, to enable me to counteract the deep laid plans in congress by the combination to destroy the usefulness, and credit of my administrations. This being the case it was necessary for me, in candor, to bring the whole case to your view and that all things considered, you would with pleasure have united with me, and my old friends in harmony and friendship to aid in guarding me against the trap that was laid for me.

Could it be otherwise than supposed, that some of my Cabinet were, (to say the least of it) countenancing the intrigues in congress to elevate some of the Cabinet, whilst the whole Batteries of the combination wielded by Calhoun, were employed in assailing others, who could but see acquiescence in the attack made on the Postmaster General, and *particularly*, in that by *Tazewell and Tyler*,² wherein one senator pledges himself that mr Berrien and Ingham, could not be consenting, whilst Tiler pledges himself, that Govr. Branch could not, whilst all their batteries were levelled against the others to destroy them, and degrade me. These Heads of Depts, shielded by these declarations, have been all silent, when every body knows that the Secretary of the Navy was, and must have been made acquainted with it, as through his Dept. the funds from England were drew, and placed in the hands of the Navy agent at Giberalter, subject to

¹ Library of Congress, A. J. Donelson Papers. The Eaton affair shows Jackson at his worst, and in this letter he reaches the most extreme point he achieved in that mass of narrow bickering and suspicion.

² Senators from Virginia.

the draft of the agents. These movements were all seen by me, and subsequent events have fully explained them. Under these circumstances, it became necessary that, not only my Cabinet, but my family should be *Units*, and I therefore unfolded to you my situation, and my feelings, with the frankness of a father, and admonished you with the feelings of a true friend, in hopes my council might be adhered to and bring you back to your ancient friends, and to me. Upon a full view of the *whole case*, and the relative situation you and myself were placed I had strong hopes it would be so. the regard I had for you and your dear little family compelled me to this course. I regret your answer—nay, I *deeply regret it*, because I see in it, *a deep rooted hatred*, against my long, old, and un-deviating friends, and which were your friends; and a high encomium on your new friends some of whom you had better have been more fully aware of their political course, before you stood pledged, as godfather, for their political purity.

Yes, I see you denounce major Lewis, (in the epithet and language, of that unprincipled tool of one of the most hypocritical and intriguing men on earth) and I am sure from all his actions and expressions of you, and your family, has been your constant friend. ? and why do you denounce Lewis and Co, as a set of intriguers,? it can only be, because he has been my long and undeviating friend, and that of my Dr departed wife; and I am sure, there is no man of truth that will say that he has ever acted by word or deed unfriendly to you, and your family. I have no doubt, he has with me, sincerely regretted your course and that of your family, when he knew I had so often admonished you to a different one, and when he, with myself, and all your real friends foresaw, the evils that must grow out of it. Whilst all my enemies, under the garb of your friends were admonishing you, that *feelings of honor, and independence forbid you to yield to my advice and requests.* you have adopted theirs, Be it so; may your new friends be as true to you, as I have, and as Lewis and Co have been to me, but if I am a judge of human nature, you will find, if ever you are in need of their friendship, (when you cannot serve them) they will all be reported *absent without leave*.

Lewis and Co, as you stile them, have been working as patriots with an eye single to the prosperity of my administration, whilst others, my dear Andrew who was cherished by you, would destroy me, to promote Calhouns fame, and who, would cast you by, the moment you were unable to serve them, and wanted their assistance. I ask you ? is it possible, you can believe that a family, with such discordant feelings which as has been realised, and which appears from your letter, to be so firmly rooted in your breast, could live harmoniously together here. can it be conceived that I am so lost to justice, to what is due to friendship, and those who has so disinterestedly laboured with me for the public good, and the prosperity of my administration, that I would permit them to be treated with coolness, contempt, and disrespect, whilst others hostile to me, the devoted tools of a man that I *now* know *capable* of any intrigue and duplicity, that a depraved mind, coupled with selfish views, can sugest, and this treatment carried to such an extent that every eye saw, and wondered at it, and why I permitted it—nothing short of that real filial regard I had for

you, and your dear little family, permitted it, and the time will come when you will expel from your mind the delusions you have been under, and with amusement, and wonder, exclaim ? is it possible that I deserted the friend of my father, the protector of my youth, and who would have been the willing father and protector of me, and my family, in my riper years, under the falacies practised by that deceitful intriguer, surrounded by his judases—such as Daniel of K.y. and Co, working their female Gossips by the wires of intrigue to the destruction of my father and friend, endeavouring to destroy his friends, and removing them from my confidence, to the destruction of the usefulness of his administration, to impose upon the republic, such a *knave* : I had like to have said *villain*. Yes my dear Andrew, these things you will see, and feel when the film drops from your eyes which I hope will be soon.

That you may see mr Calhoun in his true colours, I send the Globe—read it calmly and with reflection, the comment it contains on his Book, is a true picture drawn by a master hand, of his duplicity, and want of principle—in due time, when I get my papers, I have the means of giving it a compleat finish. such is the man, and such his deciples, that has alienated you from me, has poisoned your mind against my old, and well tried friends. Let me assure you once more that such men as Eaton, is rare to be met with on this earth. Van Buren has been faithful, and is a pure republican, whose talents and virtues at some day, will be duly appreciated by his country. Lewis has been your friend, and undeviatingly so, and the friend of your dear aunt and mine without guile—all your real friends here, have regretted your course and none more than Lewis and myself. I ask you calmly to reflect—could it be possible that you or any other of my friends or acquaintances could think so meanly of me, as to believe, that I could give up the controle of my Houshold, and see my old and well tried friends treated with coldness, neglect, and contempt, and those new friends, covered with grease, that some of their duplicity could not be concealed from the most careless observer, *carressed*, and treated with *all respect*. surely such a degrading situation could not be calculated upon, that I would even with all my attachments to you, and your family, submit to such a state of degradation ; I could not submit.

I sincerely regret to find that your views are so different from mine. Whatever you may think, one thing I know, I have never degraded myself by keeping bad company, nor have I ever been degraded in the opinion of the virtuous and the good. I never have deserted a friend without cause, nor never will, as long as his acts were pure and upright, and altho, you think it would have been degrading to you, to have yielded to my admonitions, I have only to add that taking a review of my whole course, with regard to you, and others, I have nothing to regret on my part. I will, and must regret the course, you and your dear family have pursued as it respects myself, and friends, but still, my friendship or solicitude for your welfare, will not be withdrawn—you have made your election ; I repeat, I sincerely regret the one you have made. But my prayers will be that you may find as true and faithful friends, as you found in me, and in mine ; I hope your new friends may not abandon you, when their in-

terests may induce them; I fear this will be the case with many, the moment they find you cannot serve them, as it is so common in depraved human nature. I have practised thro' life on the golden rule "never to part with old and well tried friends, for new ones," and I trust you will admit I have got thus far through life pretty well; and my dear Andrew I recommend this rule to you, for your adoption.

You say you have laboured for me two years faithfully; I understand this to mean your manuel labour, which I acknowledge, and admit its importance. But my dear Andrew, this was not what I most wanted. I wanted your association of friendship and feelings with that of my true friends. I wanted that cheerful council and harmony of action, that makes friendship valuable, and society desirable, not your manuel labour in the day, and your society with uncongenial souls in the evening, that were distilling the poison of detraction in your ears, and that of your family, and alienating your affections from me, and my true friends—in short to make me happy I wanted you, and your family to harmonise with me, and my friends, extending equal comity to all the heads of Departments, and their families, and to all who were visitors, then we would have been cordial and happy, and put all our enemies at defiance, but with such discordant feelings, friendship, and attachments as appears to have existed, we could not expect to prosper again. I repeat the adage is true, "that a House divided cannot stand". a few words more and I will close for the present.

I must refer to your remarks on my letter as it regards the letter of Genl Krepps. I used those remarks, *hypothetically*, as connected with the written narrative referred to. This narrative I have—it at once exposed to my view the great difficulty Mr. Bell had in getting the Indian Bill thro', the conduct of many members of congress, and laid open to my view various intrigues that had been practiced, gave a key to the attack of Tazwell and Tyler; then the election of Duff Green before the Book was Issued to the public; the intrigue with the virginia Legislature, the proposed Calhoun Dinner at Richmond, and the contemplated annunciation, by that body, of Calhoun for the Presidency etc. etc. But the fidelity and patriotism of the people, prostrated the whole scheme, with Duff Green and Calhoun, as all intrigues ought. Surely you have found no direct charge in my letter against Mr Branch or Berrien, unless it be infered from my relation of the attack of Tazwell and Tyler, and the exemption and pledge of those senators, "that those three, had no knowledge of the appointment of the agents to treat with the Post, nor did they sanction the measure". This tho, not true, was permitted to remain to this day, without contradiction by them, and only set right, by Mr Forsyths speech. now the inference is strong, that these senators must have had hints, from some source, and if from the heads of the Departments, here is a corroborating proof, that whoso[e]ver gave the hint, was labouring to destroy Mr Van Buren, and injure my administration to benefit the combination against *Van Buren and myself, and those other heads strongly attached to me*, all of whom were labouring with an eye single to the prosperity of the country, and credit of my administration. These are the men that you alone eulogise, whilst you are charging the others,

as intriguers, under the epithet of Lewis and Co. When this fact is compared to the narrative, should you live to see it, you will find I am not credulous, or jealous, and when the fact is known, that the funds passed through the secretary of the navy, one thing is certain, here were senators pledging themselves to facts, exonerating one part of the Cabinet, and charging home on the others, things with a view to their injury and my degradation. It is for these Gentlemen to explain these things, not for me. I have a right to look at them, and judge of them. it shew plainly that the cabinet was not a unit, or so considered by congress. The fact was, the combination and coalition believed they had got me in the trap set for me, and that I could not extricate myself; my cabinet was divided, and I could not, nay durst not, remove those who had become the favorites of the virginia senators, because they were also the favorites of Pennsylvania, and covered by the wand of Calhoun, who with Duff Green thought they could raise up and destroy empires, or make and unmake Presidents at will. They had forgot, I had a few Patriots around me, and when thus situated, I was never long in difficulty. The result you have seen. The Patriotism of VanBuren and Eaton triumphed over the love of office, and they resigned, and thus, with one move on the Political chess-board, the whole combination, and coalition were checkmated, and Duff Green and Calhoun prostrated forever. The whole union approves the measure, and there is perfect tranqui[li]ty throout the land, except now and then, a dying *Groan*, from Duff Green and Co.³

I will here on this point stop, for I am sure you will not believe that Daniel of K.y. could be a judas, or Calhoun and Co base men, be it so. I now know them, and I have only one more caution for you, and particularly your brother Daniel, which I submit in pure friendship, receive it for what it is worth, it is valuable, if rightly appreciated. I hear with regret, that Genl Desha has applied to your brother Daniel for, and he has given Desha a certificate in the affair of Burton. now in all times, and in all ages, no credit can be obtained by one branch of a family, aiding strangers, to destroy the character, or standing of another branch, and be assured, *Daniel* will derive no credit from this thing—martha is a favorite daughter of william, to whom I know every branch of the family owes much to his memory for his attention to them and the estate; where gratitude exists, to his memory this is due. again, If Genl Desha had possessed any friendship for Daniel, or Delicacy, he would not have asked from him a certificate in the case, and when asked, Daniel ought to have refused, and if after that, Desha had required it, a due respect for himself, and his own character, ought to have induced him to have knocked him down. Genl Desha must have known the great impropriety of introducing Daniels name in his quarrel with his cousin. I leave you to reflect on these things. I never knew any thing but disgrace to a family, where it united with strangers to disgrace its own kindred. I shall send Andrew on in a few days for my papers, when I will again write you. You must excuse this blotted *scrawl*.

³ This paragraph seems to indicate the argument by which Jackson was brought to reorganize his Cabinet.

I had a hope when my friends coerced me into the situation I now hold, that they would adhere to me until I retired, and I would have had your aid as part of my family until providence permitted me to retire to the Hermitage, or took me hence. In this I am disappointed, because my friends and associates cannot be yours. be it so, you have choosen; and my energy has been hitherto equal to every emergency that has occurred to me, in my eventful life. I trust in providence it will be so now. I have always trusted in him, and he has hitherto not forsaken me. I am laboured almost to death and have been a good deal afflicted; but will try amongst strangers to get a man who will aid me, and who will think it no disgrace to associate *with me, and my friends*. I will try tomorrow to get mr Trist,⁴ and when I get my new cabinet, I will have them *a unit*, and they must remain so, leaving the people to elect their President, *and we*, with an eye single to the public good, execute our duties.

Now in conclusion my dear Andrew, I hope in god you may find in your new acquired friends, that faithfulness I have found in my old friends, which you seem so much to despise. I look at them as jewels too precious to be parted from. may you have cause upon *well founded experience*, to think as much of yours—may every blessing attend you and your dear little family thro life. altho I may not be able to forget some things, still, my friendship, now so little regarded, will not be withdrawn, it may still be needful, and when you and your dear family have fulfilled your pilgrimage here below, may you all have a happy immortality thro the attonement of our blessed redeemer. Present me affectionately to Emily and the dear little ones, to mary Easten, and the good old lady, and every branch of the connection, and as usual I subscribe myself your affectionate Uncle

P. S. I keep no copy, or have I time to correct this. A.J

P. S.

I have authorised mr Levi Jones to draw upon me for the amount of the purchase you ordered of negroes, and the expence of sending them to your direction. A.J

If you have any debts here that Andrew does not know of, let it be known, and with pleasure it will be paid. A.J

TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOHN COFFEE.¹

[WASHINGTON, May 8, 1831.]

. . . . I enclose you an account which my ward A. J. Hutchings left unpaid to my great mortification. you will see from Mr Mulledges letter which accompanies the account that I had wrote him by Hutchings to be informed if all his college dues had been paid, that by H. he had

⁴ Nicholas P. Trist, who had married a granddaughter of Thomas Jefferson, was a clerk in the State Department, where he had charge of the promulgation, printing, and distribution of the laws, and the care of letters recommending appointments to office. As he did not prove satisfactory as the President's private secretary, Major Donelson was recalled in Sept., 1831. Trist resumed his position in the State Department. In 1834 he was appointed consul at Havana.

¹ Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS. The first pages of this letter are missing.

wrote and inclosed me the account which Hutchings never delivered. The president, supposing I was unadvised addressed me the enclosed letter with the account which I now forward that you may place on file with the other receipts for money expended for his use.

By Mr Saml J. Hays I forwarded you vouchers for the five hundred you had remitted me for A. J. Hutchings in which I requested you to notify every one that no accounts would be paid only those authorised by you. This will be necessary to preserve him from bankruptcy and ruin. Hutchings has promised me he will create no accounts but by your authority and that he will economise. I hope he will reform. I wrote you by him, which I hope you have received.

We all here enjoy tolerable health and unite in our kind and affectionate regards to you, Polly and the children. We are in gloom expecting when we hear from Capt J. Donelson that he is no more, our last information was that he could not last long. We hope he may yet a little be spared, but the lords will be done.

Major Lewis has received your letter and is trying to get Genl Hinds to close the Indian Treaty account. strange that he has been here for five months and until urged by Major Lewis has taken no steps to have it closed. Major Lewis will urge him until it is closed. it is now eleven oclock P. M. I am in hopes by the first arrival to hear that we have accommodated with England our contest about the West India trade *satisfactory*. This will wind up our congress at least satisfactory to the nation, and the executive, and much to the disappointment of congress, for it is not expected by them.

Let me hear from you, how you all are, how my son progresses with his education, and how business progresses on Hutchings farm—how Capt Jack and his family are, and how he gets on with his Irish neighbors.

In haste your friend

P. S. I open this letter May 9th to state we have just heard that Capt Donelson died on the 21st ult. we are without advice from any but my overseer.

SECRETARY BRANCH TO JACKSON.

WASHINGTON, May 12, 1831.

Sir, Business of a nature which forbids its neglect, or delay, requires me to leave Washington City this evening, and of course I shall not have it in my power to continue my attentions to the Navy Department after the present day.

I deem it my duty Sir, to give you this information that you may designate some person to take charge of the Dept, and to prevent any delay in the transactions of its important official concerns ¹

I have the honor to be

¹ In asking for the resignations of Ingham, Branch, and Berrien, Jackson disclaimed dissatisfaction with them personally. He wished them to go without exciting a controversy. At first each of them seemed disposed to accept that attitude; but reflection brought changes of opinion. To go quietly was to promote Van Buren's advantage, and they revolted at the idea, as they realized the design beneath the surface. Branch, himself a

TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOHN COFFEE.¹

WASHINGTON, May 13, 1831.

Private

My dear Genl, I have this moment received your letter of the 28th ultimo. The friendly terms in which it is written at the present moment and under existing circumstances is truly grateful to me. The course pursued by Andrew² towards me and my old and well tried friends, has given me much pain. I wrote to him with the feelings of a parent to bring to his view the necessity of unity of feeling and of friendship, between us all from the hidden and deceptive course which had been prac-

acific man, became hot at the predicament he was placed in and was persuaded to announce himself as a candidate for Congress in North Carolina, his home state, a position to which he was elected by a combination of his own friends and the opponents of Jackson. His ideas of the situation are expressed in the following letter to Maj. A. J. Donelson, written May 8, 1831, on the eve of the former's departure from Washington:

"*My Dear Sir,* Untill the receipt of your last letter I had confidently expected to have had the pleasure of seeing you in this place before my departure. I have more to say to you than I can possibly compress within the compass of a letter. The fatal course pursued by Genl Jackson must overwhelm him and his vile parasites. I had intended to proceed directly from this to Nashville untill a day or two past. I have just determined to go home first. My friends in N. Carolina are very anxious that I should become a candidate for Congress. Two of the three candidates have consented to withdraw and it is probable that the other will also. At all events I am convinced from the present excitement in the State that my election will be pretty certain, This too by a large majority. Circumstanced as I am I must acknowledge that the approbation of my immediate neighbours will be gratifying to me. I herewith send you a copy of a letter which I have addressed to several of my friends with authority to publish. It may lead to further developments.

"I have been driven to the wall and must vindicate my humble name from unmerited opprobrium. I deeply regret the inauspicious results which must ensue. The laurels won by the "Hero of N. Orleans" have already withered in the deadly embrace of the arch intriguers. I have nothing to reproach myself for and I am satisfied that you have not. This however is only calculated to mitigate the deep mortification which every sincere friend to the President must feel. I certainly have been his friend and deeply regret the hard fortune which decrees our *eternal* separation. I have consented to remain in the Department for a short time, from a high sense of duty to the public. I must however be off in three or four days. My opinion is that Genl Jackson does not mean to be a candidate for reelection and that Van Buren and Eaton know it; and hence in a moment of desperation this *public spirited* movement on the part of Cass. He may by what has already been termed a most disinterested disregard for the patronage of office blind the good people, and secure the bewitching prize.

"The manner in which the *grand council* achieved the signal reform, would amaze you; while it could not fail to excite strong feelings of indignation and contempt. They were taken in their own nett. They are particularly anxious to make the world believe that our resignations were voluntary; and their plans were laid to produce that impression on the public mind. I was prepared to expect treachery, and yet I was loth to believe that the "Hero of two wars" could have participated in it. Alas poor degenerate man. Lewis, Smith, Kendall etc. etc. are triumphant and *will reign*. The general impression here is that the President must and will have E. and Mrs. E. with him and about him. My opinion is that I shall visit Tennessee sometime during the year. Perhaps in August or September. It is folly to dwell on the inconveniences to which I have been subjected, by this arbitrary movement on the part of the President. He struck the blow on the day fixed for the marriage of Rebecca, and was thus *made* to subserve all the little malignant purposes of my bitterest enemies. I would not however exchange "one self approving hour" for all the *spoils* which they may and will secure. I am now a freeman once more and will carry war into the enemy's territory unless they guard well their outposts. Fear not, discretion shall mark my course. I will keep them in the wrong. Berrien has been heard from. He must however go out, unless they become alarmed before his return. His letters are rather equivocal, *his resignation will not be voluntary.*"

¹ Tenn Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.

² Andrew J. Donelson.

ticed, by the secrete agents of Calhoun from the commencement of my administration, and which had recently developed itself; for it is a truth that my old and real friends, were shunned by him, and the friends of Calhoun and my secrete enemies, were his constant associates, until my friends could not help noticing it, and speaking to me upon the subject. It was not Eaton and his family that were shunned, but Major Barry and his, and all others who were good and true friends were in a great degree shunned, whilst those of my bitterest enemies, were his constant and nightly associates. seeing and feeling those things, and having determined to renew my cabinet, the moment that the disinterested patriotism of Eaton and Van Buren suggested their intention, (for the quiett and prosperity of my administration) to offer their resignations, I wrote Andrew my full views and feelings bringing to his consideration the necessity of his and his family extending to all the heads of Depts. and families, whoever they might be the same comity and attention and to make my friends, and associates his:

what is his answer? a vindictive philippic, against my friends by the epithet of "William B. Lewis and Co", and that he cannot descend to the degradation of associating with Mrs. Eaton. Hence it is, that to have his society, and that of his dear little family, all my old friends must be abandoned by me and his new ones, Mr Ingham, Branch, Berrien, Daniel, Desha, Calhoun, Duff Green and Co substituted in their stead, and there never were greater Judases than *some* of them. I love Andrew and his family, But my dear Genl, the course taken against Eaton, was not only to destroy him, but me. It was expected to destroy me, and the credulity of Andrew operated upon, by *old adepts at intrigue*, has got him into the unpleasant situation with regard to myself, that now exists.

His services were important to me, and I fear, it was thought so important, that I could not do without it, as it was also thought, that I durst not change my cabinet, because if I did, I would arouse good old Pennsylvania, and North Carolina and Georgia, against me. Poor vain mortals! how much man appreciates his own merits, more than they people do. I have changed my cabinet, and strengthened my administration thereby, and Van Buren and Eaton, by the pure patriotism displayed in resigning office for public good, must raise them high in the estimation of every virtuous patriot. What a contrast!!³

Calhoun has been practicing every art in mean and low intrigue, to exalt himself to office, whilst Eaton and Van Buren who has been labouring with me, with an eye single to the prosperity of my administration, and the national good, resigns office, to prevent the embarrassments that the administration might be involved [in] by the intrigues carried on with congress, to raise part of my cabinet and prostrate others, by which it was thought I would be prostrated, and Calhoun exalted. But they had not common sense enough to foresee the consequences—they had forgot, that fortune always accompanies the good and brave, and that they might by a judicious move be thrown into the pitt, dug for me. One move of

³ This paragraph seems to show that Jackson was quite sincere in reorganizing his Cabinet and did not realize the party ruse that was behind it. See Van Buren's *Autobiography*, pp. 405-407; also Bassett's *Jackson*, II. 520-524.

these good men, Eaton and Van Buren has checkmated the whole combination, and coalition, raised, and strengthened the administration, and as you observe, has prostrated Calhoun never to rise again. you know the confidence I once had in him, it is gone forever. I believe him now one of the basest and most dangerous men living—a man, devoid of principle, and would sacrifice his friend, his country, and forsake his god, for selfish personal ambition. he is fallen, and, there for the present I will leave him, but in due time, I will give the finish to the picture drawn of him, in the Georgia journal. it is drew, by the hand of a master, and to the life. you will see it in the Globe.

I have recd a letter from Andrew, I will answer it kindly. altho his philippic against Lewis and Co, has been keenly felt by me, and altho, I will never abandon my old friends, still, I will bear with Andrew, I will not withdraw my friendship from him, and when I get rid here of *the old combination of gossips*—slanderers, hypocrits, and false friends, then, I will be happy to see him and his dear family here, when our feelings and friendship must be more accordant with each others, and when we can extend to all equal commity.

My dear Genl, how much I have been coroded; my council and admonitions treated with contempt, intimations that I kept disgraceful company, that my nephew and niece could not descend to, without disgrace, and lastly, that I must abandon all my old friends, Wm B. Lewis and Co, or Andrew could not be of my family. never had they, and I am sure I never had, a truer friend than William B. Lewis. he has laboured well, to counteract the plans of my destroyers, and he two, must be abandoned to make room for those who was fondling on Andrew, endeavouring to wean him and his family from me, and who lastly obtained their object; whilst Lewis and Co, as he stiles my old friends, were with me, only regretting Andrew and Emilys course, and fearing the injurious results that must follow.

Whenever Andrew and Emily can harmonise with me in friendship, and feelings, and in views, then we can be happy together, and when, I will be happy to see them here again. Andrew was, and would have been of great use to me with those cordial feelings that I had a right to expect from him, but until that is the case, the old adage is true, that a house divided against itself cannot stand. How I regret to see Daniel Donelson brought before the public by a certificate against his cousin to endeavour to injure the husband of a favorite daughter of his old uncle, to whom every branch of the family are bound by the strongest ties of gratitude. If injury accrues to Burton it reflects upon himself as part of the family, and have what effect on Burton it may, it will injure Daniel in the eye of all honorable men, in becoming a voluntary certifier of a private and social conversation with his cousin. There is something wrong. why or wherefore Daniel should do these things I cannot tell; nor why and wherefore I should become the subject of abuse by Col George Smith, I can not immagin, but so it is, and I assure you, these things will injure them, more than it will me. I have just engaged Mr Trist to aid me as private secretary, looking forward to a period when Andrew and Emily can return to their first love, when I get clear of the deleterious effects of

those false friends and intriguing politicians, that poisoned their minds, and destroyed my quiet and happiness.

You will have read my letter on the change of my cabinet. all is well over the whole union, as far as is heard from. the effort on virginia was great, but has failed to produce that effect, calculated upon by Tazwell and Tiler, aided by the influence of the Governor of virginia⁴ who is, really, a William P. Anderson,⁵ in principle, and a full cousin. all, all their intrigue has failed and recoiled on the head of the projectors, and the only injury done, is, the alienation of Andrew and Emily from me.

I hope Eaton (if White accepts the office of sec of war) may be sent to the senate, there I am weakened by the defection of Tazwell, and Tiler, and taking Livingston from it, and Calhoun will operate on all he can, and in Poindexter, there is no confidence to be placed. therefore you see, that such a faithful friend as Eaton, with his standing there, would be of great benefit.

I feel greatly indebted to you and your amiable family, with the rest of my connection, for the visit you made to the Hermitage—There rests my thoughts, when disengaged from the constant business with which I am surrounded. could I with honor, and a duty I owe my country, I would fly to it, there to bury myself from the corruption and treachery of this wicked world; where the wicked never cease troubling, and there the weary can have no rest, but this to me is denied, and I must submit. How strange the versatility of human nature. How many of my ardent friends laboured to place me here. the moment I was, and made a cabinet for the public good alone, because I had taken Eaton, a well tried and trusty friend, altogether necessary to me, and to the principles on which I was selected by the people, I am abandoned by many, and my family, because Major Eaton could not be made a tool to promote Calhouns views, and that I would not become subservient to his nullification doctrine, and use my influence to bring him into the presidential chair, they have raised their hands against me. I hope in god, that such an unprincipled man may never sit in it; but this is for the people, not me, to decide and I hope they will decide it as they ought, for their own propriety and perpetuation of their liberties.

O how I regret, that you and your amiable daughter with Andrew, Mary Easton, Mr McLemore and daughter did not come on, what pleasure it would have given me to have seen you all here. My situation here from the course taken by Andrew and Emily has been more than an unpleasant one, his associations has done me great injury, and really was drawing from me some of my sincere friends, and upon him and myself, the jealousy of others, for with the exception of Mr Bell, his associates were entirely of those hostile to my administration, and to my real friends. This was necessary to be changed, or I might have found myself between two stools. Therefore my letter was written and with the feelings of a true friendship that he might reflect on the folly and injurious effects of his course and return to me, to aid me, not in labour alone, for this, tho important I could do without, but in his friendship,

⁴ John Floyd.

⁵ See vol. III., p. 422n.

his council, and social intercourse. His answer is an unpleasant one to me, and vindictive to my friends, from whom I never can be separated from *without cause*. The course him and Daniel is taking in the quarrel between Desha and Burton is very improper. A more unprincipled man than Desha they will find in the end, they never confided in, and he will on the first slight cause be amongst the first, to hold up Daniel to ridicule for giving a voluntary certificate of a private and social conversation with his cousin. Had not Genl Desha been without principle, he would as an honorable man cautioned Daniel against the act, as calculated to injure him in society, for no one can justify the act of divulging a social conversation with any one, still worse to injure his own family.

This has mortified me much, and to put Daniel on his guard, whilst he was here, I shew him both Caruthers letter and Burtons both of which, shews Desha capable of falsehood, and when a man is capable of that, he is capable of any thing.

My son will leave on the 15th for Tennessee, I have directed him to visit you, and your family. after transacting some business for me he will return with my papers, not that I mean yet, to write a book, but to be prepared to finish the picture. I would delight to see you. My love to your family, believe me
your friend,

TO SECRETARY VAN BUREN.¹

WASHINGTON, May 20, 1831.

D'r sir, I inclose you judge Whites letter this moment received. he refuses to accept the appointment offered him.

I wish to see you, Eaton, and Mr. Livingston this morning. advise Livingston of this, as I expect he is with you, and come by the war office and bring major Eaton with you. It will now be proper to make a selection, and the Task is one of some difficulty. yours

TO JOHN RANDOLPH.¹

WASHINGTON, May 26, 1831.

D'r Sir, I have received your letter of the 6th ulto. and deeply regret the continuance of your bad state of health. It is our duty however to acquiesce in the dispensation of Providence, and to regard what they have not placed within our controul as withheld for wise purposes.

Instructions will be sent to you from the proper Department which I trust will relieve you from every embarrassment, so far as you may have felt any, on account of our desire that you should have visited St Petersburg before your return to the United States. The explanations due to the Russian Government on the occasion of the termination of your mission can as well be made from London: and you are accordingly authorised to make them without visiting again the Russian court. As soon afterwards as the state of your health will permit you will be at liberty to sail for the United States.

It will afford me the greatest pleasure to meet you again in your native land: In the mean time I can only say that I wish you a prosperous

¹ Library of Congress, Van Buren MSS.

¹ Copy.

voyage, and all the happiness with which a sincere friendship, and the most cordial and high respect for your eminent services to your country, would be glad to crown your remaining years

very respectfully yr. obt. svt.

TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOHN COFFEE.¹

WASHINGTON, May 26, 1831.

My dear Genl., You will have seen Govr Branch's letter of the 3d May published in a North Carolina paper, and his haste to leave here the day before it was to reach here. This conduct of his gives to the world evidence of his weakness, if not of his depravity, for I assure you I have at all times treated him with the utmost candour and from his late course, I have no doubt, was more to blame than any other of my cabinet. His conduct to Eaton, and his treachery to me, was what I never expected, or he never would have formed one of my cabinet, and he and his family, I am now sure, was the greatest cause of estranging Emily and Andrew from me, for if they had firmly united it could not have existed, it would have died, as it ought.

Judge White having refused to accept, has produced unpleasant feelings in me, and from the treachery of *man*, which I have experienced, makes it necessary for me to deliberate well before I fill this place. Livingston and Woodbury are both here and in their respective offices, I expect Mr McLane about the first of July, if he accepts, of which I harbour no doubt, and I can fill the war office well. we will get on prosperously, regardless of all the intrigues, of Duff Green Calhoun and Co, aided by all the corrupting influence of the U. States Bank.

Major A. J. Donelson is with me, and I hope his eyes are beginning to be opened that old friends never ought to be abandoned for new ones. I shall miss my friends Eaton and Van Buren much, but still their course was proper and necessary, and I am sure a patriotic community will reward them for the noble act, of retiring from office, to give quiet and peace to our country, that the system of electioneering in congress may cease, and the legislative duties of its members, *Legislation*, be attended to, without the interruption of the Calhoun intrigues for office.

I have just recd a letter from my overseer Steel, informing me of a quarrel and fight with Hutchings.² It has given me much pain. I have wrote to them both to day. To Steel, that he is to treat Hutchings kindly, and to Hutchings, that he must not attempt to misuse or whip the negroes—if they misbehave to him, I have directed him to inform Steel, and he will chastise them, but no person but Steel, is to interfere with the negroes. That at the Hermitage Hutchings is to have a home, but I expect he will aid in keeping peace rather than be its disturber. I wish you would write to Hutchings and get him to go to school, until he is of age to take charge of his estate.

¹ Tenn Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.

² Andrew Jackson Hutchings, Jackson's ward. After sowing some "wild oats" he settled down on his plantation near Florence, Ala., and became a prominent planter. In several of his letters Steele, the overseer at the Hermitage, complained of the boy's conduct.

TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOHN COFFEE.¹

WASHINGTON, May 29, 1831.

My D'r Genl, Judge White has refused to accept the war office, I regret this on more accounts than one. still I fear not: my energies has hitherto rose with the occasion, and trust providence will not forsake me. I shall offer it to Col Drayton Charleston So Carolina. this I wish not spoken of until we know whether he will accept. I see that the Nashville paper Hunt, has made an attack on Lewis. does Calhoun combination there, believe, they can drive all my old and well tried friends from me, if the[y] do, I assure them they are mistaken. If every man, woman and child was to petition, with the arch intriguing hypocrite at their head, with Duff Green to endorse for them, this could not be effected. Calhoun and all his secrete emisaries cannot now effect me. Mr Calhoun will run for president if his friends believe he can be got into the house. This has been intended since 1828. The secrete and precious plots are all leaking out.

When I wrote you last I intended saying to you if you will take my Hulling machine and set it up on your creek you are welcome to it. it will be much more profitable than your sawmill. The oil will be used in our Light Houses and Lamps and be of immense use,

In great haste your friend

JOHN RANDOLPH TO JACKSON.

LONDON, May 30, 1831.

. . . . What you say about my return to Congress is most soothing and flattering but I have long ago requested that my name should be withdrawn. My health is so entirely undermined that I have no prospect of being able to discharge the duties of the station, and events which have since transpired give me additional motives for withdrawing. It will prevent strife where there should only be union and firm concord, and although my letters assure me that not a doubt exists on the subject of my election, I am not sorry that many of my friends as well as those of the other party will be relieved from the unpleasant necessity of a selection, where it might give them pain to vote against either.

I have recd. letters from Mr Clay as late as the 12th of this month. He is conducting himself to my entire satisfaction. The promised answer of Count Nesselrode is not yet received. It was to have been sent thro' Prince Lieven. I had a good deal of conversation with His Highness, on Saturday at Lord Palmerston's, but I did not choose to advert to this subject. His manner to me is invariably not merely courteous, which it is to all, but cordial in the highest degree.

It is uncertain whether I shall be able to return to the U. S. this season. I await with some impatience of the delays of the winds and waves a reply to my letter of the 6th of April, which went by the Packet of the 8th and which I hope to receive in the course of the next month. It is

¹ Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.

I am sure unnecessary for me to declare the sentiments with which I have witnessed the illiberal and unfair opposition to you. Betide what may, I can offer you the assurance of at least one disinterested and zealous supporter however feeble and insignificant he may be.

With fervent wishes for your welfare and prosperity I remain Dear Sir your obliged and faithful friend and Servant

TO HUGH L. WHITE.

JUNE 1, 1831.

My dear friend: This moment Major F. W. Armstrong's letter of the 22d instant has reached me, in which he details a conversation had with you agreeably to my request to him and which he concludes in the following language "that if I did beleive it necessary either for myself or the country notwithstanding his (your) objections he (you) would accept."

In my letter to you of the 29th of April last, I went into the subject on each point, both as to my private wishes and feelings as well as the public feeling, so that I need not advert to either only to add that your appointment has been hailed every where by the nation as a happy one. And as to myself that nothing could be more grateful.

I trust you know me too well to require any assurance that no consideration of a mere personal nature could induce me to ask at the hands of my friends any thing which it would be injurious to them to grant—much less could I do so from one placed in such peculiar and unhappy circumstances as you are. In my letter to you of the [9th of April]¹ I stated my conviction that your appointment was under the circumstances of vital importance to the public interest and that it would moreover be particularly gratifying to myself. All subsequent reflection and information have but served to fortify those opinions: and I assure you my dear Sir, that if you could have been sensible of the deep interest taken in the matter in every part of the Union you could not have hesitated. There has not been an instance since the establishment of the Government where an appointment has been hailed with more satisfaction by the people than yours.

Wishing to reply by the return mail and not desiring to foreclose you by your declaration thro' our mutual friend Maj. A. from a more deliberate acceptance under your own hand, I have thought it my duty as your sincere friend to write you and to keep every thing silent and confidential until I receive your answer.

yr. friend

JOHN OVERTON TO JACKSON.

[WASHINGTON ?], June 2, 1831.

I recollect when writing the pamphlet defence of the Executive and his commanding General, in relation to the Seminole War, in 1818, that

¹ The date is blank in the manuscript, but the letter of Apr. 9 seems to have been intended, although the letter of Apr. 29 may have been meant, so far as the context goes.

upon requesting from you, minute information, on every point connected with the campaign, that you furnished me with your orders etc, and placed before me your confidential letter to Mr Monroe, being a copy of the one transmitted, to him, as you stated, with Mr John Rheas letter in his own hand writing, which, in substance conveyed the idea, that he had conversed with the President, who shewed him your confidential letter; that he approved of your suggestions etc¹

I further told you afterwards, that in my opinion that you had done wrong in destroying Mr Rheas letter, which you told me you had done, at his request. And, when at the Hermitage, and before entering on the Campaign, you showed me what I considered a *carte Blanche* of an order, dated I think in Dec. 1817, from the secretary of War, respecting the mode of conducting that War, I cautioned you to be on your guard, for that cabinets here, as in the courts of Europe, might sometimes design to use it as a means of putting down the reputation of an officer

TO JOHN RHEA.¹

WASHINGTON, June 2, 1831.

Hon Jno. Rhea, On the 6 of Jan'y 1818 I wrote a confidential letter to Mr. Monroe a copy of which marked A I here inclose you, in which you will

¹ This letter comes nearest to corroborating Jackson's contention about the Rhea letter of all the evidence that was offered; but as evidence it is weak. Overton does not say that it clearly and pointedly said that Monroe authorized what Jackson suggested; but says that it "in substance conveyed the idea". Why should Overton, a skillful lawyer and a devoted friend of Jackson, use this indefinite language if he had a clear recollection of the matter? It seems that Overton was in Washington when this letter was written, preceding Jackson to the Rip Raps by a fortnight.

¹ Copy. Handwriting of John H. Eaton. Rhea was then in Washington. The next day he sent the following letter to ex-President Monroe:

"Dear Sir, Not only with you but with other Presidents of the United States of America, have I been in Confidence. The Presidents Jefferson and Madison all had Confidence in me and I believe you also had equal Confidence in me and so had Mr Adams. I am obliged to write to you requesting you to Give information to me on the subjects hereafter stated, that is to say, Did you receive a Confidential Letter from General Andrew Jackson dated Sixth January One thousand Eight hundred and Eighteen in which, opinions were of his fully expressed and stated respecting the savages then predeprating on the lives and property of our people, and in that Letter did he state that Amelia Island ought to be taken possession of in pursuance of the order of the government, at all hazards and simultaneously the whole of East Florida seized and held as an indemnity for the Outrages of Spain upon the property of our citizens—this done it puts all opposition down, secures to our citizens a complete indemnity and saves us from a War with Great Brittain, or some of the continental powers combined with Spain, and in that letter he, wrote to you, "this can be done without implicating the Government; let it be signified to me through any channel (*say J Rhea) that the possession of the Floridas would be desirable to the United States and in Sixty days it will be accomplished". You did receive that letter of A Jackson and you will so write to me. With you I had many confidential conversations, respecting Genl A Jackson. If you ask I can tell you the day and time—that confidential Letter or the substance of it. You did communicate confidentially to me, you approved of the opinions of Andrew Jackson by him stated in that confidential Letter and did authorise me so to write to him. I did accordingly write to him. He says he received my letter on his way to Fort Scot and acted accordingly, that is he prosecuted the war against the savages, put an end to their ravages and gave security to the people of the United States, and all was done, I beleive, pursuant to the desires and Expectation of the Government.

"After that war was finished a question was raised in your cabinet by some member thereof respecting the authority by which General Jackson acted in Carrying on that war; that question was got over in your Cabinet. In congress that question was examined

find the following expressions. "Let it be signified to me thro any channel, (say, J. Rhea) that the possession of the Floridas would be desirable to the U States and in 60 days it will be accomplished." About the 20 or 22d of February on my way to Fort Scott I recvd your letter informing me, that Mr. Monroe had shown you my confidential letter to him of the 6 of Jan'y 1818 and approved thereof; and further, that ample instructions had been, or would be given on that head. In substance going to show, that the course pointed out in my confidential letter to him was approved. I quote from memory—your letter was burned.

Towards the rise of Congress, after the debate on the Seminole question in 1819 had closed, you came to me at Strathers Hotel, and enquired if I had recvd such a letter from you, I replied that I had. You then requested me as an old friend, for gods sake to burn it as soon as I got home. I promised that I would, and did so. This was done on the 12 of April 1819, and is so endorsed on the margin of my letter Book, opposite where the confidential letter is recorded.

The object of this communication is to request you to say, whether the fact as stated, to wit, your request to me to burn the letter is not correct, and whether that request proceeded from any intimation or suggestion, of Mr. Monroe and Mr. Calhoun, or either of them.

I am very respectfully etc.

by Cobb's resolutions in the House of Representatives, and Mr. Lacoeks committee in the Senate and passed over. I do know that Genl. Jackson was in Washington City in January in the Year One thousand Eight hundred and Nineteen, and you also does know, my confidential Letter, above alluded to, was still preserved and I believed in possession of General Jackson. some reason, not necessary now to be mentioned, occurred to you, that induced you to request me to request General Jackson to burn or destroy that confidential Letter of mine to him. in consequence thereof, I went to Genl Jackson at his lodging and did request him to destroy that confidential Letter of mine, written to him by me in answer to his said confidential Letter to you, and he did promise to me that he would destroy it when he went home, and he has informed me that on the twelfth day of April One thousand Eight hundred and nineteen he did burn it. I do request you to answer this letter fully and in a few days and particularly, did you authorise me to write the confidential Letter, alluded to, to General Jackson in answer to his said confidential Letter to you, did you afterwards in this city (Washington) when General Jackson was here, request me to go to him and request him to destroy the said confidential Letter of mine to him? be pleased to answer directly and explicitly and fully and soon. You know I always supported you, and now let me inform you that it is absolutely nec[essary] for yourself and me that you do fully answer this Letter. I hope you will believe me to be as I have been your sincere freind."

When this letter was written Monroe, very old and infirm, was closing his earthly career in the home of his son-in-law, Samuel L. Gouverneur, in New York. After hesitating some days, and taking the advice of friends, Gouverneur decided to show it to the invalid Monroe, who dictated a denial which he signed with witnesses June 19, 1831. He died on the fourth of July following. His statement is in *Writings of James Monroe*, ed. Hamilton, VII. 234, where may be found other utterances supporting this statement. See *ibid.*, pp. 137-142, 156-163, 165-167, 169-171; see also Samuel L. Gouverneur to Jackson, Jan. 6, 1837, in vol. V. of this series.

Writing to Jackson from New York, Oct. 20, 1832, Col. James A. Hamilton made the following assertion: "I understand that when Mr Rea's letter was received it was read over to him again and again and paragraph by paragraph and that he thus replied to it, his reply being reduced to writing in the presence of his friends. It would have been fair if this answer had been communicated to Mr Rea, which it might well have been done. It is upon this statement that Mr. Gouverneur as I am told founds his assertion." Jackson MSS. See also pp. 212n., 213n., *ante*.

DR. ROBERT MAYO TO JACKSON.

WASHINGTON, June 3, 1831.

. . . . In the short space of time that I have been here,¹ a multitude of discreditable practices of many of the Clerks in the Departments have been recited and adverted to in my presence. Among other things, the citizens of Washington, merchants, boarding house keepers, Taylors, mechanics, etc, suffer very great impositions from them. Discipated and profligate young men too frequently under plausible pretences, get into office, and immediately run in debt in every direction, through the confiding weakness of those who are candidates for their custom. Unfortunate persons may receive appointment under the burthen of debt, but they ought to pay those debts contracted on the credit of their salaries, out of that fund. I am credibly informed of one clk. a close associate of a certain Mr. McLean, who was warranted twenty seven times in one day. The same individual owes a colored man about thirty dollars for board of recent contracting, which he tells me he has no hope of getting. He is also an intemperate man. These facts I know, because I know the man and his habits. This is only one case out of numbers, of which I have heard some, much worse, but I do not know them personally.

The multifarious modes of prostituting the character of Clerks here and elsewhere, by political intrigues, fraudulent dealings, and scandalous intercourse on the public streets and avenues, in the high ways and by ways etc. etc. render the office of a Clerk a very odious thing in the estimation of many respectable citizens throughout the Country. It is doubtless to protect themselves in this depraved course of life, that the present Corps of Clerks become so clamorous whenever they are visited with an apprehension of the cleansing hand of reform. In *renovating* and *refreshing* the minor ministerial branches of the Government in these respects, a great benefit to the moral example of the community might be derived from requiring a rigid scrutiny and test of their moral conduct and economy. Public officers are more bound in good faith to their country, to be observant of economy and moral propriety, than

¹ Dr. Mayo was appointed to a government clerkship in Washington in 1830, perhaps in the Pension Office, since he was discharged from a place in that bureau in 1833. He arrived in Washington from Virginia, where he had been physician to the Richmond jail. He was a chronic office-seeker and willing to serve where he could obtain rewards. In a pamphlet published by him in 1837 entitled *The Misrepresentations of "a Member of the Hickory Club"* (pp. 11, 12) are some "Principles of Reform laid before the President in 1833". They relate to the officeholders, and mention grounds on which the author thinks removals should be made. Among them are opposition to Jackson, sympathy with Calhoun, drawing pay after being allowed to resign, neglect of duties in office, etc. Jackson allowed Mayo to prefer charges against many officials; but in 1839 (May 15) he deposed that he did not remove persons on Mayo's charges. He said that upon investigation the charges were found to be unsupported. See also Jackson to Van Buren, Jan. 23, 1838, in vol. V., where he refers to the subject. In the A. J. Donelson Papers, under date of Apr. 5, 1829, is evidence relating to Dr. Mayo's application for the position of Librarian of Congress.

private citizens; because, so soon as they overreach their Salaries, they are tempted to abuse their trust in the public funds if they can, as well as extend their private credit, to the end of defrauding their fellow citizens. . . .

The appalling extent of the evils above alluded to, can only be appreciated, by opening the Door of Enquiry. The limited acquaintance I have with this description of public officers, here and elsewhere, has brought to my knowledge, the fact, that a great portion of such officers do infinite discredit to their functions, as well as to the fairer character of their associates in office. Their places could be easily filled, by *enquiry* with honest, industrious, sober, economical, and modest men, who would do violence to their feelings to *ask* for employment, but would be very thankful for it, would do honor to themselves and their country in the discharge of its duties, and greatly advance the future moral condition of Society. A periodical rotation would also go a great way to efface the objectionable rancour of party, make officers of the government homogenous with the people and keep them so.

I believe a reform carried out somewhat upon these principles would be in unison with that well earned fame for which your Constituents so heartily revere your name, and so zealously advocate your continuance in that high office which may be made the guarantee of our happy destinies.

I think I could give you a list of a dozen or more clerks,² most of whom yet remain in office, who have practised frauds upon a single merchant to a large amount which [he] has no hope of recovering.

² The following document, without date, is in Dr. Mayo's handwriting and is preserved in the Jackson MSS.:

"INSOLVENTS IN PUBLIC OFFICE.

"The accompanying list, No. 1. of which the following is an abstract, was handed to me by a Citizen who is among the aggrieved. He obtained it from the minutes of the Jail. It embraces but a short period, but may be considered a sample of the practices of the previous and subsequent time. As enormous as these petty frauds may appear from this view, I presume they are comparatively trivial to those practices for twenty years back, as I am assured by the same gentleman, who promises to carry it back ten years and bring it down to the present time. Perhaps an authentic one may be preferable, through the Mayor or the Marshall. He says the citizens have been frequently defeated in their efforts with former administrations to get these evils redressed.

"No. 1. consisting of 16 names of Clerks in the different offices and the number of times or suits in which they have defrauded their creditors by taking the insolvent oath—all, said to be for necessities of life, or under that p[r]etence. . . .

"No. 2. is a memorandum of two other cases whose names would be found farther back in the minutes of the Jail.

"Thos. L. Ragsdale in the Navy Dept. and H. C. Williams in the 4th Auditor's office, are active and injurious political partizans—the former by the voluntary information of Dr. Bradford who authorises the use of his name—the latter from my own knowledge of his declarations etc.

"I have detached from No. 1 that portion which relates to the years '26-'27-'28 consisting of only eight cases (no. 3) The whole balance of 80 cases have occurred under this administration, and the list is yet incomplete."

SECRETARY INGHAM TO JACKSON.

WASHINGTON, June 7, 1831.

Sir, On my return this evening from an excursion to Annapolis, I found on my table a note¹ from you on business in which you have been pleased to designate me as "*acting Secretary of the Treasury*", as I have received no "acting" appointment, this note suggests a form and tenure of Office, as I apprehend wholly unknown to the Law, and having been adopted on this occasion for the first time it indicates a new official relation which deeming to be illegal I cannot consent to make myself responsible for by continuing to perform the duties of the Treasury Dept under that character.

I have the honor to be

TO SECRETARY INGHAM.¹

June 8, 1831.

The President with his respects to mr Ingham, acknowledges the receipt of his note of the 7th which he has this moment recd. Its contents he has read with surprise. surely at no time, has he in any way attempted any indignity, or any thing that could wear such an appearance, to any gentleman who has been connected with him in the government. It ought not nor cannot be conceived that a note hastily written, addressed "acting", when it should have been secretary of the Treasury, should be considered an indignity offered, or could diminish or alter the authority, under which he was transacting the duties of the Department. The President in justice to himself, informs him that it was not intended to alter them.

SECRETARY INGHAM TO JACKSON.

WASHINGTON, June 9, 1831.

Sir, your note of last evening has removed the difficulty which had arisen in my mind in consequence of that of monday. The duties of the office will be attended to as usual untill the weights and measures shall be so arranged that the work can progress without embarrassment,¹

I have the honor to be with great respect

COLONEL ROBERT BUTLER TO JACKSON.

LAKE JACKSON, June 9, 1831.

Confidential

. . . . Entering upon the subject above alluded to I shall be explicit; giving you the convictions of my mind growing out of my first acquaintance with Mr. Calhoun and a most particular and attentive observation of passing events up to the present. When in Washington in the winter

¹ This note, June 6, 1831, inquired if Ingham would attend a meeting of the Canal Commissioners.

¹ When Ingham tendered his resignation Apr. 19, 1831, to take effect at Jackson's pleasure, it was understood that he would remain in office until some scientific investigations by Ferdinand R. Hassler in fixing the standards of weights and measures had been completed. By June 20, 1831, he believed he could withdraw without sacrificing the interest of the department, and sent in his resignation.

of 1818-19, finding the course which Congress appeared to be taking on the Seminole Question, I wrote you that I deemed it necessary that you should be present at Washington.¹ having done so I communicated this fact to our friend Bronaugh who held the then Secretary of War in high estimation. the succeeding evening whilst at the French Ministers Mr. Calhoun came to me, and enquired in a tone somewhat abrupt, what could induce me to write for Genl. Jackson to come on to the city (Bronaugh having informed him that I had done so) to which I replied perhaps as sternly—that *he may in person have justice done him*. the Secretary turned on his heel and so ended the conversation but there was a something inexplicable in the countenance that subsequent events have given meaning to.

After your arrival at Washington we were on a visit at the Secretarys and exami[n]ing a Map, (the Yellow Stone expedition of the Secretarys, being the subject of conversation), Mr. Laycock of the Senate was announced to the Secretary who remarked: do not let him come in now, Genl. Jackson is here, but will soon be gone when I can see him. there was nothing strange in all this, but the whispered manner and apparent agitation fastened on my mind the idea that Mr. Calhoun and Laycock understood each other on the Seminole matter, such were my reflections at the time. I have reason to believe now, that both Secretarys through their bosom friends Mr Laycock and Mr. Cobb, were behind the curtain, however inimical to each other were equally so to you.

When you were Governor of Florida you received an Anonymous letter² which you were disposed to place to the door of Mr. Crawford. I have always believed the Treasury had not the sense for such a *Coup de main* and have given the credit to the War Department for the following reason. Mr. Calhoun believed he could command South and North Carolina, Pensylvania and the chances of Virginia, Maryland and the small states of Delaware and Jersey. Mr. Crawford in all probability might beat him unless he could by some bold stroke break in upon his strength, to effect which you were the only man whose popularity could be efficient, and this in conjunction with the distant sound that your name would be soon, gave him the delightful prospect of seeing Clay and Crawford cut in two in the middle and bring him second best at any rate before the Congress of the United States, when sooner than have an Eastern President all would unite on him.

To bring you out of the wilds of Florida, he or some one at his request threw out this great bait as they imagined. How confident were Mr. Calhoun and his friends of succeeding *about this time*, I learned from a letter shewn me by Carey Nicholas from Colo. Gadsden who was then Adj. Genl. at the War Office, when I joined you in Pensacola 1821 from St. Augustine. He remarked Mr. Calhoun is now in the field and we must all unite and carry him through; but alas that *old mother of mine* subsequently kicked, and refused to let the Secretary mount her Car and triumphantly shouldered Old Hickory and the Secretarys left *Horse de combat*. "A Kingdom for a Horse," cried King Richard. a Horse was

¹ See vol. II., p. 403.

² This letter has not been identified.

found called *Vice President*, and the Secretary mounted determined to ride into the Haven of greatness *constitutionally* as it was impossible for Old Hickory to live 2 years.

Recurring back to the *book*, Mr. Calhoun admits to you what he denied in positive terms to Colo: Hamilton in a conversation on the same subject, hence your charge of duplicity is fully made out; but this has not surprised me, as I have long since learned that I believed Mr. C. was without exception the most ambitious man in this nation and nothing but age to temper his ambition would ever make him a safe and sound politician. I believe most religiously, and that founded on facts which have been developed but glimmeringly that Mr. Calhoun on his arr[i]val at Washington in 1829, gave an entire new tone to the Telegraph, and that a deep intrigue was then set on foot to supercede you at the end of your present term and that Calhoun, McLean, Tyler, Tazwell, etc. etc. with what aid the coalition indirectly afforded them, *with their own grand puppet the King maker and self puffer Duff Green* (who was to be a foreign Minister at least) were determined to effect their Object, hence your nominations were to be controlled, your ministers attacked, thereby intimating, that you possessed not the governing principle but that there was a "power behind greater than the Throne". The publication of the Book, And the resignation of your Cabinet, together with the rich Harvest of greatness which you have reaped into your national granary in the persons of Livingston, White, McLane and Woodbury, has made them all look, as Milton said of the Devil when thrown from the battlements of Heaven into the infernal pit, they are "Dumb, confounded". I shall tire your patience but I must add a few remarks which I know will not be unpleasant.

I have to regret that necessity exists for your continuation beyond one term, but there are considerations of so much importance to this nation growing out of your election, that were you worn to the quick and the last expiring ray of light and life in the socket; these considerations require the sacrifice. An amendment of the constitution rendering the President ineligible after One term, The payment of the National debt, the keeping down the system misnamed the American and which I call the splendid Misery system; the adoption of something definite with regard to National Improvements, and a system of distribution of the surplus Revenue of which there should always be some. When I see these things chained like the bear upon the sign post, then let the scramble come for the election of Presidents provided it is kept out of Hucksters hands on the floor of Congress. You have done greatly in the restoration of our foreign relations, and upon the grand Indian Question and time will mature the Apple when we shall be freed from such perplexing questions of sovereignty, and the Indians, much more happily situated in every point of view. The requi[e]m has been sung over Nullification and our "Union must be preserved". The disturbed state of Europe will require a watchful guardianship of Our rights and if there is one trait of Character for the station of State Minister wanting in Mr. Livingston, it will be found in *necessary energy of decision*; I may be mistaken, but you can supply the deficiency. . . .

TO ATTORNEY GENERAL BERRIEN.¹

WASHINGTON, June 15, 1831.

Sir, I have received your letter resigning the office of attorney General.

In the conversation which I held with you, the day before yesterday, upon this subject, it was my desire to present to you the considerations upon which I acted in accepting the resignation of the other members of the cabinet, and to assure you in regard to yourself, as well as to them, that they imply no dissatisfaction with the manner in which the duties of their respective departments have been performed. It affords me great pleasure to find that you have not misconceived the character of those considerations, and that you do justice to the personal feelings with which they are unconnected.

I will only add, that the determination to change my Cabinet was dictated by an imperious sense of public duty and a thorough tho painful conviction that the Stewardship of power with which I am clothed, called for it, as a measure of justice to those who had been alike invited to maintain near me the relation of confidential advisers. Perceiving that the harmony in feeling so necessary to an efficient administration had failed in a considerable degree to mark the course of this; and having assented on this account to the voluntary retirement of the Secretaries of State and war, no alternative was left me but to give this assent a latitude coextensive with the embarrassments which it recognized, and the duty which I owed to each member of the cabinet.

In accepting your resignation as attorney general I take pleasure in expressing my approbation of the zeal and efficiency with which its duties have been performed, and in assuring you, that you carry with you my best wishes for your prosperity and happiness

I am Sir, very respectfully

P. S. you will please continue to discharge the duties of the office, until you make all those arrangements which you may deem necessary, which when compleated and I am notified thereof by you, a successor will be appointed.

A. J

HUGH L. WHITE TO JACKSON.

FLINT HILL, TENN., June 15, 1831.

My dear friend, Until Monday evening, I did not return from the West, your favor of the 1st instant was therefore not received till yesterday. I mention this to account for the apparent neglect in not returning an immediate answer.

Major Armstrong detailed to you correctly the conversation he had with me, and nothing but the situation of my daughter should *now* prevent my acceptance of the Office, you have tendered in such flattering terms. Accompanied by her husband she had taken a journey to the West, with a hope that travelling might aid in throwing off a complaint threatening

¹ This draft, in Jackson's handwriting, is like the letter actually sent. Another draft, in A. J. Donelson's handwriting and much revised, until it is like the one here given. is in the Jackson MSS. Berrien's resignation is dated June 15, 1831.

the worst results. At Judge Overtons they buried their *little daughter*, and upon their return I met them at Sparta. Her disease is, apparently, making slow but sure progress towards a fatal termination. She is now at home so much enfeebled, that all hope of her recovery must, in my opinion, be abandoned. Were I to leave her for a residence in Washington, or elsewhere, and more especially were I to take with me her Sister and brother, *the only other survivors of my family*, such a step, would I apprehend, be immediately fatal to her.¹

Should I accept under an expectation that an absence from Washington might be allowed, until her fate was decided, the nature of her complaint might make the time of my absence so protracted, that public opinion would condemn an indulgence so unreasonable. Under these circumstances I can do nothing but decline the Office your kindness would confer.

Had I desired an additional evidence of the sincerity and strength of your personal friendship and regard, it had been most amply furnished in relation to the Office I am constrained to decline accepting; and should you for a moment believe I have made no suitable return, I beg you only to remember, that if I am worthy to be considered the friend of any man, I must have been experiencing the pangs of the dying, for a greater portion of the period, which has elapsed since the year 1825; and that from such a man but little effectual aid could be expected, even had I accepted.

Your friend

P. S. Until I saw it announced in the *Globe* of the 25th May, that I had declined accepting, I had been perfectly silent on the subject, except in a letter to J. K. Polk who I knew was safe. Since that publication, in answering the letters of friends, in several instances I have mentioned the fact of having declined, and in some instances very briefly stated some of my principal reasons. However, these circumstances would not have created any difficulty.

ANDREW J. DONELSON TO JACKSON.¹

WASHINGTON, June 18, 1831.

My Dear Uncle, I cannot take leave of you without giving you a written assurance of my readiness to resume the relation which I have main-

¹ Few men suffered more crushing bereavements than Hugh L. White. In six years tuberculosis took his wife, eight of his children, and a beloved daughter-in-law. Of his twelve children only two were left. His wife died Mar. 25, 1831, and the daughter mentioned in this letter, Margaret W. Alexander, died in September.

¹ Library of Congress, A. J. Donelson Papers. In the following extract from a letter to his wife, June 16, 1831, Major Donelson showed that the situation between himself and Jackson was clearing up:

"I have had a long conversation with Uncle this evening respecting his views of the propriety of your return with me to this place in the fall. He is as kind and affectionate as ever but still embarrassed by the delicate and painful apprehension that the circumstance of our not visiting Mrs. Eaton may have a tendency to confirm the prejudice against her and thus serve indirectly to injure him and cast a shade upon the character of his friend. After what has now passed, while our duty remains the same, I am almost as well satisfied that the view which Uncle takes is correct. If it separates us from him as members of his family, we can only regret that it deprives us of repaying, by our kind attentions to some extent, his munificent and tender care of us heretofore; and removes to a more distant theatre the cultivation of those affections which gratitude and love employ in rendering the family bonds of youth and age supports to each other. It is

tained near you, for so many years, whenever you may think that my services can be of any avail in facilitating the discharge of the many arduous duties which are devolved upon you in your present office. Sensible that the uninterrupted favor which I have experienced at your hands from my infancy to this period, distinguished as it has been by paternal tenderness and a generosity more than liberal, cannot be requited by any thing in my power to render, I can only say that it is impressed indelibly upon my heart, whose grateful affections must ever find their chief happiness, in remembering, honoring and venerating the goodness and greatness which have taken so deep an interest in their welfare.

Those affections tho agonized by the circumstance which suspends their connection with you[r] household, will not be less ardent and resolute in your service. Their sincerity, reasoning as I did and do yet, upon the tendency of the course which you felt it your duty to pursue on that subject would have been false, had they been more flexible.

If in error, as I would willingly persuade myself I am, I trust you will find, in the rapidity with which all embarrassments will now disappear, a reason to disregard the agency which I have had in producing them, and causes of self [con]gratulation sufficiently elevated to overlook and forget those who have been governed by motives less disinterested and friendly.

WORDEN POPE TO JACKSON.

LOUISVILLE, June 19, 1831.

Dear Sir, The greatest duty and task of a *friend*, is to act always, with frankness and sincerity, on all occasions. And in this spirit I assure you, that the Editorial article, in "The Globe", concer[n]ing the Conduct of the Branches of the Bank of the U States at this place, and Lexington, gave me much pain. So far as the Branch *here* is concerned, the charge is *untrue*. In the contest between the old and new Court parties, in Kentucky, I deemed *fundamental principles* to be involved; and therefore I contended for *victory* in favor of the inviolability of our Appellate Court, from Legislative destruction. It was established by the *Constitution*, and nothing but the people, in convention, could annihilate it. It was a wrong and desperate course taken, to expel the Clay-party from power. The strong holds of the state were in their hands. I am not the man that holds, that the *ends do justify the means*.

I knew that the new court-party at this point of action, had freely employed their *cash*, on the Election. I abhorred the practice, did not intend, *in that way* to be *beaten*. My friends agreed, that we would beat our adversaries, with *their own dirty stick*. *The money was my own*. No one contributed a cent of it. I waited until the last moment and put my plans

heart-rending to reflect that such may be the consequence of an incident that was at first almost too trifling to name; but is now important enough to agitate the country, and involve in its consequences the peace of families and the destiny of a great name and still greater public interests. Such is the nature of human affairs. But I mean not here to philosophise upon them. All that I wish to express about them, is what I know you feel, and that is, that they are incapable of disturbing that composure with which a virtuous mind acquiesces in the requisitions of duty whether dispensed by divine or human power."

into execution. They were compleated at two OClock of the morning of the first day of the Election. Thus, I turned the ambuscade of our enemies, upon themselves and our party was successful. *This is the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth.* I do not know the author upon whose *veracity*, Mr Blair has made the publication. But I can, and do say, that the charge does not exist in fact or truth. There must be, some one *here*, who must have some *personal and selfish* purpose to answer, by giving matters of this kind for publication. If I had expected such a publication, as Mr Blairs, I would, in time, to prevent it, have made this *confidential* communication.

It was a subject of regret, to some of *your best friends*, that the renewal of the charter of the present Bank, had a place in your first message. It was believed to be premature; and not then required, to give any *advantage* to your administration. It was calculated to *divide your friends*, and put a powerful weapon into the hands of your enemies. Your *prudent* friends wished to give it the go bye, as a means to ascertain, in seasonable time, the sentiments of the people. It is, at all times, a difficult and delicate subject to handle; and your friends wished it, not to be agitated until after your second election. It cannot be acted upon, officially, by the Government, until the close of your second term. My *confidence* in your purity and patriotism of purpose, remains unshaken, and I feel it to be a high duty on my part, to speak freely to *your own Ear* on public measures, and leave what I say, to pass, for what it is worth. No private or personal considerations, shall induce me to act with duplicity, or to say any thing to you, which I believe to be incorrect. With these assurances I will proceed to say, what I believe to be the public opinion, now about a Bank of the United States; and what will be the force and result of that opinion, when the charter of the present one shall expire.

The subject is presented to me, and your able friends, as far as I can ascertain, thus, 1st, That if there be no Bank of the United States, that state-Banks will be chartered and spring up like mushrooms, and the country will be inundated with *depreciated* Bank notes. 2d That the metallic medium, will not be sufficient, to prevent that result; and is incompetent to supply the wants of an intelligent enterprising and industrious nation. 3d, That the safety of the national revenue requires a Bank of the United States. 4th, That a great majority of the people of the United States, will have such a Bank. 5th That if the Republican party are opposed to the present Bank-charter, let them charter a new Bank, on the following conditions. 1st, That it shall loan its funds for four per cent. 2d, That it shall perform the same services for the Government, which are performed by the present Bank. 3d, That it shall not deal in or take securities of real estate. 4th That it shall be suable, in the state-courts, without the power of removal into the Federal courts, upon parol as well as agreements evidenced by its corporate seal, and also for torts; and that, service of process, on the president or cashier of a Bank shall be sufficient. 5th, That the president, Directors and all other officers of the corporation, shall be sworn, and certificates thereof registered before they act. 6th, That Congress shall have power at any time to repeal the charter, for a violation of it. 7th, That

the District Attorney shall upon complaint, supported by affidavit, and security for costs, for a wrong done, be compelled to prosecute a quo warranto, to *seize the charter*.

It would seem, that a Bank, thus chartered, would disarm it, of all the dangers, apprehended, or now felt, by the republican party; and that the charter of the present Bank, might, on the same terms be renewed with safety. But suppose you set an example, that no Bank shall be continued beyond the termination of its charter. In other words suppose you let the charter of the present Bank expire: and be prepared with another, on the terms aforesaid, containing an express declaration that it shall not be renewed. Let the Government not ask a bonus; and it seems to me, that you can have a Bank, on your own terms, with all "the due guards" that shall be necessary. It would be, emphatically be a *Jackson Bank*.

The Globe is looked upon, as the Official organ of the Administration; and if it does not retract its article, we need not open our mouths. The *people* of the West, are against its contents. It has asserted, upon the information of some *designing* person or persons, what is *positively untrue*; and the people of the West, who feel the advantages of the Branches will not discuss the *Unconstitu[tionality]* of the Bank. They will not give due weight to Constitutional law, against that, which they feel to be expedient. A sound currency to an agricultural, manufacturing and commercial people, is as essential as the blood to the human body. The people of the West had rather, fight the British again, *under you*, at the batteries at New Orleans, than to be subjected to effigy Banks, and their Bastard depreciated paper!

It is in vain for any one, to attempt, to induce the people to run against a Bank of the United States. Unless a substitute be offered, nine-tenths of the West, will support the present Bank, with all its defects. Those who think differently, do not know the sentiments of the people. If we go against the present Bank, nothing will save us, but a substitute. Without it, we will be beaten and put down. The capitalists of the north, want a new Bank. They will agree to take a charter for twenty years, on the terms which you will dictate. Waive a *bonus* and they will end at four per cent. All men are prepared for a reduction of interest. Every thing has fallen, since 1816, and interest also ought to fall. The threat of such a project has stopt the mouth or nearly so, of our enemies here. But the injudicious, erroneous and ill-timed article of Mr. Blair, is murder to us. I suppose that he *cannot*, give up his informant. I know him not, but depend upon it, he was after *something* for himself. It is in Mr Blairs power to exculpate the Branch here, and he ought to do it. I dictate to no one. My road is open and straight. We are on the eve of an Election, which will settle the fate of the administration, in Kentucky and its result will be felt elsewhere. We have no power to spare. Division will ruin us. Mr Blairs article has fallen like a thunder bolt upon the state. You have felt the effects of *division*, in your late cabinet; and we feel in this state, all the force of selfish interests and purposes. I rely on the *people* for success; and see the danger of our pa[r]tisans. This letter is in the strictest confidence.

I am your political and personal friend

SAMUEL D. INGHAM TO JACKSON.

WASHINGTON, June 21, 1831.

Sir, Before I leave the City it seems to be due to the Government that I should perform a painful duty imposed upon me by the events of the last 48 hours. It is not necessary for me now to detail the circumstances which have convinced me of the existence of vindictive personal hostility to me, among some of the Officers of the Government near your person and supposed to be in your special confidence which has been particularly developed within the last two weeks, and has finally displayed itself in an attempt to way lay me on my way to the Office yesterday, as I have reason to believe for the purpose of assassination. If you have not already been apprised of these movements, you may perhaps be surprised to learn that the persons concerned in them, are the late Secretary of War, the acting Secret'y of War, and that the Second Auditor of the Treas'y, Register of the Treas'y and the Treasurer of the U. States were in their Company, and that the Treasurers and Registers rooms in the lower part of the Building of the Treas'y Dept. and also a Grocery Store between my lodgings and the office were alternately occupied as their rendezvous while lying in wait, the former affording the best opportunity for observing my approach. Apprized of these movements, on my return from taking leave of some of my friends, I found myself obliged to arm and accompanied by my Son, and some other friends I repaired to the Office to finish the business of the day after which I returned to my lodgings in the same company. It is proper to state that the principal persons who had been thus employed for several hours, retired from the Dept. soon after I entered my room and that I received no molestation from them either at my ingress or egress, But having recruited an additional force in the Evening they paraded until a late hour on the streets near my lodgings heavily armed, threatening an assault on the dwelling I reside in.

I do not present these facts to your notice for the purpose of invoking your protection. So far as an individual may rely upon his own personal efforts I am willing to meet this peril. And against an assault by numbers I have found an ample assurance of protection in the generous tender of personal service from the Citizens of Washington. But they are communicated to you as the chief magistrate of the U. States and most especially of the District of Columbia, whose duties in maintaining good order among its inhabitants and protecting the officers of the Government in the discharge of their duties cannot be unknown to you. I have only to add that so far as I am informed all the persons engaged in, and giving countenance to this business are Officers of the Govt. except the late Secretary of War.

I have the honor to be Respectfully

TO COLONEL JOHN CAMPBELL, MAJOR THOMAS L. SMITH, DR. PHILIP G. RANDOLPH, AND MAJOR WILLIAM B. LEWIS.

WASHINGTON, June 22, 1831.

Messhrs. Col Campbell, Treasurer; Major Smith, Register; Doctor Randolph, acting Secretary of War; and Major Lewis, second auditor.

Gentlemen: I have this moment received the inclosed letter from Mr Ingham, dated the 21st instant, and having immediately, on its recpt. sent to ask an interview with him, I find he had left the city before it reached me. I wish you to state to me, if you, or either of you, have had any agency or participation, and if any, to what extent, in the alleged misconduct imputed in his letter herewith enclosed.

I surely have been deceived in your characters if you are capable of so far forgetting the responsibilities of your stations as to participate in the reprehensible conduct charged. To the serious charges contained in mr Ingham's letter, which gave me the first information that I have had of his difficulties, I wish you to give a prompt and explicit answer,¹
respectfully

TO SAMUEL D. INGHAM.¹

WASHINGTON, June 23, 1831.

Sir, I recd. your letter of the 21st Inst at 9. oclock on the 22. thro the city P. M. charging several officers of the government with a conspiracy to assassinate you. They were immediately furnished by me with a copy of your letter; and I herewith enclose for your information copies of the replies which they have given, denying the charges preferred against them by you. a copy of my letter is also enclosed. I am very respectfully,
your obt. Svt.

P. S. I would have preferred that this matter should have been examined into face to face and for that purpose sent my messenger for you, but was informed you had left the city at 4 oclock a. m.

TO MARTIN VAN BUREN.¹

WASHINGTON, June 23, 1831.

Private

My D'r sir, There has been another Parthian flight from this city who, like his companion has attempted to throw his darts behind him, but they have fell harmless, except what recoild upon the fugitive. The *Globe* of this day will give you a full account of the ridiculous and cowardly farce played of by mr Ingham here on yesterday morning. least you do not get the daily *Globe* I herewith inclose one to you. I leave here for the rip Raps tomorrow and have been so much engaged to day and night, that I cannot enter more in detail than the *Globe* will furnish you. if I can get one of the *Globes* of tomorrow, I will also forward it.

¹ Each of the gentlemen denied the charges made by Ingham. Eaton however published a card in the *Globe* saying that since Ingham had failed to meet him in a duel he had tried to meet him on the streets in order that he might administer "such treatment as I thought his conduct deserved". He said he had not laid siege to Ingham's house nor asked nor had the assistance of anyone in his vigils. The *Telegraph* said that two of the men addressed were Eaton's brothers-in-law.

¹ Handwriting of Maj. W. B. Lewis, but the postscript is by Jackson. Ingham's reply to this letter, with N. P. Trist's reply to Ingham, is in *Niles' Register*, XL. 346.

¹ Library of Congress, Van Buren MSS.

I wish my D'r sir, that you would forward me your views on the various subjects I mentioned to you, at as early a period as your convenience will permit. I wish them soon, so as to be able to prepare my message to the next congress with great care, for I have now to meet calhouns whole Phalanks, with all their secrete intrigue, and malace—be it so, they are harmless when they have to fight openly and under their own flag. mr Balch is now here. he informs me that mr Calhoun is much engaged in his usual avocations of secretly trying to injure me. he, degraded man, who is really to be pitied, can do me no harm, he is now too well known to be believed, or to do much harm to any one.

Our friend judge overton left me last Friday for the Rip Raps; I hear from him to day, that he is not so well, and I must go to him tomorrow, to cheer him and take care of him for a few days. I shall expect to hear from you soon.

I have not heard from Judge White yet. he had left Knoxville the day before my letter reached there, to try to bring his dying daughter home, who had lost her Infant child on the last day of may at judge Overtons. I hope for a letter from him tomorrow. I have appointed mr Tauney atto. Genl.² I hope to hear from mr Rives tomorrow as I see the Havre Packet has reached Newyork. Present me to your sons, and believe me sincerely your friend

TO ANDREW J. DONELSON.¹

WASHINGTON, June 23, 1831.

D'r Andrew, I inclose you the Globe which will give you the infamous and cowardly conduct of Ingham. That he would have so basely lied I was not prepared to believe, or that he was such a base coward I could [not] anticipate—only that my rule is that a base man is always a coward. The answer of Ingham to Eaton shows a superlative degree of baseness unheard of before and it is no wonder that death and Hell with all its torments was constantly in his [im]agination. They Took a st[and at] Ingham home not mentioned [star]ted at four was two hours earlier than usual guarded by six men, under the command of Towson, and I never would [have] wanted any other weapon than a steel Tobacco box to have disarmed the whole of them. The truth is Eaton alone did look for him and remained, in a grocers store, after walking thro the streets some time, until nearly the hour of th[r]ee from ten in the morning, went from there to The Registers office remained there until nearly the hour of closing, and shortly after the officers and clerks being about to leave and close the office major Eaton left the Treasury and with major Lewis left there and went to the war office. as soon as the spies reported, as it is believed, that [Eaton] had left there Ingham m[arch]ed forth with his janisaries, who it is said had determined when Eaton made the attack to shoot three or seven balls

² Roger B. Taney, of Maryland, Attorney General 1831-1833.

¹ Library of Congress, A. J. Donelson Papers. The letter is mutilated and the restorations are shown in brackets. For the correspondence between Jackson, Eaton, Ingham, and others in relation to this incident see *Niles' Register*, XL. 301-304.

thro Eaton. judge for yourself. judge Berrien in his correspondence with Eaton has acted like a gentleman and left mr Ingham in rather a disagreeable situation. the mails closing, and I must bid you adieu. with my love to all, yours

TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE (EDWARD LIVINGSTON).¹

JUNE 24, 1831.

The President with his respects to the secretary of State, requests to see him early this morning on the subject of a fit character to fill the office of Secretary of War, Judge White from his letter just received having finally declined, from the situation of his family.²

TO MAJOR WILLIAM B. LEWIS.¹

RIP RAPS, June 26, 1831.

Private

D'r Major, We had a pleasant speedy passage arriving here at half past one yesterday, and finding judge Overton much mended.

I have spent the day at church, and have returned from Old Point, where I have seen and conversed with many of the citizens. The letter of Mr. Ingham, and the correspondence between Major Eaton and him, had reached here via Baltimore before our arrival, by which the citizens had a sight of the Globe, and from which, a reaction has taken place that has overwhelmed Ingham into eternal disgrace. I cannot suppose that there was any truth in the report that Branch was to be at Washington on yesterday. I am sure he will not visit Washington unless it be to disavow any authority given by him to the Editor of the Telegraph the publication he made. Branch has no way to save himself from disgrace but voluntarily writing Major Eaton such a letter as a gentleman and disavowing every, and any participation in the slanders against Mrs. Eaton. But should he go to Washington, and not address a letter of the tenor above, Major Eatons call upon him, will produce it. This I am very certain of in my own mind.

I will be impatient until I hear from you. Give my respects to Major Eaton and his Lady, to Major Barry, to Livingston and Woodbury, Mr. Kendall and all friends, and be sure to write me as often as a safe opportunity will permit, and send me such private letters as may reach you by mail. Judge Overton has agreed to remain here until next Wednesday week, and will accompany me to Washington where we will arrive on Thursday week, when I hope we will meet you in improved health, and general tranquility. I am in haste, very respectfully your friend.

¹ From the collection of the letters and papers of Edward Livingston, preserved at his former residence, Montgomery Place, Barrytown, N. Y.; printed by the kindness of Brigadier-General John Ross Delafield. Livingston had become Secretary of State on May 24.

² See White's letter of June 15, *ante*. Jackson's choice finally fell on Lewis Cass.

¹ N. Y. Pub. Lib., Ford MSS.

TO JOHN C. McLEMORE.¹

RIP RAPS, June 27, 1831.

My D'r Sir: I have come here to spend a few days with my friend Judge Overton for the benefit of his, and my own health, and to have a little rest from the bustle of business, and the throng of strangers, that are unusually great at this Season in the city, and the repainting of my dwelling, which was, I thought, very injurious to my health, and made me very subject to my excruciating head ache.

The unexpected, and extraordinary conduct of Mr. Branch first, and then Ingham, assuming the character of the paritheat who flies and throws their poisoned darts behind, has astonished many, altho not me. I knew for some time, that Treachery existed some where in my Cabinet, and that it was not in either VanBuren, or faithful Eaton. I always knew that the attack upon Eaton, was intended to effect me, not Major Eaton. This has shewn itself, or why has the persecution been secretly carried on by Ingham thro the Telegraph, since Eaton has resigned, only to serve the mean vindictive and cowardly course of Mr. Calhoun. I always knew this and I as well knew *lately*, that Ingham and Branch were his puppets, secretly manœuvring, to destroy Van Buren, and prostrate me. But altho in 1819, Mr. Monroe, through the advice of Calhoun, got Mr. John Rhea to apply to me, and get me, to burn his confidential letter to me, written in January 1818, in reply to my confidential letter to Mr. Monroe of the 6th of Janry 1818, still I have, *now*, in my possession the positive statement of Mr. Rhea,² that my confidential letter was shewn to him, by Mr. Munroe, and he was requested to write, and did write to me, that the view I had taken *was, approved*, by the President. I have also the statement of Judge Overton, who had Rheas letter before him, with the other confidential letters, when he wrote the defence of the Executive, and his commanding Genl, and I have seen a letter from a Gentleman of high standing in South Carolina, saying that he has Calhouns letter, before I entered Florida, saying that Florida ought not only to be seized, but held as an indemnity for her depredations etc. etc. When the nation are informed that this was his course, such was his order, to me, a chart Blanch, what curses must not a moral and virtuous people pronounce on a man, (when he expected I was in my grave) would move my arrest, for the disobedience of orders, which he knew I had fulfilled to a tittle, and that too, agreeable to the expressed views of the government.

Calhoun and his puppets, male and female, have been secretly at work to destroy me, and they have been too successful, to blind my connections and part of my family, and would have effected it, if I had not reorganised my Cabinet. But my providence takes care of me, and I will triumph over all those base men, with all the secrete intrigues of Calhoun, and his Satilites. Ingham has damnd. himself forever. he remained under the pretext of finishing the standard of our weights, and measures, whilst he

¹ N. Y. Hist. Soc.

² No such statement has been found in the Jackson MSS., unless Jackson referred to Rhea's letter to Monroe of June 3, p. 288n., *ante*.

was corresponding with his master, and putting forth through the Telegraph all his secrete slanders against Mrs. Eaton. He was caught, and I enclose you a paper containing the correspondence between Eaton, and him, and his letter [to] me, after he had *fled* from the city, with the declarations of the gentlemen who he charged in his letter. Any man who would tell such *positive falshoods* against men in high offices, it is not to wondered that he would be mean enough, for political effect, to slander a female and fly guarded, from that punishment, that all such merit.

I have always viewed those who secretly pirate upon female character worse than the pirate on the high seas, and as the latter is considered the enemy of the human race, the former is worse, and ought to be treated accordingly. When you hear the whole farce, it is one the most cowardly and shameful ever recorded. I have a history of the flight by a Gentleman who travelled in view of them in the mail stage, breakfasted at the same tavern, where they placed centinels at the door, whilst eating, and sat to table with their arms. This force was commanded by the *redoubtable Col. Towson* aided by six, janisaries. Whilst Major Eaton was passing thro the city alone, no one friend near him that he knew of, and none armed, unless the Major was. It is true I believe, if he had met Mr. Ingham he would have chastised him, and as far as I have investigated the matter, the plot of assasination was by Inghams party, to assasinate Eaton, but it was in unison with Calhouns whole intrigue, cry plot, plot, where the plot is only on his side. It corresponds well with his intrigue with the female gossips of the city, who raised the cry of W. W. when some of his gossips could not today, produce as fair a character as Mrs. Eaton, and against whose chastity more had been said than ever had been against Mrs. Eaton, but Eaton was my friend, it was necessary to drive from me if possible, all who would not bend to Calhouns ambitious views, and to accomplish this object, if I would not bend to his view, I was to be crushed.

Calhoun is still going with secrete intrigues to injure me. I have just been furnished with extracts of letters he has been writing to some of his friends in Tennessee who are out for public favor. I have only time to give one, the ballance are in the same stile. extract from a letter written by Calhoun to——³ of the 5th of March 1831. "It is however really mortifying to think, that the President has permitted himself to be so completely duped by *his old, and deadly enemies*, against his early and steady friends." (Does he mean himself) "the world has been deceived as to his real character". Again 10th of April 1831 he says, "I concur with you in thinking, that we have all been mistaken in the true character of Genl. Jackson. What was ever so strange, and indicates greater weakness, and want of sound feelings, than that in the space of two years he should place himself in the hands of those who, had secretly so bitterly opposed him, and should transfer his resentment against his uniform friends and supporters. all this has been effected by artifices at once shallow and profligate."

³ Name is omitted in the letter.

This is in unison with all his falshoods and hypocrisy! Who but him has secretly, but under profession of friendship attempted to injure me. Mr. Crawford was openly opposed, and hostile to me, Calhoun secretly, until his hypocrisy and duplicity was unveiled. When have I deserted an old friend, *never*. A man thus prone to duplicity and lying and the dishonorable conduct of secretly slandering, can never succeed, and in due time, I will expose him and his secrete conspirators, to the full glare of the world, and to infamy.

Present me to your family affectionately, and let me hear how my son progresses with his education. Let me know how you get on with your business, You have my best wishes and shall have my aid if needed, as far as my means will permit. Say to my son I wish him to return to me so soon as he can attend to the business I sent him on and believe me your friend. Judge Overton is mending fast.

TO SECRETARY LIVINGSTON.¹

RIP RAPS, June 28, 6 oclock p. m., 1831.

My dear Sir, I have this moment recd. yours of the 25th instant, and hasten to reply by the Steam Boat Potomac which passes Old Point early tomorrow.

Let instructions be given that Mr. Wellinstein,² the Russian Consul, have permission to go out on Board the Warren Sloop of War, as you inform me that Mr. Woodbury says it will be quite convenient that he does so. How does Mr. Jeffrays go to his destination.

I have no doubt but Mr. Rives will by next packet send us something final, and that is the cause of his not writing by the last, wishing to have it in his power to give the conclusion of the negotiation, in his next. When we receive a final adjustment of our claims with France it will be time enough to look out for a fit person to proceed to Naples, we have been harrassed since the commencement of our late negotiation with France, first, to send an agent to aid Mr. Rives, second, to send a negotiator to Naples. Our claims adjusted with France, and it follows as a matter of course, that a demand will produce justice from Naples, and Spain, and until that is done, we need send none to Naples; and it may be worthy of consideration if Mr. Rives succeeds with France, whether, he will not be the best agent to charge with the negotiation with Naples. *Think of this*—I will be with you next Thursday week if spared.

I have just recd. a letter from Mrs. S. Decatur.³ I request that you and Mr. Woodbury consult together, and if nothing better for the present can be done for her friend Dr. Jones, see judge Hayward and let him give him the office promised worth \$1000—or place him in the office from which Mr. Tyler has been promoted.

In great haste I am very respectfully your friend

¹ From the collection of the letters and papers of Edward Livingston, preserved at his former residence, Montgomery Place, Barrytown, N. Y.; printed by the kindness of Brigadier-General John Ross Delafield.

² Wallenstein.

³ Widow of the commodore. See p. 21n., *ante*; see also vol. III., p. 19n.

JOHN RANDOLPH TO JACKSON.

LONDON, June 28, 1831.

My dear Sir, The day before yesterday, I had the gratification, and it was no small one, to receive your most welcome letter of the 26th of May. By the same packet, I received also the requisite official communications from the Secretary of State to enable me to close my mission to Russia. A few days before their arrival, I was attacked by hemorrhage from the lungs, from which I am not yet relieved. This obliges me to remain as quiet as possible. As soon however as is practicable I shall avail myself of your kind indulgence. The difficulties of communication with the Baltic Ports, to say nothing of the dangers, are such, that if there had been no other obstacle opposed to my return, I could not have proceeded to St. Petersburg, under existing circumstances. I cannot take leave of this subject without reiterating my sense of your kind indulgence and repeating my earnest recommendation of Mr J. R. Clay to your protection and favour.

It is possible that the state of my health may detain me in Europe until the next season. In which case I must entreat your favour to my letters etc: that they be transmitted through the Dept. of State to our legation here, as the readiest way of reaching me in whatever part of Europe I may be. I would write to Mr Livingston but I am now trespassing on the bounds of prudence.

Reciprocating in the fullest manner your kind and friendly sentiments I remain Dr. Sir, your obliged and faithful

MAJOR WILLIAM B. LEWIS TO JACKSON.

WASHINGTON, June 29, 1831.

Genl, The Calhoun oppositionists are at *fault*. They have not been able to make any thing out of the clamour, that was raised at Inghams being compelled to leave the city under the *protection* of an *armed escort*; and they are trying now, to get on another scent. It is intended to charge you with a want of *candour*, in saying in your letter to Campbell, Smith and others, that it was the first time you had heard of *his* (Inghams) troubles. They say they will be able to prove that you knew, before that, all about the affair between Eaton and Ingham. It is wonderful—*truly astonishing!* that you on Wednesday the 22d (the date of your letter) should know all about that *terrible* affair, when it was only *published* in the Telegraph one day before you wrote! Are they such fools as not to know, or rather such *knaves* as *will not* know, that you had reference *alone* to that *bloody* conspiracy against the life of Mr. Ingham? Major Barry will not leave here before your return. Remember me with kindness to all my friends, and believe me to be, sincerely yours.

TO BENJAMIN B. COOPER.

WASHINGTON, July, 1831.

D'r sir, your letter of the 15th ultimo came duly to hand, but I could not answer it with propriety until I wrote home, to be informed of the

Condition of Bolivar, the stud Horse I proposed to sell you. I have just recd a letter from my son stating he is in good condition, and high health, that his colts are of the first order both as to size and appearance. Bolivar was got by oscar, by wonder, by the imported and celebrated Horse Diomede. His dam by Pacolet, by citizen, his granddam by Truxton, one of the first colts of the imported Diomede, his Great Grand dam the noted running mare opossum filly, famed in her day for four mile heats—her Pedigree has been mislaid so that it cannot be found, but she was got by wildair, as I believe. Bolivar is about sixteen hands and one inch high, a bea[u]tiful dapple Gray six years old next September, finely formed, his bone and sinew not surpassed by any horse in america, and his blood as pure as any stock can be. he is well calculated for a breeding horse, for the saddle, harness or the Turf, for which I will take two thousand dollars and deliver him at this place between this and the first of January next. If the horse Bolivar does not fill the description given of him When examined by the Gentleman selected to receive him, he remains my property, if he does two thousand dollars to be paid for him on delivery or secured to be paid at a short day. On the receipt of your answer that you will take him on those terms, I will order him on here and when he reaches here will advise you thereof. a speedy answer will oblige me, as their are several applications for this Horse.

MAJOR WILLIAM B. LEWIS TO JACKSON.

WASHINGTON, July 1, 1831.

D'r Genl. Yours of the 28th Ultimo was recd. yesterday by the Steam Boat Potomac. You complain of not ha[v]ing recd. either letters or papers, up to that time, since your arrival there. I was rather negligent in not writing you on last Sunday, which would have reached you by the Tuesdays boat, but as I stated to you in my letter of Monday, I was so busily engaged in looking over your old letters and papers, that I had not time. I have written every day since Monday, excepting yesterday; and I informed you in my letter of Monday, if my recollection serves me correctly, that I had put into Mr. Kendalls hands all the letters I could find having any bearing upon the Calhoun affair, and I have no doubt but he is giving them his particular attention. I think it probable, however, that he has devoted the most of his time this week to the other affair of which you speak in your letter.

Herewith I send you several packages of letters and news papers. Some of the letters are from Nashville, one endorsed in the hand writing of Col. R. Butler, and one from the Gov. of Georgia, which latter I have thought you would probably have more time to read and reflect on at the Rip Raps than here. Major Barry has left with me several packages for Judge Overton which I doubt not contains all the information, of any importance, he has. Mr. Livingston and Gov. Woodbury¹ are both in good health, and are giving great satisfaction in their respective Departments; so also are the acting Secretaries of the Treasury and War De-

¹ Levi Woodbury, of New Hampshire, was Secretary of the Navy from May 23, 1831, to 1834.

partments. Your friends here are all in good health; and Kendall is engaged in moving to a house he recently has taken, not far from the State Department.

You will receive by the Boat to day the American Sentinel which contains, I am told for I have not seen it, the substance of Inghams dinner speech on his return to Burks; no doubt revised and corrected by himself. In this it is said he introduces Major Barry, and intimates that he had a principal agency in bringing about the state of things which existed at the time of his departure. But the leading object of his speech, I am told, is to connect you with the transaction. However, Jones will, I presume send you the paper as I directed him last sunday to put up, at the Post Office, all the leading Journals sent to you. . . .

TO SECRETARY LIVINGSTON.¹

July 8, 1831.

Private

The President with his respects to the Secretary of State, request that he cause a commission to be made out for Govr. Cass as Secretary of War. The President has seen Mr. Salimon, and he thinks he will accept the appointment. Therefore let his appointment be announced tomorrow, and a letter addressed to him requesting his attendance at this place as early as he can.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOHN COFFEE TO JACKSON.

COX'S CREEK NEAR FLORENCE, July 9, 1831.

Private

Dear Genl. I am indebted to you for several letters since I wrote you, for which I offer you my thanks, for was it not for the information you kindly give me, I would be entirely ignorant of the passing events at Washington, for we cannot rely upon any thing scarcely which we see in the news papers. I see that my friend Eaton is acting himself, now that he is not shackled with office. this is what I expected of him, it is right, and just what every honest independant man, who will take the trouble to think for himself, will approve of. At suitable season, I expect he will go the whole hog round, but he ought not to press it too fast, times and circumstances will offer when all will come on by accident as it were, but he should always be prepared. Duff deserves it well, but it wont doo now, they are so much in the habit of crying out War, Pestilence, and famine, that they would turn their batteries against you, and although it has in reality, nothing to do with you, or you with the transaction, yet they would play it in that way, and many persons who dont understand the thing, and will not take the trouble to understand them, will fall into their wake, and believe, or pretend to believe, that you are concerned in the affair, which no doubt is not the fact. therefore perhaps better for E. to let Duff pass on for the present, and untill he feels more safe and se-

¹ From the collection of the letters and papers of Edward Livingston, preserved at his former residence, Montgomery Place, Barrytown, N. Y.; printed by the kindness of Brigadier-General John Ross Delafield.

cure, when a surprise will set harder on him than at present when he expects it, but there is a time coming when he deserves punishment from Eatons hands. I see that Mr. Ingham has followed in the footsteps of his great file leader, and cries, out, *War, bloodshed, death and raw head and bloody bones*—and calls on the people to witness. Mr. Ingham is now a private man, the people has no more to do with him, than with aney other person, yet they will use it in that way, and try to turn it against you if possible. therefore if possible to let things rest for the present, and until a more convenient season. . . .

TO ANDREW J. DONELSON.¹

WASHINGTON, July 10, 1831.

. . . . I have noted your remarks as it regards the disposition of Governor Branch towards me. I wish he may have acted candidly with you. I have seen a letter from a high source, from the District in which he lives, giving quite a different statement of his course; in which it is stated, that he is trying to injure me in every way he can, and has requested a statement of certain facts, to correct the misstatements he mr Branch has made. if the writer states facts as they are, he (mr Branch) is acting the part of a base and unprincipled man, and his hypocrisy to you, adds to his meanness. If the writer states facts, Govr. Branch is as vindictive, and unprincipled, as Ingham has shewn himself, who has, raised a lasting monument of his own disgrace by his dastardly, and disgraceful conduct. as a proof, I refer you to his letters, which he has written to me, but has had them published before they reached me—see tommorrows Globe. Ingham has been so much frightened, that his senses has not surely returned, or he is one of the most unprincipled men and regardless of truth that I have ever had any intimacy with, J. C. Calhoun only excepted, who has been corresponding with some of my friends in Tennessee (confidential) some extracts have been furnished me. The papers in Pennsylvania are belabouring Ingham severely and on the 4 of july, at a public meeting, you will see, that the company refused to toast him, when presented by mcGowen.

You will see from the papers that the dismissed clerks, and officers, celebrated the 4th here. Their blackguard toasts, are a true display of their character. The[y] Hon'rd mrs. Calhoun, mrs. Ingham, and Emily with a toast, which fully displays the combination which I at first suspected, and endeavoured to keep my family clear of, and long since had full evidence to convince my mind that mr and mrs. Calhoun were the grand wire workers behind the scene—your dear little Emily I fear before this matter ends, will be brought in bold relief before the nation. such was the indignation of the people here, that a meeting was instantly got up in Georgetown (the citizens of washington having had one before) and I am told that Genl mason made one of the most eloquent speeches ever uttered in any del[i]berative body, in reply to their unjust and blacguard course in all this matter, and you may rest assured this conspiracy to destroy Eaton and his family, will recoil upon the heads of its projectors and

¹ Library of Congress, Donelson Papers.

all who are brought within its vortex, as aiding it. There is much indignant feeling on this head, I assure you. How I laboured to prevent it, but it is past, and can only now be used as a buoy to shun the rocks in future, but you will find, as I have always knew, that it was an unfortunate course for my family, I knew the design was to injure me, and now that Govr. Branch should give the reasons that you say he does, without naming the Individuals that has obtain the assendency over me, is a course unworthy of a man, who has shared so much of the public confidence; it is following the example of that base man calhoun, who is secretly saying that *mrs. Eaton is the President*. I shall in due time give Calhoun his quietos, and shew his baseness naked to the world.

Present me kindly to emily and the sweet little ones, to mrs. Donelson and all her family, including mary Easten and all my connections and believe me your friend

TO ANDREW J. DONELSON.¹

WASHINGTON, July 11, 1831.

Dear Andrew, I have received your kind letter of the 29th ultimo, that of the 24th was received and answered on the 9th instant. You cannot but be aware, of the continued friendship I bear for you, and how happy I have ever been to have you with me, and in my present situation how much aid you could afford me, but when you see the manner in which my bitter and insidious enemies, once professing friends, has arrayed you and your family against me, to injure and prostrate me, you will at once see, how improper it would be, under present circumstances to have your family with me, unless my friends could be treated with the same comity as the family of my enemies, in short my dear Andrew, unless we could live in unison of friendship, and harmony. The toast given here on the 4th instant, was intended for the basest purpose, but from the vast number of respectable families that has been in the habit of associating with major Eaton and his lady, I have no doubt but the villains would attempt to go farther, but the[y] dare not. The toast has arrayed mrs. Calhoon, mrs. Ingham, and your dear Emily, against those who associated with major Eaton and his family, and you never witnessed higher indignation in the breasts of any people, than are now in the breasts of all those who associated with them, and they are prepared to hold mr Calhoun responsible the moment the least evidence can be produced that he countenances this toast.

To me it appears, that no greater indignity can be offered to a lady, than to toast her for political effect, or for any other cause, than her own intrinsick virtues. had my wife been held up to public gaze in a political toast for effect, I would at once address the committee of arrangements, and sternly but leconicly tell them that I felt the indignity offered to my wife by the toast, and if political demagogues high in office could condescend to the meanness to circulate secrete slander against female character, and then have it displayed in bold relief at a public festival thro

¹ *Ibid.*

their panders, for political effect, that they had mistook me, by supposing I would permit my lady to be held up in such odious form, that I viewed the villain who could secretly pirate on female character worse than the pirate at sea, who is considered the enemy of man, and ought to be treated accordingly. such a reply would be worthy of the indignity offered to your wife, and worthy of yourself—a short time will unfold all the villainous course of calhoun Ingham and Co. They will stop at nothing, but my dear Andrew they cannot injure me, or move Pennsylvania. Doctor Randolph has cleared himself from the thralldom of office, and is now clear to protect his own private rights, and that of his family. The secrete slanderers, I am told on this being known, have opened their eyes. Randolph has displayed the feelings of a high minded honorable man. he despises office when it comes in contact with the protection of character. I have just learned, that the citizens (a number of Claymen) as well as Jacksonians, united with the military and civil officers, intend giving Eaton a dinner if he will accept it. Major Eaton will leave here for Nashville in a few days.

I am not very well. give my compliments to Emily, mary Easton and the sweet little ones, and to all my connection and neighbours
your affectionately

P. S. the Papers of all politics are belabouring Ingham. The Pennsylvania presses as well as those of Newyork—he is *smashed*, rely upon it. I hope Branch may escape his fate. I knew that Calhoun would destroy all those who sailed in his wake, he has no common sense, but great depravity of heart—this will be shewn.

TO MARTIN VAN BUREN.¹

WASHINGTON, July 11, 1831.

My D'r sir, I have to acknowledge the receipt of your kind letter of the 21st ult. with Col Moors letter inclosed, which was sent to me at the Rip Raps, from whence I returned on the 7th instant, and this moment I have recd. your very interesting letter of the 2nd instant which I have hastily read, and now give it a partial answer.

The first intimation I have had of the enemy attempting to hold out the idea that my confidence was lessened in you, was your letter just received. You are aware that I never read the papers, that diffuse falshood, rather than truth. therefore the groundless rumor had never reached my ear. since you left me, I have been visited by many; at the Rip Raps many from Richmond va, and Norfolk came to see me. when your name was introduced, my opinion was frankly given, from which no one could believe my confidence was lessened in you. I have no doubt, it would be pleasing to our enemies if they could circulate the report, and obtain belief in it, that our confidence in each other, had been interrupted; I shall now take some pains (having heard of the wicked attempt; without seeming to do so) to shew that my confidence have not been lessened, but increased—this will meet the falshood, and have no injurious effect, but a good one,

¹ Library of Congress, Van Buren MSS.

in putting down the falshood. It is fortunate that our enemies have lied so long, that their untruths do *good* rather than harm.

The disgraceful course of mr Ingham, has, and will forever prostrate him. I am humbled when I reflect that a man who stood so high in good old Pennsylvania, and was exalted to a seat in the cabinet, has been so vindictive and destitute of common sense, as to adopt, the degrading course he has, so disgraceful to himself, and the nation. I trust you will see that the whole course I have adopted in this matter, is calm and proper. You will see the moment I found he was writing letters, and having them published before they reached me, I directed mr Trist to answer his last, and thus, closed the correspondence. When you read it, you will find he has no regard to the truth of the facts but wishes me to become a prosecutor in his stead, and hold forth to the world that I keep the clerks under duress from giving testimony. I refer you to the correspondence which you will find in the *Globe*.

I have ordered the Potomac to be at Newyork on the first of august next, to take you to England. in this ship, as a mark of my confidence, I wish you to sail, but I am afraid it will not be in my power to meet you there. we have letters of the 30th of may from mr McLane, at which date, he had not recd our despatches asking him to come home, and to accept of the Treasury Dept. made vacant by the resignation, or as mr Ingham would say, his dismissal.

Judge White has finally declined. Col Drayton was then offered the war office, declined, and Governor Cass appointed,¹ who I suppose, will accept. Tanney has been appointed atto. Genl. Mr. Berrien has resigned and acted well on the occasion; his first letter to Eaton was a deep, *considered*, diplomatic letter, but his last, frank and honorable. The contrast has sunk Ingham. Govr. Branch, in his Parthian flight, has weakened himself, in Carolina, and it is supposed Bynam will beat him for Congress—he is *sick*, but able, (as high authority says) to circulate slander against me. it will recoil upon himself, it has its antidote, if well used.

Major Eatons decorous and firm course has raised him in the est[i]mation of the citizens here, and elsewhere, and prostrated Ingham. The citizens, here, I am told, have offered him a dinner, whether he will accept it, I have not heard. Judge Overton is with me, goes to Philadelphia tomorrow, unless major Eaton accepts of the dinner, and as major Barry goes with him, may be detained a day or two. he sends his kind respects to you, he is much mended. Mr Rhea is at home in improved health, awaiting the *answer to his letter*, which he will, *now* never receive, or if mr Monroe had lived, my opinion was, he would not answer, because he could not deny the statement made in mr Rheas letter, and silence was the only course. I have no doubt but mr Calhoun was advised of it. he is pursuing his old course, of secrete writing, and slandering me, I have a few extracts from his letters sent to me, which in due time, will aid in *finishing the picture, I mean to draw of him*. I said to him in my reply to his letter “when leisure would permit, and the documents were at hand, I

¹ Lewis Cass, of Ohio, was commissioned Secretary of War Aug. 1, 1831, and served till Oct. 4, 1836.

would present a different colouring to the subject, than he had given to it." *I will fulfil my promise.* You may rest assured Duff Green, Calhoun and Co, are politically dead. Mr Earle and major join in kind respects to you and sons and accept the assurance of my friendship and esteem

I write this in haste with an excruciating head ache. I have no time to copy, and you must accept the hasty scrawl just as it is, and decypher it as well as you can. I will write you soon again yr friend

TO JOHN H. EATON.

WASHINGTON, July 14, 1831.

Sir, Mr Ingham in a letter to me of the 21st of June last recd on the 22d, has charged certain public officers, he says, *friends and associates of yours*, with being armed with the design to assail and assassinate him etc. Before you leave the city I have to request of you to state to me in writing whatever you may feel at liberty in justice to yourself to communicate on this subject. It may become necessary in justice to you, to him and to the public, that I should, fully investigate this matter, which he has so earnestly demanded, and to which inquiry I am cheerfully disposed, that the innocent may be shielded, and the guilty, when ascertained, properly dealt with.

I am very respectfully yrs

ALFRED BALCH TO JACKSON.

LOUISVILLE, KY., July 21, 1831.

My Dear Sir, In passing from Washington to this place, I enjoyed the opp'y of seeing many persons from all parts of the country and more especially from Virginia, thro which state, I travelled for four hundred miles. I am entirely satisfied that the old Dominion remains true to our cause, the secret efforts of Govr Floyd to the contrary notwithstanding. Nevertheless, I feel my self bound by my regard for your person and interests to say, that those who are most attached to you, are the most distressed at the late events at Washington. Those scenes however will not be re-acted. Great efforts have been made, to induce the people to believe that there exists at Washington "a power behind the throne greater than the throne itself." This is always the resort of cunning and unprincipled adversaries. It is my most decided opinion that Major Lewis should set up an establishment for himself ¹—should until the close of the next session of Congress disconnect himself from you and see you only in a ceremonious manner. It is also my opinion that Mr Kendall should

¹ This advice seems to have been taken; for Lewis's daughter, Ann Maria, writing in reply to Jackson's invitation for her to stay at the White House during an approaching visit to Washington, said, Dec. 3, 1831:

"*My dear Uncle,* A thousand thanks for your kind offer which I accept with pleasure at least for a short time but I am afraid the house will be too full, if so I beg you will tell me and I will go and stay with Papa. He wrote me that if I wished it he could get me a very nice room at Burroughs where he is going to stay or is staying: I shall be in Washington the last of this month."

attend *only* to the duties of his office and let you wholly alone, And that Dr Jones should be exclusively employed in sorting letters. Let me not be misunderstood. I interfere with no mans friendships or emoluments. Let these gentlemen serve the country. But, let them also suppress the clamour made by the public and pa[r]ticularly by thousands of your own *jealous* friends, by leaving you for a season. I pray My Dear Genl, most earnest[ly] and affectionately that this course may be instantly adopted. In passing thro the Presidents house and noting the state of matters there, I perceived the want of a presiding Lady in the establishment. The presence of ladies will prevent intrusions, to which I perceive that you are exceedingly liable. It is true Mr Jefferson had no females with him but it must be recollected that Washington was a small place when he was in office and that for every *politician* then we have 20 now.

As Woodbury has but little of the *suaviter in modo*, Barry must take a new position next winter so that he will be able to see our friends in Congress and gratify their vanity by saying pleasant things to them and giving them every now and then a Bite. The shortest road to the hearts of half mankind is down their throats. All experience proves this remark to be true. The battle next winter will be hot enough. It becomes us to prepare for it by putting our friends in Congress in *training*. Calhoun is one of the worst of enemies. He is as restless as a guilty mans soul. His personal affections are given to all the ignorant and enthusiastic. It is high time that his views should be developed and his real character understood by our friends. He is a spy in our camp and is worse than our open and decided enemies. The time will soon come when we shall make him wish he had never been born.

Our true policy now is to effect a union of action of all the *true* hearted, throughout the country and this will be best effected by a union of our *real* friends in Congress next winter. Let us clear our decks for action. Prepare our friends at Head quarters to move in a solid column. And there will not be the slightest danger. The policy of Calhoun is to create interruptions amongst ourselves. The game of McClean and Clay is to foment them. We must counteract these tactics and no longer suffer the glory of the measures of the admn to be obscurd by the clouds of our petty discontents. One great object of Calh. in publishing his "Book" was to call off the attention of the people from the masterly negotiations of the admn with foreign powers, and when an arrangement is made with France, he will play the same game. Next winter he will have some new plot—attempt some new scheme, in which his cold-blooded selfishness will predominate over his regard, (if any he has) for the interests of the Country. Mark it! you will see this prophecy verified as sure as you live.

When Eaton and his wife arrive I shall take such steps as will be most judicious. I cannot beleive that this poor fellows difficulties will again interrupt the public. It is impossible for me to suppose that Donelson and his wife will be absent from you more than 5 or 6 weeks longer. After I see him I will write you. Macomb and his wife sent a message by me to him and her which will have a prevailing influence upon their minds. In

a word I go for you and the cause of Liberty and the Country with all my heart and soul my mind and strength. . . .

Very sincerely yours

P. S. Please give my best regards to Trist, whose single heartedness and perfectly pure motives in all that he does entitle him to the confidence of all men of honor.

Also to Earl² the very soul of goodness and honor. Please tell him that I shall write him in a few days after I reach home.

TO MARTIN VAN BUREN.¹

WASHINGTON, July 23, 1831.

Private

My dear Sir, your kind letter of the 16th has been recd. and this day I intended to give it an answer; but just as I sat down, before sermon, the Southern mail brought me the resignation of Mr Frost atto. for the District of So Carolina, assigning as a reason therefor, that two men, not regular merchants, had imported some goods, gave their bond for the duty, and refused payment, on the ground that the Tariff was unconstitutional, therefore the bond void. The collector handed over the bond to mr Frost for suit, and he, refusing to bring it, has tendered his resignation. This subject has engrossed my hours that I intended to employ in answering your letter. The question first that occurred to me, was, to direct an agent to institute the suit, refuse his resignation, and impeach him for neglect of duty, but the better I think will be to accept his resignation, appoint another, and send instructions to bring the suit, and prosecute it with energy—in the mean time send on a private agent to look and enquire, and take the necessary testimony to expose all who are engaged in this act of intended Treason against our Government. Doctor Davis writes me, Mr Calhoun is at the bottom of this thing, it is the ground and plan he advocated here, the two last sessions of Congress. *The union shall be preserved.*

I have conversed with mr Livingston on the subject of the permission you ask. it will be granted, and incorporated in your instructions.

We all thought here that Berrien was retiring like a Gentleman, but it appears that birds of a feather flock together, and if ever he was a man of truth, or honour, his evil communications has corrupted his morales, for with the exception of Ingham, he is as regardless of truth as any other in society. Blair and him has broke a lance at each other—tomorrows Globe will reply to him. Berrien has pressed himself into this business, expecting to make the Issue between the Tellegraph and Johnston and become a witness, and a good one he would be, if he had not destroyed his own credit, but Blair keeps him as the principle, and makes Johnston his, Berriens, witness, he having first introduced him. Berrien, if I judge right, will be sorry for his course before he gets clear of it. Ingham is prostrate in Pennsylvania, and Branch and Berrien will follow him.

² See vol. III., p. 39n.

¹ Library of Congress, Van Buren MSS.

Branch would, it is said, have been beaten by Bynum, but Bynum, on the appli[ca]tion of mutual friends withdrew, [to] save Branch, by electing him, and [a m]an who would beg an election, is a fit coadjutor for Ingham and Berrien who have combined to certify, or swear, for each other, as occasion may require. I have your likeness hung up in my room, and it appears to look, and smile upon me as I write. But this exposure does not sit well with Duff Green and Co. With my respects to your sons, if with you, and Col Hamilton and family, believe me your friend

TO ANDREW J. DONELSON.¹

WASHINGTON, July 27, 1831.

My D'r Andrew, Yours of the 13th instant is just recd. I am happy you are with your dear family and that they are in good health.

I have only time to draw your attention to the passing scenes here. I was in hopes mr Berrien would have retired as a gentleman, but he has shewn the combination and conspiracy from the commencem't of which I often told you, was intended to injure me, and has afforded abundant proof, of what little confidence I ought to have had in the trio, and that when I met them in my office, that I ought to have had some respectable witness always present to have shielded me from their falshoods, and slanders. Ingham is prostrate in his own state, and I apprehend no injury from the others. remember my dear Andrew, how much I expostulated with you and your family; I knew the base hypocrisy of this wor[l]d, I knew their intention but I did not know that my Cabinet, like J. C. Calhoun was smiling in my face, and secretly endeavouring to destroy, but I knew you and your family were operated upon to join the combination to my injury. I endeavoured to prevent it. The trio well knew I would not permit Eaton to be drove out of my Cabinet, and if they could not harmonise that they ought to have retired, but I knew their plans, if they can profit by their treachery, they cannot injure me. I have not long to live, and [am] wearied with treachery.

One passing word on your letter where it says you cannot comply with my wishes as it respects the intercourse with mrs. Eaton. now my Dr. Andrew, I never have attempted to interfere with your intercourse in society and in the world unless as a member of my family, and surely you would not attempt to controle me, and in mine. The only intercourse I asked was to treat all the heads of Departments and their families (you and family being part of mine) with the same comity, and this is a right I claim, yielding the same to all others, that I never will, or can resign to any, and had I enforced it at first, as I endeavoured by my counsel, which was rejected, I should have steered clear of many a heartrending pang. but I must close with a tender of my affectionate regards to Emily and the dear little children, believe me your friend and affectionate uncle, in great haste.

P. S. To have the misfortune to contend with such unprincipled men as I have, who was brought into my cabinet by the recommendation of White

¹ Library of Congress, Donelson Papers.

and Eaton in whom I had, and have confidence and am sure it never will be violated, and those I had adopted in my family produces reflections of the most bitter kind. I am just in receipt of a letter from an old friend near Dixsons spring² informing me that Genl Desha has stated that I wanted Genl D. S. Donelson to support Burton against Genl Hall. This is impossible, Daniel could have said so, because it is positively untrue, but it is intended to rouse the hostility of Hall against me. for this I care not, but I note it because it is positively not true. I never spoke with Daniel on such a subject. I have often, and still say, "a House divided against itself cannot stand. A J

TO DAVID BURFORD.¹

WASHINGTON, July 28, 1831.

Private

My Dear Sir: I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your very friendly letter of the 3rd Inst.; for which I sincerely thank you. It is only through such friends as yourself that I am informed of the *Slang* of the times, which is put forth for political effect. And as the surest evidence that I properly appreciate the motives which prompted your communication, and feel grateful to you for it, I snatch a moment, from the discharge of public duties, which press upon me, to answer it. Professed friends, but enemies in disguise, are much more dangerous than *open* enemies, and, untill detected, they are calculated to do most harm. I was not, therefore, astonished to receive the report you have given me of Genl. Desha. I have long since been advised of his being one of the Satellites of J. C. Calhoun, Ingham, and co. and hence you can well suppose that his course of conduct does, by no means, excite my surprise. It is only necessary to draw your attention to the recent movements of Duff Green, Ingham, Berrien, and Co, in order to convince you that no confidence ought *ever* to have been reposed in them, and, that, whenever they approached me, I ought to have had some man of truth present to have shielded me from their *Combined* misrepresentations and Slanders.

I am sure that there cannot be one honest man, in America, who does not *now* approve the "removal" of Ingham, Branch and Berrien from my Cabinet. It's harmony was disturbed and the public business interrupted by these men *secretly* entering into the intrigues of Mr. J. C. Calhoun. It is positively untrue that Ingham and Branch, as reported to you by Genl. Desha, were not invited to my Cabinet Council. There never was one to which they were not invited and at which they were not *present*. It is true that I had, and still have great confidence in Mr. Van Buren and Majr. Eaton; they never have and I am sure never will betray it. And it almost seems useless for me, after you have viewed the treacherous conduct of Ingham, Branch and Berrien, to inform you that they were wholly unworthy of the *least* degree of my confidence, and were the Secret agents

² See the next letter.

¹ The copy, signed by Jackson, is in Nicholas P. Trist's handwriting. Burford lived at Dixon's Springs, Tenn. He was prominent as a state politician and a few years later served as speaker of the state's senate.

of J. C. Calhoun to whose interest Genl. Desha was devoted, notwithstanding he well knew with what duplicity and hypocrisy Calhoun had acted towards me.

I will give you a few facts for your own information. You have seen Mr. Calhoun's *book* in which he places before the nation, the Correspondence between him and myself, accompanied with his own notes and comments to mystify it and bewilder and mislead the public mind; you have seen me charged, by him, with having transcended my orders on the Seminole campaign; you have seen him acknowledge (in his book) that it was him, and not Mr. Crawford, as was stated in the public journals of 1818, that moved my arrest, or punishment, in the secret Cabinet council held on that occasion, and this acknowledgement is made too after having denied to Genl. Desha (as the General informed me) that he ever had made such a motion; you have seen published in the same *book*, *without my consent*, my confidential letter of the 6th of January 1818 to Mr. Munroe, and an acknowledgement, by Mr. Calhoun, that he read this letter, and remarked to Mr. Munroe that it was on the affairs of Florida and required his attention and answer; you have perceived, in that confidential letter, that Mr. J. Rhea was mentioned as a confidential person through whom Mr. Munroe could, with safety, communicate to me his wishes, and my promise to execute them in sixty days after their receipt; and you have also seen the public orders under which I acted, and that they were a *chart Blanch*, by which, as Mr. Calhoun explained in a letter to Gov. Bibb, I was authorized to conduct the war as I pleased. My public orders were not only thus explained; but Mr. Calhoun (who was in the entire confidence of Mr. Munroe) must have known that Mr. Rhea, by the instructions of Mr. Munroe, had answered the confidential letter to which I have alluded, and fully approved the views I, therein, submitted.

It is clear then that Mr. Calhoun did know that I had not transcended my orders; but, on the contrary, had fulfilled them to a *tittle*, and accomplished the secret wishes of Mr. Munroe *expressed* to me thro' Mr. J. Rhea, who had been pointed out as an individual in whom the most implicit confidence might, safely, be reposed. What then can you think of Mr. Calhoun, who was capable, after being fully possessed of all this knowledge, and whilst, in all his letters to me and conversations with my friends, he professed the strongest friendship for me,² and approbated my conduct in the Floridas, of moving, in the secret cabinet council, my arrest or punishment, and thus causing the proceedings in Congress against me in 1818 and "19? It is this man of deceptive conduct, with his vacillation in politics, and nullification doctrines, whom Genl. Desha, Ingham, Duff Green, Berrien, and Co. wish to *force* into the Presidential chair. And their conduct indicates a determination to prostrate all who will not fall down and worship their Idol; but there is consolation in the reflection that

² If anyone doubts that Calhoun did indeed play the flatterer to Jackson during this period in which he was climbing into the vice-presidency and hoping for the presidency, let him read his letters to Jackson in this work dated Apr. 8, 1821, Mar. 30, July 31, 1823, and June 4, 1826, *ante* (vol. III., pp. 46, 193, 201, 304).

theirs is not the will of the people, who, (unlike themselves) having no motive to err, are honest, and, when informed, will award Justice to every man. But the duplicity of Mr. Calhoun did not end with the foregoing narration.

I came to this city by the advice of my friends in 1819, pending the debate in the house of Representatives on the resolutions of Clay and Cobb, and had the fullest and strongest confidence in the friendship and support of Mr. Calhoun. In the honesty of my own heart, and conscious of the purity of my own motives, I confided in Mr. Calhoun's professions of friendship and approbation of my conduct which I received from all quarters, and regarded him high minded and honourable, and could not, therefore, suppose him capable of duplicity, or hear, with patience, any insinuations against him. When thus innocent of the existence of any improper motive, and under the full influence of my confidence in Mr. Calhoun, Mr. Rhea (then in Congress) was sent to me to request that I would burn his confidential letter wrote to me, at the instance of Mr. Munroe, in answer to mine of the 6th of January 1818. The debate having ended in the house, and, conscious of no wrong in myself suspected none in others, I said to Mr. Rhea that it should be burned as soon as I returned home. And accordingly I did burn it, altho' Mr. Lacock had revived the subject in the senate. I could not indulge even a suspicion that this request, coming as it did from Mr. Munroe thro' Mr. J. Rhea, was made to injure me by depriving me of the benefit of the testimony contained in this letter; for I did believe that, should it ever be necessary for its contents to be known, neither Mr. Munroe or Mr. Calhoun would deny the existence of the facts. I was willing to assume any responsibility that the case might require so long as the government would retain, for the benefit of my Country, the advantages Secured to it by the Seminole campaign.

It is now believed that this subject was taken up in the Senate in consequence of the secret intrigues of Mr. Calhoun to arrest and crush, what he considered, my growing popularity, by counteracting, if possible, the effects which the decision of the House of Representatives might have on the public mind. But be this as it may, there is, surely, stronger presumptive evidence against Mr. Calhoun than he has against Mr. VanBuren in respect to "plots" with which he has charged him. The burning of this confidential letter or my promise that it would be burned was made known to Mr. Munroe by Mr. Rhea, and you perceive, from the Book of Mr. Calhoun, that the moment he is detected in his duplicity by the statement of Mr. Crawford (Mr. Rhea's letter being burned) he acknowledges "that he did move for my arrest or punishment," and adds insult to injury by urging that I had transcended my orders. Providence has permitted Mr. Rhea to live and see this *book*, and, on reading it, he addressed a letter to Mr. Munroe verifying all the facts stated in this letter on this subject, and has placed in my hands a certified copy of the Same. In corroboration of his statement, I have Judge Overton's certificate stating the existence of said letter, which, with other con-

fidential letters, was put into his hands when he wrote the defence of the Executive and his command'g Genl. on the Seminole War, and that this letter was in the proper hand-writing of Mr. J. Rhea, and that, after I returned from Washington in 1819, I told him I had burned it.

From this statement of facts, you will be able to judge, to some extent, of the capacity of Mr. Calhoun to intrigue, and whether he has not been crying plot, plot, plot when, at the same time, he has been plotting to disturb the harmony of my cabinet, to injure me, and to prevent the people, who have again, contrary to my wishes, placed my name before the nation for a second election, from electing me, and to secure his own elevation. If the people, in whose hands I have always been, prefer him to me I shall be content. If it be their will, founded on their unbiased judgement, I will, with pleasure, retire to my peacefull Hermitage. It is because Majr. Eaton would not become the suppliant instrument in the hands of Mr. Calhoun and support his ambitious views; and Mr. Van Buren, by a laborous attention to the duties assigned him, *had acquired for himself*, in connection with my administration, an elevated rank for his talents and skill in our arrangements with Foreign nations, that Ingham, Branch and Berrien, operated upon by Mr. Calhoun, were intriguing to destroy them, and injure me. Such injustice I never will countenance, nor will I ever support an intriguer whose sole object appers to be to raise himself on the ruins of others.

Regardless of what Genl. Desha may choose to say of my predilections, I declare to you that I meddle not with elections,³ I leave the people to make their own President, and my cabinet, so far as I can controal such matters, shall not interfere. We have enough to do when we confine ourselves to our own *proper* duties, and whenever any of my present cabinet, (none of whom do I suspect) like some of the last, become electionerers, and thus disturb its harmony, they shall, that moment, receive the same fate which has been decreed to others thus circumstanced. But I must close for the present with one passing remark in reference to the information given "that (I) had desired Genl. Daniel S Donelson to support Mr. Burton against Genl. Hall." I pronounce this statement positively untrue. I have never spoken to Genl. Donelson on the subject of the Canvass between Genl. Hall and Mr. Burton. The latter is married to the full cousin of Genl. Don[e]lson and a favourite Neice of My dear Mrs. Jackson, and daughter of her favourite brother whose welfare I most sincerely wish. In the election of her husband I have in no way or manner interfered. This letter is not for publication: but, if you think proper, you are at liberty to shew it to Genls. Desha and Donelson and Genl Hall as their names are mentioned in it.⁴ and such of your neighbours who may have been imposed on by Genl Deshas misrepresentation

I am, very Respectfully, Yr friend.

³ Burford had told Jackson that it was reported in Tennessee that he, Jackson, was taking part in a hotly contested canvass for speaker of the Tennessee senate.

⁴ The words from "and" to the end are in Jackson's handwriting.

COLONEL JAMES A. HAMILTON TO JACKSON.

NEW YORK, July 28, 1831.

. . . . I presume you will without difficu[1]ty find a lawyer in Charleston who as Atty for the US will commence suits on Revenue Bonds and if you can depend upon The Dist Judge (which by the way I doubt) These suits may be conducted to Judgt without the intervention of a Jury, such is our practice. By the 65 § of the act of Congress passed 2d March 1799, vol 3 US Laws Gordon p 289 § 1758, The Court is required to give Judgt *at the Return time of the suit*: unless the deft shall make affidavit then [that?] error has been committed in the liquidation of the Amt. of the duties, specifying such error and stating that it had been redr[e]ssed in writing to the Collector. Under this act our practise is at the Return of the suit the Deft being in Custody or having given special Bail (and to avoid any difficulty as to that I would advise that in cases of undoubted solvency the Marshal should be authorised to permit the deft to indorse his appearance on the back of the writ) for the Dist atty to file his Declaration in open Court and on doing so to move for a Rule that the Deft plead *instanter* and no plea being put in an affidavit (as pointed out by statute) instantly to move the Court that the Defts Default in not pleading be entered and for a Rule for Judgt which the Court grants immediately. The Record is then signed and filed, the Judgt is for the Penalty of the Bond and the Costs which are taxed by the Court, And The execution issues with directions to the Marshal endorsed on the back to collect the amount of Duties actually due with Int and Costs. There can be no difference in any Court in any part of the US as to the practice under this act. It gives a rule of proceeding for them all which they must adopt notwithstanding it may be wholly different or repugnant to the rules of practice in the different states. It will be attempted to get the Cause to a Jury by pleading *non est factum*. I would however insert under the same law that the Court ought not to receive such a plea unless the deft would swear that he had not executed the Bond and if such an affidavit was made I would move the Court to impanel the Jury immediately and proceed to prove the execution of the Bond by the subscribing witness and that being done The Court would reject all other evidence except as to the main fact, did the deft *sign seal* and [*deliver*] and the Jury could not hesitate to give a verdict [and wou]ld then move for the Committal of the Deft for Perjury.

If the Judge would do his duty he would make short work of the Cause in this manner. He could not legally allow any testimony to be given under the General issue in relation to the purpose for which the Bond was given and no address to the Jury (not a word) beyond the Question whether the deft executed *that* paper or not.

I cannot hold up my head longer to write and must therefore close by subscribing myself with the truest attachment your friend

JOHN C. McLEMORE AND JOHN BELL TO JACKSON.¹

NASHVILLE, July 29, 1831.

My Dear Friend, Your kind letter of the 4th Inst. came duly to hand and I have purposely delayed its answer for Mr. Balches's return to whom I am referred by Judge Overton's letter which you inform me in yours contain substantially your opinions and feelings with regard to the difficulties supposed to exist between you and your connections in relation to a subject which has given us all so much pain, and also for the purpose of conferring fully and freely with Majr. Donelson and our much esteemed friend Colo. John Bell who on all occasions has shewn himself the true friend of your administration and an honest desire to keep your friends and particularly your connections United and in whose judgement I have great confidence. after a seeing all your recent letter to Majr. Donelson and understanding distinctly his feelings and opinions with regard to the difficulties to which you have referred, Mr. Bell, Mr Balch and myself have after the most mature reflection urged it on Majr. Donelson to set out with his family for Washington without farther correspondence, just as he did at the commencement of your administration, as a part of your family. We doubt not that his course and that of his family will be such as to afford no uneasiness to yourself or any just protest for the censure of your enemies. We think there is no necessity for the specification of terms on one side or the other. If on pursuing the course advised, Majr. Donelson shall go on to the city contrary to your wishes, we and *not him are to blame*. Mr. Bell as an evidence of his hearty concurrence with these views, has subscribed his name to this letter with me.

Most sincerely and affectionately your Friend

TO SECRETARY LIVINGSTON.

WASHINGTON, August 1, 1831.

The President with his respects to the Secretary of State, and begs to bring to his view a regulation adopted at the commencement of his administration—"That where any officer under the Government, (Clerk or others) contracted debts and have failed to pay them, and has taken the benefit of the insolvent debtors act, that he should be forthwith removed"—The debt being contracted under this administration. It is reported that a Mr Ruggles in the Patent office, has been guilty of a violation of this rule. Please have enquiry made as it appertains to your department, and if truly reported, as to him, or any other, Let them be removed.

TO ANDREW J. DONELSON.¹

WASHINGTON, August 6, 1831.

Private.

Dear Andrew, You have seen, ere this, in the public journals, the correspondence between the Editor of the Globe and mr Berrien, and also the statement of mr Ingham, with Governor Branchs confirmation of the

¹ Library of Congress, Donelson Papers.¹ *Ibid*.

statement generally, without any specification of what part of Berriens, he alluded to; and you will have seen in the *Tellegraph* of last evening, mr Branchs statement wherein he says, that at the meeting requested by me of Ingham Branch and Berrien, that there was no paper read to him by me. It would seem, that, the various meetings mr Berrien says he had with Ingham and Branch were to *compare notes*, that no *inconsistancy* might appear; it is supposed they were, rather, to make agreements, that they should certify, and swear for each other, as occasion might require, for mr Ingham states in his expose made several days before any thing was said in the *Globe*, that Col Johnston told him I had prepared a statement in writing, *which I had read to him*, and which on the proposed meeting, I intended to read to them.

The fact is, I had so prepared the paper, read it to col Johnson, and at the meeting with Ingham, Branch and Berrien from the same paper in my hand, made the statement to them. it was reduced to writing by the advice of my faithful friends, that nothing should be said on the occasion but what was proper for me to say, and to correct any improper conceptions that might be taken up by any one. Surely there never was any man, who was surrounded by three as unworthy, faithless, and dishonorable men. Ingham is disgraced, and Berrien is equally so—the *southern Hotspur*, on major Eatons call, has proven *craven*, as I am informed, or, in other words, *has refused to meet Eaton*.

But anough of this; the object of this letter, is to request you to give me, the information derived from mr Branch mr Ingham, or Berriens conversation with you, so far as it was not confidential, for altho they have violated all confidence reposed, and has stated things positively untrue, (indeed, mr Ingham has put on the character of a *real roudy*) still my son, nothing that was given to you in confidence, do I want you to disclose, but what I wish you to relate is, whether in the conversation with you on the subject of the interview with me, mr Branch did not relate that I made the following statement—to wit, after giving them the information derived from members of Congress of the combination formed with a Foreign lady, and them, to degrade major Eaton and his family, and also, the parties being given as predicted, and major Eaton and his family not invited, whether Governor Branch, Ingham etc, did not relate the following as the statement made by me to them, after we met and the reasons as above stated given, as the cause for the interview with them, from the paper in my hand, *I said to them*, That the course pursued by them towards major Eaton and his family as reported to me, (and before related to them), was in my opinion under the circumstances not only unjust in itself, but disrespectful to myself.

The ground upon which this opinion is founded are substantially these. I do not claim the right to interfere in any manner in the domestic relations, or personal intercourse of any member of my cabinet, nor have I in any way attempted it. But from information, and my own observation on the general course of events I am fully impressed with a belief that you and your families, have in addition to the exercise of their own undoubted rights in this respect, taken measures to induce others to avoid intercourse with mrs. Eaton, and thereby sought to exclude her from society, and

degrade him. It is impossible for me, upon the fullest and most dispassionate view and consideration of this subject, to regard this course in any other light than a wanton disregard of my feelings, and a reproach of my official conduct. It is I, that have without solicitation or desire on his part, called major Eaton into my Cabinet, and it is I, that with the fullest conviction of the injustice of the imputations which, as I firmly believe malice and envy have cast upon his wife, continue him there. If her character is such as to justify active measures on the part of the members of my Cabinet to exclude her from virtuous society, it is I, who am responsible to the community for this alledged indignity to public morales. I will not part with major Eaton from my Cabinet, and those of it, who cannot harmonise with him had better retire, for harmony I must have in my Cabinet. It is vain to attempt to disguise the true aspect of the question, and it is not in my nature to do so if I could; nor can I consent to harbour any feelings toward those with whom I am in the daily association, without distinctly expressing and apprising them of those opinions—my whole life has been at variance with such a course, and I am too old to practice it now. I must cease to respect myself when I find I am capable of it. Therefore have I sought this interview to assure you, if there are any truth in the report that you have entered into the combination charged, to drive major Eaton from my cabinet, that I feel it an indignity and insult offered to myself, and is of a character, that will remain hereafter to be considered.

I ask you to give to me, mr Branches, and others, relation of what passed at the interview, and whether it was not substantially as above stated, and whether they did not admit in their reply, that they denied having any intention to degrade Eaton and his family, or do them any injury in society; that they, situated as they were, would be the last men to attempt such a thing, and whether it was not named, by mr Ingham, that he could not controled his wife as to her social intercourse etc. etc. and if mr Branch Ingham etc. has not on all occasions when speaking of this matter admitted, that in my reply I protested against any interference in such matters, that it was the right of all to select their society, but all I wanted was harmony in my Cabinet, that I would have, and he and all others might rest assured I never would part with major Eaton, or should he be drove out of my cabinet by any combination that had, or might be formed against him. It was again repeated by the Gentlemen, that they would be the last men who would do any act with a design to injure Major Eaton, and hereafter their course would be such as to prevent such idea being formed by members of Congress etc. etc. etc. If you are with mr Bell, I would thank you to submit this to him, and ask him if Gov Branch has not on all occasions, in conversation with him, acknowledged the facts I have stated here, to have been those I stated to him, Ingham etc.

I believe there are not an honest man in society who has not approbated the dissolution of my Cabinet, and none there are, that does not admit, how unfaithful mr Ingham and Berrien have acted towards me. I am sure Gov Branch to me, will not deny the statement here made, and whilst making it, I held the paper open in my hand from which I read it, whether mr Branch or Ingham saw it or not—is the truth

make my kind respects to Emily and the sweet dear little ones and to all friends and believe me affectionately yours

P. S. I will be happy to receive your reply as early as convenient. It is said Col Johnstons is on his way hither. the citizens are preparing a dinner for him at Philadelphia. *Berrien will not like to see him*, he has had enough with Eaton and more than he will like for the Hotspurs of the south to know.

WORDEN POPE TO JACKSON.

LOUISVILLE, August 6, 1831.

Dear Sir, It is not my wish or intention to trouble you. I expect my communications, to go with you, for no more than they are worth. You are indentified, in a high responsibility, with the interests of the Union. You need, nay, cannot do without the aid of *friends* to administer the Government, for your own Glory and the happiness of the Nation. In writing to you, I keep in view, that we are *friends, and citizens* of a common Country; and but exercise a privilege granted by you. I ask no answers in return. Each letter is the first draught and no *copy* is preserved. With these preliminary remarks, I will state some matters for your own Eye.

It was the object of your enemies, to obtain against you, majorities, in the senate and House of representatives of the United States and in the Legislatures of the states. I was aware, that we should have a dreadful conflict in Kentucky; and that a great battle would be fought here, to defeat Wickliffe.¹ Our adversaries had no man of talents and influence, in their ranks, who could run in sight of Wickliffe. Mr. Thruston, my brother-in-law, was *flattered* into an opposition to Wickliffe. It was done to effect a division, between Thruston and myself and our friends. It was a sore event to me. My sons remained with me. We were successful, in all but our city representative. In him we are beaten. The conduct of our enemies was *shameful*. The polls were opened at the unusual hour of between seven and eight OClock, in the morning. sixty or seventy voters were concealed, in the court-House, and permitted to vote before those from without, were admitted. The place of admission, was blocked up, by Clay-Bullies and those who had voted, against Jackson voters, for nearly the whole of the first day. I twice informed the Judges, without effect, of the conduct of those Bullies—sixty or seventy Clay-voters were admitted by a back window, and voted, at the very time a violent struggle was going on at the door to obtain admission. In this manner, and with the *influence* of the Bank, our adversaries obtained a great majority in the city. I had a *personal conflict*, with an *arrogant* merchant of this place, who was with and encouraging the Bullies; and which opened the way to a more equal exercise of suffrage on the part of our friends.

It was the *influence* of the Bank which beat us, in this City. The merchants, mechanicks and Steam Boat characters are greatly indebted to, and interested in that Institution. The *fears* of debtors mechanicks and the

¹ Charles A. Wickliffe, member of Congress 1823-1833, 1861-1863; Postmaster General Sept. 13, 1841-Mar. 6, 1845.

laboring classes were operated upon. This course, was commenced, and carried on, *secretly* for about two weeks before the Election. They were told that the question was "No Bank" or "Jackson". Their printed Ticket, was headed, "protection to home industry, Internal improvements, Commerce, Bank of the United States;" *for the City*. This was not on their Ticket for the County. The party publick[ly], hura'd for "Thruston and the Bank". altho' the opposition has been defeated at this point, yet it is believed that they have obtained a majority in Congress, and in our State-Legislature. But I feel certain that their success will not answer Mr Clays objects. It may keep others off, and Mr Clay on the turf. This is what I want.

I must be candid. It is the duty of honor and friendship. I did most seriously and painfully regret that the *Bank* had any place in your message. To me, it seemed premature and unnecessary. But we could have weathered its effects here, had it not have been for Mr Blairs attack on this Branch. The charge was untrue, and it enabled our opponents to wield it against and attack us, here. On the subject of the re-charter of the Bank, you already know my deliberate and fixed opinion. I fear the recurrence of the events, to which birth was given, nearly all over the Union, by the refusal to re-charter the Old Bank in 1811. Few men can contend for fundamental law, in opposition to expediency. The proof of this, is found, in the rejection of the act for re-charter in 1811 and the charter of the present Bank, in 1816. Ignorance is always controuled by expediency. *Necessity* for a thing overrules the soundest understandings. If you should reject the Charter of a Bank, it would be granted the very first session after you retire. If this Bank shall expire, every state will charter Banks the frauds and the depreciated paper of which, will drive the people, as in 1816, to a like Bank. You are not responsible for the construction given to the constitution, on that subject. That instrument, like all others, must receive expositions; and that has been the case, twice, in reference to the Bank. Mr Madison, whose wisdom, prudence and patriotism, ought not to be questioned, yielded to it. . . .

TO SECRETARY LIVINGSTON.¹

AUGUST 7, [1831] 10 o'clock p.m.

(Private)

Dr Sir, I am this moment informed that on the removal of Mr. Ruggles on Saturday, a clerk in the patent office, a Mr. Walker² was appointed to fill the vacancy, and the commission sent to Mr. Craig,³ which he has retained, owing to the excitement that this appointment has created.

It appears from information given to me that Mr. Walker has acted fraudulently in Baltimore, and has taken the benefit of the insolvent debtors law, and is one of the most violent abusers of the administration. Duff Green is about to open his batteries against us, and intends to charge

¹ From the collection of the letters and papers of Edward Livingston, preserved at his former residence, Montgomery Place, Barrytown, N. Y.; printed by the kindness of Brigadier-General John Ross Delafield.

² Samuel P. Walker.

³ John D. Craig, commissioner of patents. At this time the Patent Office was in the Department of State.

this as a doceur to buy over Mr. Gales. It will not do to appoint bad characters where there are so many applicants of good character, and also fill our Departments with spies and traitors. The object of this note, is to bring to your view the facts of this case, that you may early on to-morrow write Mr. Craig and recal the appointment until full inquiry be had into this matter, thereby prevent the odium of making such appointments. In haste

Your friend

TO MARTIN VAN BUREN.

WASHINGTON, August 8, 1831.

My D'r Sir, I am in the receipt of your kind letter of the 4th instant, and for your kind expressions and good wishes, I present you my thanks.

I have had the pleasure of seeing and greeting Mr. McLane arrival here, in vigorous health from whom I learn the superior comforts of a passage in a fine packet ship, compared with that of one of our Frigates, therefore, for your comfort, I am gratified in your choice, notwithstanding my desire of sending you out in the fine Frigate Potomac. I hope a kind providence will preside over your destinies, protect and prolong your useful life, restore you to your country in due season, when the People will fully appreciate your merits, when the present organised corps of designing Demagogues, for political effect, will have ceased to cry plot, plot, to hide their own intrigues and injure you. They have fell into the pite they dug for you. Before your return Duff Green and Co. will be burried in the oblivion of forgetfulness for the profligate and wicked course they have pursued, whilst you will be and remain, in the full affections of the People of these United States.

The course pursued by Ingham, Branch and Berrien has truly astonished me and as far as I have seen, disgusted the whole people. I never could have supposed, until they told the *tale*, that they were secretly taking notes, visiting each other, consulting together, and comparing notes, and statements to reconcile them to each other, (I suppose regardless of truth) so that, at some future day they might certify, or screen for each other, as occasion might require, regardless of the truth of the case. Was there ever such a dishonorable combination before, and with such unblushing offrontery to acknowledge it? But the most barefaced impudence is, their denying that the statement I had committed to writing was made known to them when invited to the interview. I made the statement to them from the paper in my hand resting on my knee. You will recollect, I had prepared the statement to send to them, when, on consulting with you and Eaton, you remarked, it would be better to send for them, and have no communication with them in writing, but from the prepared statement on paper to make it to them, that nothing improper, or more than I intended, should be said to them. I took this course, sent for them. Ingham and Branch came first, when from my paper in my hand, resting on my knee, I made the communication to them, first, bringing to their view the information received, that had induced the interview, And when Berrien came, to him I made the same communication. I thought it some

what extraordena[r]y at the time that they did not all come together, and afterwards, as it is on my mind, I related the whole circumstances to you. But that the statement from the paper prepared, was made to the three gentlemen, are positively true, in which was distinctly avowed by me, that with the regulation of the private intercourse of their families, or that of society, I solemnly protested against. with that I never had or would I interfere. This I aver to be true, their statement, "that they saw no paper in my hand," to the contrary, notwithstanding, and on the back of the paper made the endorsement, read to them, and their assurance that they would be the last men who would do an act intentionally, to degrade Major Eaton, or injure him and his family in society and *therefor not dismissed*.

What situation was I placed in, having three such men amongst my confidential advisers comparing notes, reconciling their statements, fearful of contradicting each other that they might lie and swear for each other, if occasion should require and prevent detection.

I cannot but *regret your seperation* and that of *Major Eaton from me*, but with the Gentlemen selected, who are now all with me, and in whom I have great confidence, I trust, I will be able to navigate the national vessel into a safe harbour before I leave her. None of these surely will keep *notes*.

You are aware My D Sir how irksome to my feelings and wishes it is for me to be here. The unworthy course of some of my professed friends, who urged me from my chosen retirement, aided in placing me here, has filled me with sincere regret, and I am now convinced that their support in conjunction with Duff Green, Ingham and Co, were with the sole view to put down Mr. Adam's and Clay by which the way would be opened to their idol Calhoun to his ambitious views, his popularity not being sufficient to effect it; and all, *now*, who will not worship this idol are to be destroyed, or lyed down, if their intrigues can accomplish it? How many faithless recreants we find in our passage thro life. But with all my partialities for retirement, I see, I cannot retire now, or at the end of my term as you are aware my wishes dictate. I will not be driven by my enemies; and contra[r]y to the expressed wishes of the People, I cannot withstand, but should the people again elect me, the national debt paid, and the Bank question settled, you will see me adopt a course worthy of myself, and the principles I have always advocated.

Before you sail let me hear from you. give me your views fully and freely, if confidential, your letter will be destroyed. Give me your recollection of the statement I made to you after the interview I had with Ingham, Branch, and Berrien, and also, that which preceeded it, and my statement being prepared in writing with the conversation I had with you on this subject, and if you have held any conversation with those men since give there relation of the interview, and what they observed that I said to them. If your conversation were not confidential, if it was of that nature, I am sure you will not reveal it, or would I ask it.

I had a hope Berrien would have retired like a gentleman, but his course has proven to me that he is as great a stranger to what constitutes one, as he is to consistency and truth? Who could have supposed, that he, who was

dancing around and about me with so much apparent friendship, on all public occasions, and with so much officiousness as Mr. Berrien, could have come into office with the base views he now avows, to drive Major Eaton out of office, who had brought him in, and to whom daily he was professing so much kindness and friendship as he was to Major Eaton? *What a wretch!* This *southern hotspur*, will not fight—he appears to think too much of his sacred person to risk it. It is said Eaton has put him to the test, he declines. My Creed is true—there never was a base man a brave one, and Berrien has proved craven.

I shall expect you to write me before you sail. I take this occasion to present you with my best wishes and prayers for you[r] safety, prosperity and happiness thro life and a happy immortality beyond the Grave. Your friend sincerely

TO MARTIN VAN BUREN.

WASHINGTON, August 10, 1831.

Private

my D'r sir, Mr Livingston left us this morning half past 5 oclock, and Mr Preble waited upon me at 10 oclock a.m. not having seen Mr. Livingston. Mr Preble, has communicated to me, that he was informed, thro a channel in which he confides, that the British Government had made known to the King of the Netherlands that they would accept the award, and presented to him their thanks, for the *justice he had done them*. If this be so, then the British Government have been prevented by the protest of mr Preble from making their acqu[i]escence known to us. It will be all important that the British Government should first move in this matter, therefore at an early day after your reaching London it will be well to bring to the view of the minister, the propriety of their making their determination (of adhering to the award) known to us, by which we will be relieved from the delicacy that exists, as it respects the State of Main, from having to present to the Senate, our intentions of adhering to the award, before the intention of Great Britain is made known. I cannot but believe, that upon this being delicately hinted to the British minister, that he will not hesitate on the subject, and your good judgment will, at a Glance, see the advantage it will afford us in presenting this subject to the senate.¹

I wrote you by mr Livingston with a charge that he would deliver it to you. You will, if he should forget it, ask him for it. I[n] haste your friend

P. S. I labour under a severe headache to day and you will excuse this scrawl A.J

¹ This letter refers to the award of the King of the Netherlands in the Maine boundary dispute, announced Jan. 10, 1831, and immediately protested by William P. Preble, our minister to the Netherlands. The decision was accepted by Great Britain, but the state of Maine met it with defiance. Jackson was willing to accept it and sought to hold back with one hand the legislature of Maine from acts of violence, while with the other he tried to push the agreement through the Senate. In the second process he failed, and the dispute was not adjusted until he had ceased to be President. When it was finally settled it was on nearly the same basis as the award of 1831.

GENERAL RICHARD G. DUNLAP TO JACKSON.

KNOXVILLE, TENN., August 10, 1831.

Private.

Dear Sir, Your letter of the 18th of July reach'd me on the eve of our elections—my engagements forbid me to take time to answer sooner. It now gives me pleasure to write in full, and in doing so I frankly confess that the kind feelings of your heart, so generously and openly avowed for your friends, which are so characteristic of the whole tenor of your life, merits and call up all my admiration for such noble friendship. Yes, this display of inflexible kindness almost conquers my objections to the continuance in office of the persons alluded to, and were I to consult my heart alone, and not your usefulness to my Country I would not murmur longer, but cherish the indulgence of your fidelity to friends that hold them around you.

I presume that Majr Eaton is a gentleman with a good heart and much better attainments and talent than his friends general[ly] award him.¹ But publick opinion seemed to rise in Judgement against his continuance in the war department, and this was the reason why I supposed he retired by the *consent of all parties*. Majr Eaton's Claims may not have merited this invitation, nor shall I pretend they did, but as the ruler of a free people I believed it to be better for you to obey the publick voice, and have men around you who could and would not only discharge the several duties of the different departments, but at the same time strengthen by their relation to the Country, the hopes of every patriot. This principle would give you aid, and not divide the popular usefulness of your name, between your cabinet and officers, and the leading measures of your administration. Fitness for responsible stations with the entire capacity to act out all incumbent duties, are not the only requisites, in popular Governments—the publick must have confidence, to ensure that approving support so essential to any administration.

I wish Majr Eaton all the joy and happiness in his retirement that can fall to the lot of any man. I am for my Country and not against him. As for Majr Lewis I am well advised that his Connection with you *does* and *has* and *will* affect you in Tennessee. Whether the fact be true or false (for one I do not believe that he has the influence attributed to him) the consequences are the same in publick opinion, and it is due to your own fame to your friends and Country to dispell the suspicions of the times. Mr Lewis is too feeble a man to have this station before the American people, suppose his heart to be as pure as angels. His friendship for you none will doubt. His supposed interference in elections *all must* to say the least against him doubt. This is the opinion that prevails, that Majr Lewis is your confidential friend and the fact that he lives with you,² give countenance to the charge that what he does is by your advice—you can readily

¹ Van Buren said, "Major Eaton was a man of moderate intellectual capacities but justly distinguished for the kindness, generosity and unobtrusiveness of his disposition and demeanour". Van Buren's *Autobiography*, p. 352.

² Whether as a result of this protest or not, Major Lewis moved his quarters from the White House Dec. 3, 1831. See also Balch to Jackson, July 21, 1831, *ante*.

my dear sir see the awfull effect of such suspicions, no less than a desire on the part of the executive to controll the elective franchise. No man in this nation I am satisfied would denounce and abhor such interference more than yourself.

Writing as I do for your ear, I feel bound to speak not alone for myself but what I know to be the opinion in Tennessee of your most *devoted friends*. I cannot and will not complain to you if you should act for these gentlemen and mantle them in the influence of your name, as I know the pure fountain from which your confidence in their usefulness and fidelity to you rises. All that I could do or would do, would be to hope that the publick had the same reason, that guides your generous feelings, to instruct the Country of their usefulness to you or your administration. I will quit this unpleasant theme with this assurance that my confidence is not in the least impaired in your unwavering patriotism nor in the final result of the publick usefulness of your administration, yet sir these little matters have had their effect in this district and I fear beat Mr Lea by a *Second Benedict*. . . .³

MARTIN VAN BUREN TO JACKSON.¹

NEW YORK, August 14, 1831.

my dear friend, I have received yours of the 8th instant and reply to it in the hustle and confusion occasioned by my approaching departure; and in the first place my dear Sir I shall not attempt an expression of my gratitude for the disinterested and persevering friendship, which has characterized your whole conduct towards me, and which is so strikingly exemplified in your last letter, a letter rendered the more valuable, from the circumstance, that, it is not only the last which I can expect to receive from you in this Country, but, may in the providence of God, be also the last, that I may ever receive from the same highly cherished and dearly valued source. Let it therefore suffice for me to assure you that the consciousness of your kindness, is treasured up in my heart, where, I trust, it will forever remain, unaffected by any matter or thing, that could by possibility weaken its force. There are various matters which press themselves upon my attention and upon which I desire to say something to you but which must of necessity be deferred to a more convenient season.

I will in the first place answer your queries in regard to the interview between Messrs. Ingham, Branch and Berrien and yourself, upon the subject of their course towards Mr and Mrs. Eaton. Neither with those Gentlemen, nor with Col Johnson, have I had any conversation, confidential or other wise, upon that subject. I recollect your sending for me one morning, and that when I arrived, I found you sensibly affected by an impression, which had been made upon your mind that, Messrs. Ingham, Branch and Berrien were taking measures, in concert, to exclude Mrs. Eaton from the Society of Washington. You stated to me in a general way, the grounds upon which that impression was founded, refering to general

³ Referring to Thomas D. Arnold, M. C. from Tennessee 1831-1833.

¹ Library of Congress, Van Buren MSS.

successive parties which had been given by those Gentlemen, and to information which had been given to you by others without naming them, and declared that, you felt it to be your duty, and had made up your mind, to interfere in a prompt and efficacious manner, to put an end to the proceedings of which you complained. You then shewed me a paper which according to my recollection was, in the form of a letter, to be addressed to those Gentlemen, expressive of your views and feelings upon the subject.

I do not remember to have seen that paper since, and cannot undertake to state with certainty its form, or contents. In one respect, however, I can, from the circumstance I am about to state, speak with more precision. I recollect that before reading the paper, it appeared to me that the manner in which you expressed yourself, might be contrued into an attempt on your part to controul those gentlemen in their personal associations, which, I believed, to be foreign to your wishes, and under that impression I suggested to you, the propriety of being altogether explicit upon that point, you at once disclaimed such a wish, and expressed your readiness to modify the paper, as to disavow any such intention, and to confine your complaint, in terms, to the supposed concert, on the part of those Gentlemen, to effect the object refered to, a course of conduct, which, you regarded as not only unjust towards mr and mrs. Eaton but, as being a direct attack upon yourself, for continuing in your Cabinet, a gentleman, towards whose family, such steps could be deemd justifiable. Expressions to that effect were introduced into the paper, which were I thought sufficient to prevent misapprehension, in regard to your views. It is my impression also, that, I took the further liberty of suggesting to you the propriety of substituting a personal interview, and a frank and free communication of your sentiments, in preference to a formal correspondence upon the subject, adding, that you might in that case, also, have the grounds you intended to take, previously stated in writing, that there might be less room for misapprehension, upon a point which, we both regarded as one of great delicacy. I left you according to my best recollection, either positively decided, or at least strongly inclined to adopt that course. It may be that the paper was drawn up whilst I was with you, and that my observations were founded upon your declarations, as to what you intended to say, but my best recollection is as I have stated.

Since that time, I have not seen the paper refered to, nor have I, my dear Sir, the slightest recollection that the subject was at any time afterwards made matter of observation between us. It is quite natural to suppose that such may have been the case, but I have as well before, as since, the receipt of your letter, thought much, upon the subject, and I cannot call to mind any thing that passed between us, in regard to your interviews with Messrs Ingham, Branch and Berrien, after they had taken place. It may well be that you informed me of what had transpired at them, but if you did, it has entirely escaped my recollection; and my belief is, that the matter being as you hoped, finally disposed of, and influenced by a wish, which, you have always manifested, not to press the general subject unnecessarily upon my attention, you thought it best to drop it altogether. I do not pretend to be accurate as to words, but believe that I am right

as to the substance of what I have stated. It is quite possible that I may have forgotten some things, and am mistaken in others; and under the pressure of public duties, in which I was then engaged it would not be strange if it were so; but I give it to you as I have it, wishing only, to be excused, for the confined manner in which it is done, and which, the circumstances under which I write render almost unavoidable.

One word more upon this subject. The anxiety of your friends that, you should not suffer yourself to be drawn into a newspaper controversy upon this subject, is intense and universal. They regard it as incompatible with your station, and uncalled for by any thing that has appeared. The time may come when you can with propriety say upon the subject what you deem proper; and the discussion of the question, whether your or their statement, in regard to the paper's having been shewn to them, be correct, may with entire safety be deferred to that period. That is not the question at issue, but a mere circumstance—that question is whether you did or did not attempt to regulate and controul their private and social intercourse, and upon that point, how does the case stand. Neither of the gentlemen assert that you either made such an attempt in your personal interviews with them, or either of them, nor that you admitted that you had done so through Col. Johnson; and he, the only person who can speak to the point, acquits you in the most solemn and emphatic manner, of any such act or desire. Can a reasonable and intelligent community require more? I think not.

It was my intention to have written you upon several matters but I find it to be impossible, situated as I am here. If I am not sea sick all the way, I shall do so on board of the ship, one point only I will notice now. I have no doubt that you will by the next packet receive information that the French Government have offered 25 millions of francs for satisfaction of our claim, and if the offer is not clogged with unreasonable conditions, I think you will, as I presume you ought to accept of it. The opposition of course, and the claimants, if they think it will be to their advantage, will raise a clamour agt. the amount. You will recollect that I have frequently spoken of an opinion which Mr Gallatin had expressed, that, three or four millions, would satisfy all the claims which we ought to insist upon. Deeming his opinion important and wishing to be correct I have spoken to him upon the subject and recd. for answer that, I must have confounded an opinion which Mr Crawford entertained, with the one expressed by him, that he thought 5 millions of dollars (a trifle more than the sum that will be offered) ought to satisfy us.

If we are not disappointed, the next question, and one of extreme importance will be, the manner of closing the concern. All future claims upon the U. S. ought by all means to be cut off, or the settlement will be, an injury, instead of a benefit to the Country. The mode of doing it must be fully and maturely considered, for whatever is done, will have to be exposed to the unceasing scrutiny of interested and able men. The original instructions are explicit and strong upon the point of its being done, but I am not certain that they point out the mode. They should be fully examined, and Mr Rives properly and fully instructed upon the point. I suggest for your reflection a relinquishment by France, by way

of abandonment of all the claim set up by her, couched in such terms, as to preclude the construction that compensation has been made to her in the reduction of the amount paid to us, and the acceptance by us of a certain sum in full satisfaction of all our claims, to be distributed among the claimants by Congress, according to principles established by that body, on a reference to the commission for the establishment of the principles themselves as well as to carry them into effect, etc. But all this can be more understandingly done with the various instructions and all the facts before you and I must from necessity close my letter.

I did intend to write to my friend Col Earle, to thank him for his kind letter and to beg him to write to me whenever he has leisure. Will you have the goodness to remember me affectionately to him and Major Lewis whom however I expect to see if the papers speak true as to his being on the way to this place. And to yourself in parting what can I say further than to pray God to have you in his constant and holy keeping, to prosper your efforts in the public cause in proportion to the purity of your motives and no greater success can be desired, and to bless you with a full share of happiness and prosperity in this world and a glorious immortality in that which is to come. With a heart which will I trust forever beat in unison with yours and a tender solicitude for every thing that concerns your welfare I bid you my dear friend an

Affectionate farewell,

TO COLONEL ANTHONY BUTLER.¹

WASHINGTON, August 24, 1831.

Confidential.

D'r Sir, We are without advice from you since your favour of June last.

I feel great anxiety with regard to the boundary between us and Mexico. It is very important that it should be permanently fixed, before the meeting of our next Congress. I cannot, therefore, refrain from again bringing it to your view, and urging that no pains be spared to accomplish this desirable object. The great exertions which are now making to fill that country with emigrants from all countries and climes, by those who hold, or rather pretending to hold, grants for land in Texas, under the Mexican Government, is conclusive to my mind that if the boundary between us, is not soon established, that portion of her territory (Texas) must be lost to her for ever. I am just informed that daily preparations, by a wealthy company, are making in Boston, New York, and New Orleans to transport, this summer, ten thousand emigrants to that country. When these get possession and become permanently fixed, they will soon avail themselves of some pretext to throw off the Mexican authority and form an independent Government of their own. This would beget great disquietude, and might eventually endanger the peace and tranquility of both countries that now so happily exist.²

¹ Univ. of Texas, Butler Papers.

² From this point on, to the words "you cannot be insensible to it", the letter is written in cipher. This cipher code, a copy of which is found in the New York Public Library, marked "Mr. Monroe's cypher", is the same that was used by Monroe in 1805, when he was minister to England, and also by James A. Bayard, when he was one of the commissioners for negotiating the Treaty of Ghent. See E. C. Burnett, "Ciphers of the Revolutionary Period", in *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXII. 333.

The following statement has been made to me by a gentleman in whom confidence has heretofore been reposed. Your situation will enable you to judge of its accuracy and if it be true you need not be advised of the important influence which it is destined to exercise upon your negotiations. It is confidently stated that Dr. Allemand³ is deeply interested in the large grants referred to. It is also stated and no doubt that Zaumosta [?] ⁴ has sold his to large capitalists in Boston and New York who are engaged in sending the emigrants spoken of above to Texas. The professed object of this company is to make money and that is probable, but it may be to cover their real design of forming an independent government there. Zaumosta has received I am told one hundred thousand dollars. I also understand from the same source that these companies have despatched their agents to England, France, Spain, and Switzerland for emigrants, while others are collecting Irish emigrants at New York. Two other agents are said to have been sent to Madrid for the purpose of watching operations there and it is hinted that if the United States will not purchase Texas application is to be made to England. In whatever you do look well to your instructions upon the subject of grants the conditions of which have not been complied with. They must not be disregarded. It would be useless to attempt to impress upon you the importance of despatch in whatever you do. You can not be insensible to it.

Keep us constantly advised, write at least every ten days that we may know the state of affairs in Mexico. We have been waiting with great anxiety for the result of the commercial Treaty with that country. I hope our patience will not be much longer taxed, and that the treaty, when we get it, will give general satisfaction. Before concluding I must again insi[s]t on your keeping us better advised with regard to the passing events of that country.

In hopes to hear from you very soon

I am with great respect

TO GENERAL RICHARD G. DUNLAP.¹

WASHINGTON, August 29, 1831.

Dear sir, Your letter of the 10th Instant is just received, and, perceiving that you are in error (as I presume) for the want of correct information on two points, I am induced, notwithstanding the press of business with which I am surrounded, to give you a reply. I thank you for the expression of your "admiration for such noble friendship" as you are pleased to assert has characterised my conduct towards my friends. But when you accord to me the justice of preserving "fidelity to friends", and applaud me for it, I must confess that I am somewhat surprised at the expression of the intimation that I should attempt to "dispel the suspicions of the times" by driving from me individuals who have been sincere in their friendship for me, and by whom I have never yet been deceived. I however indulge the hope that, when correctly advised of facts, your opinions and consequently yr. wishes on this subject will be changed.

³ Lucas Alamán, Mexican secretary for foreign affairs.

⁴ Zavala?

¹ Copy, Handwriting of R. E. W. Earl.

The connection which exists between Majr. Lewis and myself, when truly understood, can do no injury with true friends, and you are sufficiently acquainted with my character to know that I am always regardless of my enemies. Every term of the Presidency there are \$14,000 appropriated by Congress for the renewal and repairs of the furniture for the Presidents house. An honest and faithfull Agent is necessary to disburse this money, and, having full confidence in Major Lewis, I have constituted him this Agent. If I had not him to whom else could I entrust it? My son is too young, and if he was not, it would be improper that he or any of my connections should have the Agency. Major Lewis I know to be honest, faithfull, and true to me, and therefore it is that my enemies abuse him, and complain that I have him near me. Why were not these complaints made before I left the Hermitage where he was, for fifteen or twenty years an intimate in my house, had, at pleasure, the perusal of my papers, and enjoyed my full confidence? And shall I now, after the efficient Services he has rendered, drive him from me because his enemies slander and abuse him? It would be but a short time, if I was to pursue this course, before I should have to seporate myself from *all my friends*. It is then my D'r sir not the best evidence of friendship which can be given to insist on the adoption of such a course. I have been, for some time, aware of the fact that Ingham, Branch, Berrien, Duff Green, and Co—the agents of Calhoun—have been secretly at work with their note Books, etc. to prejudice Majr. Lewis in the estimation of the public and my friends. I had supposed that my true friends would be on their guard, and not adopt the sentiments and slang of these men without giving some attention to the facts which stand opposed to all their assertions; and it pains me to learn that the conduct of some who have long professed to cherish the strongest attachment for me shews that they have too willingly imbibed the opinions of my enemies.

You correctly suppose that there is “no man” in this Union who would sooner denounce any interference, on the part of Executive, with the state elections than myself; but injustice is done to truth when it is suspected that I, by the conduct of Major Lewis, have evinced the least desire to control the elections. Major Lewis has positively denied any interference with state elections since he has been here and in the absence of proof to support the allegations against him would it not be unjust, ungratefull in me to determine him guilty? If any proof exists against him, the rancour with which the feelings of his enemies have been characterised, induces the conclusion that they would long since have adduced it. I have too keenly felt the injustice done by the slander of enemies to give a believing ear to the mere assertions of the enemies of any individual. I confidently believe that the suspicions, which you say exist, as to Major Lewis' interfering in elections are as groundless as Calhoun's plots against Van Buren (of which V. B. is as innocent as a babe) are imaginary. But I will close this subject with the remark that, if, I am to drive away and discard my friends without cause, to obtain popularity, I will not have it on such termes, and would despise myself if I even suspected that I was capable of purchasing it by such dishonourable means. But I must ask

where is the Patriot, that I have near or around me, who is not made a target for the vilest slander, and detraction? And when that upright man and incorruptible patriot, H. L. White, has been made the subject of the vilest charges by the profligate Arnold, (and there are many besides him that do not wear the name although equally corrupt) how can you expect that here, the focus of intrigue and corruption, either I or those around me can escape? It would not only be an unjust, as I have before intimated, but a dangerous system to abandon friends, without sufficient cause, merely because they become the object of abuse by our enemies.

The other point which I purpose noticing has reference to the relations which existed between Mr. Calhoun, Mr. Crawford, and myself and some suspicions which you now inform me, you entertained in respect to "the conduct of several of (my) suite" to New-Orleans in 1828. Every one, who has known me, knows full well the high regard I once entertained for Mr. Calhoun. Mr. Crawford was my political enemy, and Mr. Calhoun and he, at the time of the Seminole campaign and long after the decision of the subject which grew out of it, were bosom friends, and so remained, I believe, up to 1821 or '22. I had frequent, full, and free conversations with Mr. Calhoun on the subject of the Seminole campaign and denounced Mr. Crawford for the Course which I understood he was pursuing against me in the Cabinet. Ought not Mr. Calhoun to have frankly told me that he was not, as I supposed him, my advocate in the secret cabinet council, and that I did injustice to his friend Mr. Crawford in respect to his conduct on that occasion? It does seem to me that a high-minded and honourable man would have done so.

Mr. Calhoun at all times and on all occasions, so far as I was *then* advised, professed to be my uniform and steadfast friend, and, throughout the Canvass for President, was regarded my *undeviating* friend, and not untill he shew to the Contrary in his correspondence with me (which he has choose to publish) was the sincerity of his *professions* ever questioned by me, nor did I even suspect that any of my friends indulged the slightest suspicion that he was not *sincerely* the warm and decided advocate of my elections. I am perfectly confident that Major Lewis never had the least suspicion of Mr. Calhoun's duplicity to me untill late in 1829.

You say "none can doubt, but that the explosion of (my) Cabinet, with its precursor *the correspondence* with Mr. Calhoun, will bring new and spirited adversaries in the field against" me, and that "how to meet them can be better ascertained by searching out the true cause which first agitated the harmony" etc. I have the pleasure to inform you, on this subject, that the task you recommend has already been performed, and you will find the result of my labours in the re-organization of my Cabinet proper. I am now relieved from an intercourse with Ingham, Branch and Berrien, who have shewn that they were unworthy of the confidence reposed in them, and regarded the interest of a certain aspirant to the Presidency more than they consulted the harmony of my Cabinet, and the consequent prosperity of my administration and the Country. By the change I have secured the services of those who are competent and *true*, and it affords me

pleasure to learn that my fellow-Citizens approve the course which their interest imperiously dema[n]ded at my hands.

You also remark that "while passing down the river (Mississippi) Majr. Lewis' mind seemed to be filled with suspicions about impending and projecting injuries awaiting (my) fate", and that "he was as usual busy and apparently kind to" me, and that you "believed, either that he was alarmed at the phantoms of his own fancy or that he desired to ingratiate himself deep in (my) favor by his officious airs towards (my) election." I must confess that I am not a little surprised to find that you thus "believed", and am unwilling to suppose that, if you had been aware of the character of my intercourse with Majr. Lewis, and the then attending circumstances, that you would have been the subject of such suspicions.

I would suppose from the tenor of your letter that you have forgotten the nature of the correspondence between Mr. Monroe and my friend Judge White in respect to a speech delivered by the latter in reply to a toast in honor of me given, by a company, on the 8th of January 1827 in this City. If you did not then know, I now inform you that this correspondence was commenced by Mr. Monroe, and that he and Southard had threatened to write a Book. It was charged or other asserted that the controversy growing out of the Seminole campaign was again to be agitated, that my violation of the Constitution and my orders was plainly to be shewn, and indeed that I had deserted my post, left the army, and was returning home, and would not have saved New Orleans, but that I was ordered back by Mr. Monroe. It was this threatened attack, not by Mr. Adams, but by Mr. Monroe to Judge White and Mr. Southard through the public journals, which Major Lewis and Col. Hamilton, I suppose, were preparing to meet. My friends at Washington were much alarmed on this subject, and, the correspondence having been made known to me, I furnished the means of defence, then at hand, to Judge White. Major Lewis was fully advised of the threats which were made, and, no doubt on this as on every other occasion, he felt anxious to obtain all the facts necessary to my defence. He was one of my most efficient friends in collecting information and preparing documents for the Nashvill committee in my defence. Now, my dear sir, as light as you have made of this matter, Mr. Monroe did intend to write (as Mr. Calhoun has done) a Book. If the impression could have been made that Mr. Monroe, in order to save New Orleans, had to order me to retrace my steps after I had started home, etc. it would have added greatly to his reputation.

Notwithstanding Mr. Monroe knew that Mr. Rhea's letter to me was burned, he perceived from my letter to Southard that I was prepared at every point, and therefore the project of the Book was abandoned. You seem to have forgotten that Mr. Monroe had charged me with transcending my orders. We were at issue on this point, notwithstanding he approved my conduct (as he professed) on a knowledge of the circumstances which attended it. You say that "Mr. Calhoun's fidelity to (me) was aluded to before we left Nashville as being questionable". This is new to me and I have already said enough to satisfy you on this subject, and will only add that, as early as 1824 and '25, I was informed on high author-

ity that it was Mr. Calhoun and not Mr. Crawford who had moved my arrest. Because of the circumstances to which I have alluded in connection with others not necessary now to mention I could not give credence to the information unless I had come to the conclusion that he was one of the most depraved. I could not believe that any man, possessing the standing he then held in society, could be so depraved as to practice such duplicity. Aside from his repeated assurances of friendship, I knew that he had not only issued my orders; but had so explained them himself as could leave no doubt of my correct interpretation of them, and, therefore could not suppose that he would secretly attempt to destroy me for acting in obedience to my orders, and accomplishing the wishes of Mr. Monroe and himself as confidentially expressed to me through Mr. Rhea. I regard the sentiments contained in Mr. Rhea's letter as expressive of Mr. Calhoun's wishes as well as those of Mr. Monroe, because Mr. C, as I believe, was fully advised in respect to the confidential letter which Mr. Rhea wrote me under the direction of Mr. Monroe.

I am truly astonished at the contempt you now express for "the Conduct of several of (my) suit" on my tour to New-Orleans. According to my recollection I had but Major Lewis and Mr Earle, who were specially invited to take charge of my family—a circumstance which would, in my opinion, have rendered any "officious airs towards (my) election" by major Lewis, unnecessary, in order "to ingratiate himself", if he had wished it, "in (my) favour"—Govr. Houston and staff (consisting of yourself and Genl. Smith and col martin as I understood) Judge Overton, Doctr. Shelley, and Mr. Donelson. I am sure that I perceived nothing, to which I should take exception, in the conduct of any of my "suit", or Col. Hamilton, who was not one of it, but acted in a higher sphere being one of the representatives chosen by the Republican's of New-York to meet and congratulate me on the plains of New-Orleans on the 8th of January. I discovered no attempt on the part of any of my suit or Col. Hamilton to obtrude upon me, and with them or Col. Hamilton I had but little or no conversation on the subject of politics from the time we embarked untill we returned. I have no recollection of having had any conversation on the subject of Mr. Monroe's Book during the trip, and any, *at any time* on that subject with Col. Hamilton. I had no secret conversations with him, and I assure you that the matters you now detail, were unknown to me. Neither of these gentlemen attempted to arouse my fears on the subject of my election either *then* or *at any other time*, and you judge very incorrectly, if you suppose that my fears can be aroused on any occasion and particularly on the subject of the Presidency, for you, as well as all my friends know that I am here, not by my own wishes, but the will and wishes of the people. My choice is the Hermitage. I am however, at all times prepared to defend myself or friends when unjustly assailed, and I do assure you that you have done great injustice to my suit on that occasion in ascribing to them the acts and motives which you have.

I have written you in my usual frankness and hope that the facts detailed will convince you of your error. I have not time to notice the other parts of your letter. I thank you for the assurance "that (your) confidence is not in the least impaired in (my) unwavering patriotism, or the

final result of the public usefulness of (my) administration," and I beg you to accept my best wishes for your health and happiness.

P. S. It seemes strange to me that my friends in Tennessee should desire me to separte from Majr. Lewis while those of other states entertain different feelings.

TO WILLIE BLOUNT.¹

WASHINGTON, August 29, 1831.

My D'r Sir, I have recieved your letter of the 8th inst. and sincerely regret to hear of your bad state of Health, which has compelled you to forego a course of medicine to regain it, but I am truly happy to learn from your letter, that your are in a fair way of recovery—for your perfect health and happiness, I send you my best wishes. Of my New Cabinet, you rightly judge. It will harmonize. The member's of it can have no electioneering views that will lead to discord, and if they should I trust I have sufficient energy yet, to put it down. Harmony I will have, it is necessary, for the good of the Country that it should exist, and it must be maintained. The people, not demagogues, placed me hear, not to make *President's*, but to administer the Government, for the prosperity and happiness of the whole. This I will perform agreeable to my best judgement, regardless of all consequences.

It is a source of much gratification to learn that you are pleased with my new Cabinet, and have confidence in it. it has mine fully, and it is to be hoped that we will get on well. The want of harmony in my old Cabinet was a Source of much pain and regret to me, and therefore made its reorganization a matter of necessity.

The magnanimity and patriotism of Mr. Van Buren and Major Eaton, induced them to resign. When this took place, justice to myself, to them and to my Country, compelled me to renew the whole. The others ought to have withdrawn on the intimation of the resignation of Van Buren and Eaton without hesitation or complaint, but it seem's the order's of Mr. Calhoun as I beleive forbade this course, as from their own showing, it now appear's from the first, they had secretly combined to drive Majr Eaton from my Cabinet and too, their friend, who was instrumental in bringing Branch and Berrien into it; and from their conduct seem'd to be his most devoted friend's—still they could plot, and combine for his destruction. Being deprived of the talents of Van Buren an[d] Eaton, who I found worthy of every confidence, it would have been very unsafe and imprudent, to have kept those three in my Cabinet, and added two to them, after they had displayed such treachery to me, and who were secretly weilded by Calhoun, and whose whole view was, to bring him into the Presidency regardless of the success of my administration; or the measures I had recommended to Congress.

Never being formed for an incubus in office, or for a tool to corrupt conspirators, I renewed my Cabinet proper, with men of virtue, and of mind, who will join me with an eye single to the public good, leaving the

¹ Copy. Handwriting of N. P. Trist.

people to make their own President, and elect their own agents, free from any interference by them, and who will not be secretly weilded by Mr. Calhoun to athwart all my measures and acts as mere puppets to exalt him to the height of his ambition, disregarding in the mean time the great interests of our beloved country.

From the expose by Mr Calhoun in his book, it appear's from his course pursued respecting the Seminole campaign that he is capable of much, and great duplicity. he found Mr. Ingham, Branch and Berrien fit subjects for his views, as in the Siminole affair. whilst he was professing friendship and approbation, he was secretly, as it appears thro such agents as these, trying to destroy me. The attempt of these Judas's has failed, and has recoiled upon themselves. ? Was there ever greater infamy unfolded? Whilst these men were professing for me the greatest friendship, whilst acting as part of my constitutional advisers, they were taking notes, and holding meetings to reconcile their statements that hereafter they might be able to certify, or swear for each other, as occasion might require, without contradicting each other, and that all might pass for truth. Col Johnston's letter, and the contradiction of Berrien in his, and Ingham's statement, has prostrated them forever. and old faithful Pennsylvania, remains as unshaken as a rock, and Virginia stronger than ever. That you may have it in your power to judge correctly of Mr. Calhoun's duplicity, I inclose you for your information, a Copy of Mr. J Rhea's confidential letter to Mr. Munroe, and Judge Overton's statement, which you can take into view, when you read Mr. Calhoun's book containing in part, his correspondence with me, and when you take into view the explination of his order's, in his letter to Governor Bibb—" that I was authorized to conduct the war as I might judge best"—with what justice he could move, secretly in the Cabinet Council, my punishment, and with what consistency he could do this, when to myself and friends, in his letter's, and speeches, he was professing the warmest friendship for me, and approving all my acts in the Seminole campaign. if there is not ample proof of his duplicity, and I might add depravity, I am a stranger to what constitutes either and I am sure you will agree with me, that the evidence produced by Ingham, Berrien, Duff Green and Co. gives ample evidence of the propriety of my withdrawing my confidence from them, as it was dangerous to have such near me.

I am sir very respectfully your friend.

MEMORANDUM.¹

September, 1831 (?).

Govr. B. Letter. The formation of the Cabinet. The statement of the rumors, Mr. B. at that time, and on all others, disavowed any knowledge of any thing disreputable to Mrs. Eaton, or any belief of

¹ This memorandum, in Jackson's handwriting, was evidently made for an outline of a reply to the letter of Governor John Branch, dismissed Secretary of the Navy, which appears under the date of Aug. 22, 1831, in *Niles' Weekly Register* for Sept. 3, 1831 (XLI. 5-7). Since Jackson was careful not to enter this controversy in person, it is probable that he prepared the memorandum for the use of a defender, probably Blair, editor of the *Globe*.

the rumors about her, professed the greatest friendship for Major Eaton,² and bestowed upon him, the highest encomiums of praise for his moral worth without the least intimation of any evil consequences from his appointment as by them now stated. It was the confidence I had in major Eaton and his recommendation of Branch and Berrien that induced me to appoint them in my Cabinet. The trip to old point, its incidents, The Confidential information of the vile Campble on my return, the conduct of Branch on that occasion in inviting him to his parties after the vilanous conduct he had attempted secretly against Eaton, with the use of the private letters, mr. B. had recourse to, was the cause of quarrel that Eaton had with Branch. The information, first of a caucus of members to wait upon me to solicit Major Eatons removal. This abandoned and the information by members of Congress, of the combination with a Foreign Lady to degrade Eaton and drive him from the Cabinet. The Parties given as predicted, communicated The gentlemen sent for, the address made from the paper on my knee read to each. Their pledge of honor that they would be the last men that would do any act to injure or degradge major Eaton, or his family, but they Ingham and Branch could not controle their families. To which I replied that I protested against any such attempt as to interfere with social intercorse of society, but having invited major Eaton into my Cabinet, and he having come into it with reluctance, at my request, and in perfect harmony with all its members, and sincere friendship, as expressed by Mr Branch and Berrien any indignity offered to major Eaton with a view of driving him from my cabinet was an indignity offered to me, and would be so considered and treated accordingly, that harmony I would have in my Cabinet, and if any there were, not disposed to harmonise with major Eaton, they had better withdraw. That before I would be compelled to separete from him, I would suffer the Spanish inquisition to the last joint. I more than once repeated this to Mr Branch never having had with Ingham and Berrien any conversation on the subject but once. They had heard Mr Campbell and Ely, say in my presence, that after a full investigation of all the rumors and charges, that they freely declared major Eatons character was without a stain or blemish.

Major Eaton never complained to me about the Cabinet, I never, from the time of his coming into the Cabinet, conversed with him about the vile slanders, and Mr Branch wilfully misrepresents in his statement as to Mr Van Buren as he has in several of his statements which I will notice hereafter, as to his acknowledgement about what was said about Col Johnston tale to them is true,³ when I told them the paper I had in my

² Branch said, in his statement of Aug. 22, 1831, that he remonstrated with Jackson in the winter of 1828-1829 against the appointment of Eaton to the Cabinet, on the ground that Mrs. Eaton would not be received in society, which would embarrass Jackson's administration. *Niles' Register*, XLI. 5.

³ Jan. 27, 1831, Col. R. M. Johnson, member of Congress from Kentucky, called on Secretary Ingham and said that Jackson had requested him to see if Ingham, Branch, and Berrien would not consent to invite Mrs. Eaton to their large parties. He said Jackson was determined to have harmony in the Cabinet, and he, Johnson, believed that Ingham and his two colleagues would be dismissed if they held out against receiving Mrs. Eaton. See *Niles' Register*, XL. 382, 383, 445, 447.

hand, and which I had made the statement from, I had read to Col Johnston, and that he, or no other person could say that I ever attempted to induce any one to associate with mrs. Eaton beyond their wishes. I did say to Mr Branch how unjust it was for the female gossips here, to wait upon all strangers the moment they arrived to tell them not to visit Mrs E. etc etc etc, but never in my life, asked any one to associate with her contrary to their wishes, or even to visit her but one and that was Mary Easton, assuring them that major Eaton and his family had as good associates as their families, and neither courted or desired theirs, unless freely offered.

Mr Branch well knows and so does Ingham and Berrien, that the cause of the difference between major Eaton and him, was the countenance he gave to the vile Slanderers of the Revd. Mr Campbell,⁴ who had approached the President, and (confidentially[]) attempted, to poison his ears, with the tale of the dead Doctor, which he now holds forth as a pious preacher, notwithstanding this apostate, after circulating the *vile tale of the dead Doctor*, acknowledged in the presence of Mr Branch etc etc etc that on a full investigation of the whole rumors and slanders, he was free to confess that major Eatons moral character was without blemish. Still this pretended ambassador of christ and his associates continued to circulate (secretely) the vilest slanders vs. major Eaton and his Lady, and mr Branch etc continued to countenance him and associate with him. This with the exposure of major E private letters, his private letters to mr Timberlake, were used to prove that E. had received and converted T. mony to his use and was used to endeavour to prove a connection with his wife, aroused the resentment of major Eaton, and he was determined to make a serious matter of it with mr Branch, fearing this, I endeavoured to become the peace maker, made known to mr Branch, the dissatisfaction of major Eaton as to his course etc etc Mr. Branch professed the greatest friendship for major Eaton (as he did on all occasions) and shortly thereafter wrote me a note on this subject, which I inclosed to major Eaton accompanied with my great desire for peace and harmony in my cabinet etc etc. I understood both from mr Berrien and major Barry that they were present, and was much gratified at the result, and at which meeting, when it was observed by mr Branch how great his friendship was for major Eaton, but he could not controule his family, major Eaton replied, Sir I have no wish that Social intercourse should exist between our families, I never requested nor does mrs. Eaton desire it. As far as I know or ever heard there was no wish on the part of major Eaton or his family to associate with any that had not an equal desire to associate with his, and Mr Branch gave as a reason for his family not visiting major Eatons, that at the Presidents, where mrs. Branch was he major E. did not speak to her.

It is not true as mr Branch has alledged in his letter, that at the formation of my cabinet that he told me that the appointment of major Eaton my enemies would make a handle of it. The fact is the whole letter is a tissue of falshoods, or glossed over with false colourings. Mr Branch

⁴ Branch invited Mr. Campbell to a party and Eaton became mortally offended at it.

was recommended by major E. he knew full well (as they all did) that major Eaton came in by my solicitation and I told them at all times that I would not separate from him, nor the spanish inquisition could not coerce me, that harmony I would have and those who could not harmonise had better retire. now mr Branch says, he told me at the interview, that he would retire before he would be coerced to any thing, and when I notified him of my determination to reorganize my Cabinet, he complains that he was di[s]missed, that he would not resign when I requested him but held on until I drove him out and dismissed him—*strange unanimity*, and inconsistency, and displays falsehood in every paragraph.

TO SECRETARY LIVINGSTON.¹

WASHINGTON, September 3, 1831.

My Dear Sir, Mr. Draper — Messenger from France—has this moment arrived and delivered to me the despatches from Mr. Rives, accompanied with the Treaty. Our Affairs with Spain may now, I think, perhaps be advantageously brought before the Court at Madrid thro' our Minister. If we cannot obtain redress for our Citizens by negotiation, the Government will abandon them rather than direct reprisals. I therefore regard it best to make another effort to the adjustment of our Claims, and, for that purpose, wish you to return to the City as soon as your convenience will permit. Present my kind Salutations to Mrs. Livingston and Daughter and believe me to be,

Very Respectfully, Yr Friend.

TO CHARLES WEBB.¹

WASHINGTON, September 5, 1831.

Sir, I have received your letter of the 22nd ultimo, enclosing, agreeably to one of the resolutions of the Meeting, a copy of the "Proceedings of the Citizens of Colleton District at Walterborough, on the 1st August 1831"; stating the construction which they say they are compelled to give to my letter of the 14th June last, to a Committee of my Fellow Citizens of Charleston; and requesting me to inform them whether they have truly interpreted my language.

I am not satisfied that the language referred to is justly liable to misapprehension: and I do not feel myself authorized to enter into a correspondence for the purpose of explaining or discussing, in reference merely to a supposed emergency, the means which the President may be required to employ in the discharge of his constitutional duty of taking care that the laws be faithfully executed. I am therefore constrained, with all proper respect for my Fellow Citizens who composed the Meeting, to decline the explanations required by their resolution.

I am Sir, with sentiments of respect,

¹ From the collection of the letters and papers of Edward Livingston, preserved at his former residence, Montgomery Place, Barrytown, N. Y.; printed by the kindness of Brigadier-General John Ross Delafield.

¹ Of Walterboro, S. C. In the Jackson MSS., dated Sept. 2, 1831, is a long draft of an argumentative reply to Webb in the handwriting of N. P. Trist, but an endorsement on it shows that it was not sent and that the above letter was despatched in its place.

TO MARTIN VAN BUREN.¹

WASHINGTON, September 5, 1831.

Private

My D'r sir, Your letters of the 14th and 15th ult. was duly received, the last by your son the major. I should have wrote you by the last Packet in answer to them, but the press of business and hearing that Major Eaton was preparing a reply to the ex secretaries, and atto. Genl. I had a wish to send it to you, but in this I am disappointed, as it will not be out before the sailing of the packett of the 8th by which, this will be forwarded. When out, it will be forwarded. major Eatons friends advised him to forbear making a reply, but the continued virulence of his persecutors, has forced him to come before the Public, and I have no doubt myself, but it will have a good effect upon the nation, and place you on the elevated ground you ought to occupy before the nation, as it will bring before the people in bold relief the injustice of the attacks against you, the agents concerned; and the base and unworthy motive by which they have been actuated; and if possible, sink lower in public estimation, the three judases, and their vile leader, Calhoun, than ever fell to the lott of four men, in so short a time. They are held now in the most utter contempt, by all honorable men, who are not warped in their opinions by prejudice, or partiality.

They elections have terminated *well in the west*; eight members of Congress have been elected, against Clay, in K.y. and three in Indiana. The west is lost to him, but whether his friends will drop him or not, is doubtfull. The opposition are confused and they know not what to do, or what tack to make. Mr Calhouns nullification expose, has destroyed his prospects forever, in reaching the Presidential chair, and *Justice McLain*, is fearful that permitting his name to be used *now*, might, destroy his prospects for the future. Mr Adams is spoken of, but a concentration of the scattered forces cannot be united on any one, and the late elections prove, if brought into Congress, none of them, have any hopes of succeeding. The fruitful mind of the great intriguer Calhoun, with his aid, Duff, is upon the rack to find out some plan to destroy me, and athwart the v[i]ews of the people, with regard to you, but "he is now understood," and *harmless*. The *maline* influence, from which they had great hopes, have entirely failed, and they have fell into the Pitt they had dug for me, and others.

On the 3rd instant the messenger, mr Draper, handed us the Treaty with France. It is as it should be, with regard to our reciprocal claims. They are put to rest finally, including Bowmarchays.²

¹ Library of Congress, Van Buren MSS.

² Pierre Augustin Caron de Beaumarchais was the secret agent through whom the French government furnished supplies to the United States early in the Revolution. The American commissioners reported to Congress that the supplies were a gift. Later, France gave the United States a sum of money out of which it was said that one million francs went to Beaumarchais to pay him for supplies. Believing that he was paid by this sum, Congress refused to pay him again. He denied receiving the money, and out of this grew up a claim, urged by his heirs after his death in 1799, which was finally compromised in the treaty with France, Beaumarchais's heirs getting 800,000 francs. The

The reduction of the Tariff, in reducing the duties for ten years on her wines, I apprehend, will be seized upon by the opposition to assail us for a violation of the constitution, by an encroachment upon the legislative, under the treaty making power. Our defence—the necessity of the case, Mr Rives having agreed to this on his own responsibility from the necessity he found himself under to get clear of the claim under the 8th article of the Louisiana Treaty, or abandon the negotiation, and our claims; finding this to be the state of the negotiation from his despatches, to get clear of this perpetual claim of France under the 8th article of the Louisiana Treaty, and to obtain indemnity for our merchants, as the whole had to pass before congress before it was binding upon the nation, we approved the project. This I believe is the fair state of the case; before congress meets I will thank you for your views fully on this subject. The two opposition presses in Newyork has committed themselves on this point; both have approved the treaty, and it may be, that the treaty will pass without much opposition on this point.

The Gossips of this place are down cast, and chopfallen—the papers are lashing the three *maline Gentlemen*, or dismissed secretaries, very severely. Poor Branch, before they are done with him, will be ready to call upon the mountains to fall and cover him. The Richmond enquiry, you will see, uses him very roughly. You will recollect no doubt, when the members of Congress, made known to me the existence of the conspiracy to degrade major Eaton, and drive him from my cabinet, and that Mrs. Huygins³ was one of the combination, I felt great dissatisfaction, but on friendly explanations taking place, which proved satisfactory, all my good feelings were restored to the family, at no time had I any cause of dissatisfaction with Mr Huygan. This you, I believe, know, and if necessary, you can thus speak.

Major Donelson and his family have just arrived since I began this letter, with Miss Mary Easten, and Miss McLamore, and I hope, with all those feelings which ought at first to have accompanied them hither—they know my *course*, and my wishes, and I hope, they come to comply with them. I have been much interrupted since I commenced this letter, and I trust you will excuse many errors that you will find in it. Mr Earle, Major Lewis, and my son join me in presenting you with our kind salutations, and best wishes, for your health and happiness.

Notwithstanding the high opinion I entertain of the talents and worth of my present Cabinet, and the confidence I have in them—still, there appears a vacuum occasioned by your absence, and our faithful Eaton, that is not filled. Mr. McLane's mind is a host to me, and with him, and Barry, in whom I know I can, under any circumstances, confide, with the goodness, and amiability, and high talents of the others, I have no doubt

conduct of the United States in this affair has been hastily criticized by many who have not stopped to inquire the facts. From Beaumarchais we received supplies worth about 5,000,000 francs. We paid promptly for all, except for the 1,000,000 francs which we know France paid him as a part of the 3,000,000 donation made to us in money, only 2,000,000 of which came to our hands. The subject is well treated in C. J. Stillé's *Beaumarchais and the Lost Million* (1890). See also Jules Marson's *Beaumarchais et les Affaires d'Amérique* (1919), and Blanche E. Hazard's *Beaumarchais and the American Revolution* (1910).

³ Meaning, the wife of the Dutch minister, Chevalier Huygens.

we will steer the national vessel into a safe port—still I cannot but regret your absence; we have been so fortunate with our foreign relations hitherto, that I would regret any fuepaugh⁴ should occur hereafter. I cannot close without again repeating, that I hope circumstances will occur to enable me to retire to the Hermitage in due season, and set an example, worthy to be followed, and give an evidence to my Country, that I never had any other ambition but of that of serving my country, when she required it, and when I knew it could be better served by others, to open the door for their employment. *You will understand me.*

This moment the ladies have entered, and miss Mary Easten and mrs. Donelson, with the Major, has desired to make a tender to you of their kind salutations. Should you see mr Vaughn, please to present my kind wishes for his health and happiness. Present me to your son, and mr Vail,⁵ And believe me sincerely your friend

P. S. let me hear from you often. A.J.

should mr J. Randolph be in London present me kindly to him and my best wishes for his returning health.

TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOHN COFFEE.¹

WASHINGTON, September 6, 1831.

I have not written you for some time, nor have I heard from you since your letter of the 9th July last. Major Donelson with his little family, with Mary Eastin and Mary McLemore reached here yesterday, all in good health, and I sincerely regretted, not to see your amiable daughter, Mary with them.² Will you be on this fall and bring her. If I live, I mean to visit my Hermitage, next summer, by the way of South Carolina, and take Florence in my rout home. This reflection is pleasing, but may not be realised.

Hutchings is with me, and leaves here today for the university in Va. where I hope he will remain and be studious; and altho he has spent much idle time, I hope he may gain such an education as will enable him to pass through life with respectability. he says he is now determined to become a learned man. he has genius if he will apply it. I have furnished him with one hundred and fifty dollars in cash, and shirts, to enable him to enter college and pay his way for the first session. I found he had not the amount necessary. he says he had to pay some debts in Nashville that reduced the funds you gave him below his wants. he is now supplied with cloathing and funds for a year, except the second session, when he enters it, for tuition, I will send you his receipt, and when you have a moments leisure, if you will examine my account as guardian, and should it be closed, without this hundred and fifty dollars, you will please to remit it to me, when it is convenient for you to do so, unless you have forwarded to him before this reaches you. I wish to keep myself clear of

⁴ *Faux pas.*

⁵ Aaron Vail, of New York, commissioned secretary of legation Aug. 1, 1831, and as chargé d'affaires July 13, 1832.

¹ Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.

² Mary Coffee later married Andrew Jackson Hutchings.

debt with that estate, and if I am not, let this pass to my credit. If I am, then it will be a convenience for me now, to have the \$150 remitted to me.

I have had an unpleasant time with my late cabinet, or rather the three judases, that composed it in part, Ingham, Branch and Berrien, attempted to make it, not only unpleasant, but injurious to me.³ I did not suspect these men for such baseness. They came into my cabinet by the recommendation of Eaton, and in the greatest harmony and friendship with him. Now mark the perfidy. Berrien says he come into it, from assurances from his friends, that Eaton would be soon forced out of it, and Branch has the unblushing effontry to say, that he told me the appointment of Major Eaton would give my enemies an opportunity to assail me. There never was a more unblushing falsehood than this. If Mr Branch had ever intimated such a thing to me, I would at once have told him as Major Eaton was necessary to me, I would from his fears dispense with Mr Branches services in my cabinet as I could not dispense with Eaton.

It now clearly appears that there were a conspiracy, from the first, against Eaton, and all others that would not unite in bringing Calhoun into the presidency, and all who would not, was to be driven from me; They are prostrated and their idol with them, and it is well for the country that it is so. The scriptures are fulfilled, they have fell into the pitt they had dug for me. Eaton was only the means they intended to use to destroy me. This I knew from the first. I send you herewith the reply of Eaton to the three judases. it gives you a full view of the whole conspiracy, against me through Eaton, and the attempts wickedly and falsely to injure Mr Van Buren, altho as innocent as a babe and they knew it, or had at least, no evidence to the contrary. I inclose you also the letter of Mr John Rhea. this is sent for your information, not to be permitted to go into the papers. when necessary I will make a full expose, but not until then, on the subject of his answer to my confidential letter to Mr Monroe on the 6th of Jany 1818, with Judge Overtons statement. when you read Mr Calhouns appeal to the public, and my confidential letter therein published by him, without any authority from me, Mr Calhouns construction of my orders on the Seminole campaign to Govr Bibb "that I was authorised to conduct the war as I thought best", and then his own confession, that he did move my arrest, or punishment, in the secrete cabinet council; you can judge whether more duplicity and I might add, depravity, than Mr C has evinced in this transaction, ever was committed by man, and particularly professing to me, and all my friends, the full approbation of my acts, and the sincerest friendship. From the conduct of Ingham, Branch and Berrien, they were fit tools for such a man, and apt scholars under him. They have all met their reward, the full contempt and disapprobation of all honest men. you are at liberty to explain all this to my friend Capt Savage, who, like myself, was once a great admirer of Calhoun. present me kindly to Mrs Coffee, and all your amiable family and believe me
your friend

³ Although this letter repeats many of the statements in letters of Jackson already printed in these pages, it seems best to introduce it here as illustrating Jackson's method of reasoning in the Eaton affair. It is probably the most illogical utterance of a President of the United States.

TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOHN COFFEE.¹

WASHINGTON, September 7, 1831.

My D'r Genl, I am anxious to hear from you whether you are likely to make with the choctaws, the necessary arrangements for the accommodations of the Chickasaws within the boundary of the choctaws west of the Mississippi. This is a subject of great importance to us, and if made, will induce the Creeks and Cherokees to remove. let me hear from you on this subject, and the real prospects of their accommodation.

I have just recd the treaty with France. it puts an end to all reclamations on both sides and pay in 6 annual installments, to our citizens five million four hundred thousands dollars, principle and interest—a sufficient sum to meet all the just claims against France by our merchants. Thus in two years we have been able to obtain justice from all foreign governments, which had been the subject of negotiation for many years—with France twenty. still, I suppose we are to get no credit from the opposition for all this, and Mr Van Buren, who is entitled to participate in all our success with our foreign relations, is to be blasted if possible to make way for Mr Calhoun. This justice forbids, and the people are just when rightly informed.

I have detained this letter and the one of yesterday to forward with them Major Eatons response. I expected it would be published this morning but I find it has not.

With my respects to Mrs Coffee and your amiable family,

I am respectfully your friend

P. S. It would be a great gratification to me to hear how your son Andrew progresses with his education. I would be happy [if] he would write to me. tell him to become a good writer he must commence early and practice his mind to it—writing is mechanical, and to become a good writer and with facility, the mind must be habituated to it, from youth. practice makes perfect.

TO MARTIN VAN BUREN.¹

WASHINGTON, September 18, 1831.

Private

my D'r sir, Our mutual friend Major Eaton has just shook me by the hand and him and mrs. E. is to be off for Tennessee to morrow at 7 oclock A m.—he has just gave to the world his reply to the conspirators. I send it inclosed.² I think it an able document, and as far as it has reched, and we have heard from, there appears, amonghst political friends and foes, but one opinion, and that is, condemnation to the conspirators, Calhoun, Ingham, Branch, Berrien, Duff Green and Co. All things appear well at present, But my D'r sir the opposition is constant in their abuse, and it

¹ Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.

² Library of Congress, Van Buren MSS.

² Eaton's reply to Ingham, Branch, and Berrien on the dissolution of the Cabinet is in *Niles' Register*, XLI. 49-64.

is painful when every exertion is made by my administration for the honor and prosperity of our country, that we should be the objects of daily and continued slanders and abuse, and purely because when solicited by the people I have permitted my name to be held before the people for the next term of the Presidency. ? How disgusting this to a virtuous mind, and how I long for retirement to the peaceful shades of the Hermitage, for I assure you the depravity of human nature which is daily unfolding itself, by the slanders of the wicked part of the opposition have truly disgusted me. I therefore wish how soon I may be able, with honor to resign the trust committed to me to another, and a better hand—nothing reconciles me to my situation but the assurances of some virtuous men, that it is *now* necessary for the preservation of the Union that I should permit my name to be continued for the next canvass for the Presidency. This, with the determination never to be driven by my enemies, or to succumb to them, continues me here again. On the 3rd of march 1833, I hope to be able to file a receipt in full against the national debt. This will close my ambition.

Mr Livingston has not yet returned from Newyork. this I regret, as we have lost at least ten days in preparing to make a speedy demand on Naples for satisfaction of our claims, and a renewal of our demand upon Spain in the spirit of claiming nothing but what is right or permitting nothing that is wrong,³ which I trust, will produce justice by her to be extended to us. if we fail in this, then, to refer it to congress for their action [*almost entire page gone*]

P. S. when you read the appeal give me your ideas of its merits. Keep me advised of the movements in Europe—war over its whole surface appear to me inevitable. Present me to mr Vaugh[n] and mr Randolph if with you

MARTIN VAN BUREN TO JACKSON.

LONDON, September 21, 1831.

my dear Sir, I have only time to say a few words to you and until I get settled you must be content with short letters. I was presented to the King to day and the public despatch to mr. Livingston will give you a brief sketch of the substance of his reply to a short speech I made to him on delivering my credentials. His observations were more extended than I had reason to expect and the effort on his part to make a favourable impression was very obvious. The notice which I have taken of that part of his speech which relates to yourself is by no means as full as the original remarks sent would justify, but as I am obliged to report from memory what was unexpectedly said and under circumstances illy calculated for

³ Our claims against Naples for shipping and cargoes seized during the French Revolution amounted to \$1,734,993.82 (*Niles' Register*, XLI. 248). Our claims against Spain arose from the seizure by that country, after the treaty of 1819, of American ships engaged in commerce with the revolutionary states of South and Central America. Spain had declared blockade of the ports concerned, but we disputed the legality of the declaration, since it was not enforced by ships of war, in the manner prescribed in international law.

distinct recollection I have thought it at least prudent to keep on the safe side. The design evidently was to make a marked and unqualified expression of his respect and regard. I have recd. an invitation to attend a hunt at a few miles from the City tomorrow which the King is to attend and under circumstances which would induce me to attend were it not for the necessity of getting off the dispatches etc. etc. Mr McLane will be able to inform you of the ten thousand perplexities which attend a minister on his first arrival here and how completely they put it out of his power to bestow any degree of attention on his own Government. I have not as yet been able to suit myself in a house—the choice being between going far *west* or paying a great part of my salary for a comfortable residence within a convenient distance from the Palace and Foreign office etc. etc.

It was my intention to have written to you by this Packet upon several points which were left untouched in my last. I can only notice one, viz the affairs of South Carolina in regard to the collection of the Revenues. If a fit opportunity is presented to notice that matter in the Message without exposing yourself to the imputations of dragging the matter forward I think an advantage may be secured by doing so provided the observations which are made be in a temper of great moderation and entirely exempt from any thing that could be construed into personal allusion of a hostile character, a modest and moderate exhibition of the question, deprecating in a proper manner the injurious effect produced upon the character of the Government abroad and its efficiency at home by measures and pretensions like those which are made and encouraged in the quarter referred to, etc. etc.

I have no doubt that I shall find my situation here personally agreeable in most other respects save the absolute certainty of great pecuniary sacrifices. Upon this point I see very clearly that there is no room for doubt or hope of escape. Remember me kindly to major Lewis and mr Earle and to major Donelson and the ladies if they are with you not forgetting mr and mrs Trist and believe me to be Very truly yours

P. S. Mr Irving¹ is with me and desires to be most affectionately remembered to you. He cherishes a most devout and sincere respect for your character and is I have no doubt a man of the most perfect purity and in every respect truly estimable. Please to send the inclosed for me to our good friend Judge Overton.

JOSIAH NICHOLS AND SON TO JACKSON.

NASHVILLE, September 29, 1831.

Dear Sir, Yours of the 17th inst. is duly received, in answer to which the partner of Nichol, Hill and Co. who has recently returned from New Orleans reports—Cash received of Col. Maunsal White of New Orleans On your account for neat proceeds of your Cotton, 2267.04 cents¹ and

¹ Washington Irving.

¹ \$2267.04.

also Other Credits for Cotton etc. the account of Nichol, Hill and Co which you will find inclosed will shew you how the a/c stands and how the funds have been appropriated—balance due you from N. H. and Co on their a/c, transferred to us this day say sixteen hundred ninety five dollars $\frac{86}{100}$. to your Credit on Our Acct. inclosed, Which Will leave a Balance due you from us of nine hundred ninety two dollars and $\frac{21}{100}$ c[en]ts subject to your Order, Which We trust you will find Correct.

We are Sir Verry respectfully

Balance due you this day \$992.02 $\frac{1}{4}$
subject to your order

TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOHN COFFEE.¹

WASHINGTON, October 3, 1831.

My D'r Genl. When yours of the 14th ult reached me I was confined to my bed with a severe illness. it was not shewn me until yesterday. I rejoice to find, by the goodness of an overruling providence, that your dear wife has been restored to health, to you, and your dear children! what a bereavement it would have been to you, and your dear children, to have lost such a wife, such a mother! how grateful should we be to our savior and our god, for her preservation, and restoration to health and for that daily preservation, and blessings which he is constantly bestowing upon us. present me kindly to Polly, with my prayers for her continued health, and long life, a blessing to you and to your family, to whom present me affectionately.

Major Eaton was detained at Baltimore until yesterday by the severe illness of Mrs Eaton. he has started to Tennessee and will, I have no doubt, adopt your advice, which is the advice of all his friends. His appeal has taken well with the publick: *all*, both friends and foes, applaud it—The ex secretaries with the atto. Genl, Calhoun, Duff and Co, are practically dead—for the present,

adieu,

P. S. My last will shew you, that Hutchings had made known to me his pecuniary wants. I had supplied them as you will find from my last, with his receipt inclosed. he has entered college. he has taken three ticketts, that is to say three classes in the college, which will employ all his time. he is now determined to become a scholar, his thoughts run upon Miss Mary McL. and I have assured him unless he becomes celebrated as a scholar, and polished gentleman, he need not aspire to her affections, that he has both in his power, the first by continued application to his studies, the second by a constant attention to, and obedience of all rules laid down for the government of the university, and associating with none but the first class of society, not of wealth, but of moral character and conduct. I believe he has resolved to do well and I hope for the better,

Yrs

¹ Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.

COLONEL ANTHONY BUTLER TO JACKSON.¹

MEXICO CITY, October 6, 1831.

(Replying to letter of May 24)

I cautiously approached the *secretary of foreign affairs*,² on subject of *transfer of Texas*, without intimating that the *United States* feel any desire to become the *owner*. His reply was that the *supreme government of Mexico* held no part of the *land as national domain*, and could therefore exercise no power of *transfer* over any part of the *territory of the confederation*. That all the right of *property in the land* appertained to the different *states* who alone could exercise the power of *alienation*. That the *general government* if they were to attempt such a measure would not only violate the *constitution* but produce resistance *on the part of the states*. So soon as I have released myself from some questions of interest still depending that I do not wish to be embarrassed by any new question, the *secretary* and myself will enter seriously into the matter, and I feel some confidence that if by any means his scruples in relation to want of power over the subject on the part of *general government* can be vanquished, we may in that event *obtain*.

TO ANDREW J. HUTCHINGS.¹

WASHINGTON, October 8, 1831.

D'r *Hutchings*, I have had a severe indisposition since you left me, from which I have recovered, but have not yet regained my usual strength, but am fast improving. Your letters were received during my illness, and in the absence of your cousin. on his return I requested him to answer them, which he informs me he has done.

I was much gratified on receiving the report of the professors of your good conduct, nothing can redound more to your credit than a strict attention to, and obedience of the rules of the institution whilst you remain there, and I trust in this, as in all other respects, you will realise my wishes.

They family all unit in kind salutations to you. write me often, and believe me to be,

your affectionate uncle

MARTIN VAN BUREN TO JACKSON.¹

LONDON, October 11, 1831.

My dear friend, I cannot do justice to the feelings with which I have perused your affectionate letter of the 5th of September. I did suppose that nothing could have increased the respect and esteem with which your uniform kindness had impressed me; but I find that our separation has had that effect. It was not until the ocean rolled between us, and until time

¹ Univ. of Texas, Butler Papers.² The italics in this letter represent portions written in cipher.¹ Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.¹ Library of Congress, Van Buren MSS. Indorsed: "Mr. V. Buren. Confidential. This not to be laid before the cabinet until the Senate acts. A. J."

and opportunity for reflection, had placed before me in strong relief the reasons on which they are founded, that I became fully sensible of their extent and imperishable nature. I have no prayers to offer for your success, because I am fully satisfied, that the wisdom and justice of your measures will of themselves ensure it.

The result of the elections, considering the circumstances under which they have been held, are, what I expected they would be, and afford the most satisfactory and consoling evidence of the soundness of public opinion. Of the result of that for the Presidency there can be no rational doubt, and in addition to the advantage, of securing to the public service, one, who has the means and the disposition of making himself so eminently useful; it will moreover, in the providence of God, serve, to tear the masks from several, who without having been exposed to temptation, might have been able, for a long time to come, to have passed for what they are not. McLean will I have no doubt be the opposing candidate; and I think it will on many accounts be a fortunate circumstance. The only point in the Union, in which such a selection (assuming that the Anti masons and National Republicans concur in it,) will require particular attention, will be Newyork. My undivided attention will be directed to it, and I shall, for time, take the liberty of suggesting to you the needful. The Democracy of that state is omnipotent with proper treatment, and it shall go hard, if we do not direct it to a safe, and glorious result.

I shall read major Eatons reply with interest and will be obliged to you for forwarding it to me. I had hoped that he would be allowed to retire from the disgusting contest without the necessity of a further appeal, but he will I have no doubt do his duty, and no more than his duty under all circumstances. Do me the favor to make my kindest and best respects to him and Mrs. Eaton, and assure them that I feel undiminished interest in their welfare. I am pleased to learn that your health is good, and I see by the tenor of your letter that your spirits are also good. May they always be so.

I proceed to comply with your request in regard to the result of Mr Rives negotiation, as that is business of interest to which your attention will have to be directed at the commencement of the Session. Although Mr Rives was not expressly authorized to conclude an arrangement upon the subject of the claims, without a previous submission of the French offer to your approval, I am glad that he has done so, as the hazards of delay have thereby been avoided. In regard to the *amount* I have before expressed my views—it is I think entirely satisfactory. The provisions of the Treaty upon the point of preventing future demands upon our Government are equally so. I do not perceive any grounds upon which they could now be predicated. They cannot say that any portion of *their* claims have been set off agt. the *French* claims, because they are specifically provided for by the payment of 1,500,000 francs—they cannot say that a reduction has been made on account of the Louisiana Treaty question, because, the ground upon which that pretension has been abandoned by France, is made to rest, upon the reduction of our duties upon their wines; and the reciprocal reduction of their duties upon our long staple cotton. So that their only choice, is, to resist the Treaty,

or be forever silent. That they will take the former course, I do not apprehend; and if they do not, I trust Congress will have the spirit, and the firmness, and the justice to compel them to observe the latter.

This brings me to the particular point to which you have directed my attention, viz, the stipulation for the reduction of duties, and the possible one which may be made of it by the opposition. Although this matter was first proposed by Mr Rives to the French Government, upon his own responsibility, you will recollect that we referred the subject to Genl. Smith,² and that after we recd. his concurring opinion, we authorized Mr Rives by special instructions, to enter into the arrangement. This will be found in one of my dispatches to him, and confirms to you our recollection of the matter as stated in your letter of the 5th ultimo. You may rest satisfied that the opposition will not have it in their power to make any thing out of the affair, and they will burn their fingers if they attempt it. There is no pretence, for urging, that the stipulation involves a violation of the constitution, for there is nothing in that instrument, which, either in terms, or by implication conflicts with the exercise of this authority under the Treaty making power. The restrictions which *this administration* has imposed upon itself, in this respect, are such only as are founded upon *grounds of expediency and a respect for a co-ordinate branch of the Government* by whom a particular power, viz the *regulation of duties with a view to the protection of home production*, has been heretofore exercised, and in whose hands it is most proper that it should be left. Upon this principle you have said in your public Messages, and in my letter to Genl Van Scholten,³ that *you will not enter into any treaty stipulations conflicting with the acts of congress passed for the protection of American productions*; or even occupying the same ground; though they might not actually interfere with existing laws, and from this ground I trust you will never depart.

The stipulations in question, do not, in the slightest degree, interfere with that position, but it might be considered as doing so, [if] we refused to enter into any stipulation upon the subject of the *Brandy duties*. All that Mr Rives was authorized to do, and all that he has done, relates to *French Wines*, which are not made in any other Country, except France, and certainly not in our own. That there might be no pretence for clamour upon this subject, Mr Rives was expressly directed not to enter into any arrangement, which might interfere even with our Treaties with other powers, by which we stipulate, not to impose higher duties on *their* articles than we do on *similar* articles coming from other countries. this arrangement can not interfere with those Treaties, because the articles, to which it does applie are *not* produced in any other Country—it does not conflict with the protection of Home industry by Congress, for we produce no such wines—it cannot be carried into effect without the assent of the Senate; first by the ratification of the Treaty, and Congress next, by altering the present rate of duties by law, so that, so far, from interfering

² Samuel Smith, senator from Maryland.

³ Gen. P. van Scholten, governor of the Danish West Indies and special minister to the U. S. The letter, of Nov. 29, 1830, is printed in *House Ex. Doc. 21*, 21 Cong., 2 sess., and in *Register of Debates*, vol. VIII., app., p. clxiii.

with the rights of any branch of the Government, it is only an incipient step towards the consummation of a measure, which requires the consent of every Branch of the Legislative and Executive powers of the Government; and which leaves each to its own voluntary action, in assenting to the project, or refusing to do so, and thereby defeating it.

That either of them will take the latter course is not to be anticipated, for the reduction of the duties on the French wines, will not only, be an advantage to ourselves, but the measure was in full progress in Congress, and the Bill reported by Genl Smith, last winter, contained a promise looking to a stipulation like that which has been made by Mr Rives; and would probably have been passed, had I not spoken to Genl Smith and Mr Cambreleng⁴ not to act upon it, then, for fear of its interfering with the use which we have now made of it; and by means of which we have relieved ourselves from a most pressing and important claim—a claim which if it had been left to arbitration, (as was offered to be done by the late administration) might have involved our country in the most grievous, and inextricable embarrassments—please to read Mr Rives original instruction upon this point of the French Claim under the Louisiana Treaty. The manner in which we have gotten rid of this matter, when contrasted with the hazard, to which the course authorized by Messrs Adams and Clay would have exposed the Country, constitutes one of the most valuable features of the late arrangement, and ought to be fairly exposed to the nation, in the papers, Instructions, etc. which will be called for by the Senate, and Congress, and upon which too much attention cannot be bestowed by Mr Livingston. I shall write to him about it, and I wish you would also have it in mind.

Every thing in Mr Rives original instructions which relates to the claims, ought to go before the Senate, and I know of nothing in the subsequent instructions, (although there may be something) which it would be best to with-hold. (of all this however you and Mr. Livingston will best judge and I shall be content). Taken together they will establish useful matters, of which, I can mention the following from recollection—viz 1: They will shew that the reason why the settlement of the claims was so long retarded, was in a great degree, owing, to a *question of form* in which Mr Adams suffered himself to be drawn, viz, that he would not connect the subject of claims, and the Louisiana question together; upon which the matter was kept off by France ever since the year 1822, and which we wisely repudiated. 2dly, It will shew the hazard we have avoided, by not following the dangerous course recommended by the late administration, in regard to the submission of the Louisiana question to arbitration. 3dly, It will shew the fallacy of the pretence that the settlement is the result of the change of Government in France, and will moreover afford a tolerably fair view of the reasons, why a reduction from the gross amount of the claims was proper, etc. etc. Mr Livingston will be very busy, and if he was to put the matter early into the hands of Mr Trist, I have no doubt he would arrange the papers for Mr Livingstons examination with Judgment and fidelity.

⁴ C. C. Cambreleng, M. C. from New York 1821-1839.

There is but one point in the arrangement about which I have some apprehension. I wrote to Mr Rives as soon as I landed, and requested him to advise me of what he had done. He was absent from Paris, and since his return has sent me a copy of the Treaty and I shall write him upon the point, to which I am about to allude, and will inform you of the result, if it is material to do so. It is this—by the 7th article of the Treaty the French Government in consideration of the reduction of our duties upon their wines “*abandons the reclamations* which it had formed in relation to the 8th article of the Treaty of cession of Louisiana”. now I do not know that there is any document which shews what those *reclamations* were. the claim has been viewed on two aspects viz 1st, a *reclamation* proper for the remuneration of the duties they have paid and 2dly, the question as to the *future operation and construction* of the Treaty. The intention, undoubtedly, is, that they mean to abandon, not only their claim for damages, which is the idea properly conveyed by the term “*reclamation*”, but that they also, renounce forever, all claim to exemption, which they have set up, under their construction of the Treaty. Mr Rives will doubtless make some satisfactory explanation of the matter, and may draw from the French Government an avowal upon the point, which might come in good season to stop the mouths of unruly gainsayers.

One word more upon the subject of the message. You have taken your ground upon the basis of a strict construction of the Constitution and it is the only true and saving ground. A great portion of your Cabinet although in other respects quite the thing are not altogether in that Sentiment, and without much care on your part, doctrines may be suggested and adopted, which would expose you to the charge of inconsistency. I am lead to this observation by understanding from the Capt’n of the Packet, that our good friend McLane intended to recommend a provision authorizing advances to destitute Americans in Foreign Countries, to enable them to return home. Now although this is justifiable in the case of distressed Seamen, under the powers to regulate Commerce, and provide for a Navy, I know of no authority in the Federal Government to extend that provision to our Citizens at large.

You see that the Reform Bill has been thrown out by the Lords. The excitement here is intense and were it not for the circumstance, that the King, ministers, and people, are all on the same side, and constitute 19/20ths of the nation, would be truly appalling. as it is, I believe a civil commotion will be avoided, as long as the King and ministry remain firm, and the people retain their confidence in them. When either ceases, this Country will be exposed to a dreadful agitation. I believe every one of the Royal Household, except the Duke of Sussex,⁵ (who appears to be a very sincere and clear headed man,) is opposed to the course the King is pursuing, and if he maintains his ground, he will be entitled to great credit. Do me the favor to return my warmest acknowledgements to the Gentlemen and Ladies of your House-Hold for their kind remembrance of me. Ask Mrs. Donelson to remember me to her son, and the young lady whom I shall claim for Master Smith, if he proves worthy of her. Say to Miss Easten, that I depend upon her good heart and excellent under-

⁵ Augustus Frederick, sixth son of George III.

standing, to keep all things straight at Washington, that she owes me a letter, which I wish she would pay, but that if she asks two for one, I will be most happy to earn the favor of a few lines from her, by writing to her again whenever she gives me permission. . . .

TO MRS. MARY DUNLAP.¹

WASHINGTON, October 13, 1831.

Genl. A. Jackson, an early acquaintance and friend of Miss Polly Crawford, now Mrs. Dunlap, presents his compliments to, and informs her that it is, with great pleasure he learns, through Col. Williams, that she still lives in the enjoyment of good health and happiness. As a memento of his undeviating friendship for Mrs. D, he presents for her acceptance a much valued snuff Box, which was made and presented to the Genl., by a gallant tar, as an evidence of gratitude for the efficient defence of "Beauty and Booty" before New Orleans on the 8th of January 1815. The General sincerely regrets to learn that all of Mrs. Dunlaps brothers have passed to that bourne from whence no traveller returns, and begs leave to assure her that the length of time, the nights of toil, watchfulness the imminent danger, and Serious privations and vicissitudes through which he has passed have not banished from his mind the endearing recollection of the pleasure he enjoyed in his boyhood in the agreeable society of herself and her family.

It will always afford him pleasure to recur to those days of his Youth which he spent in the society of her family. The Genl., learning from Colo. Williams that Mrs. Dunlap has a son, begs leave to present, through her, to him a pamphlet and newspaper from which he can discover the true character of some of the ambitious and unprincipled demagogues of the present day, and that those feelings of chivalry which distinguished men of high rank in former days seem to have become extinct in the bosom of some of the late dignitaries of the present age. The General desires to be kindly presented to the family of Mrs. D, and must be permitted to tender her the expression of the great respect and esteem which he will always cherish for her.

JOHN RANDOLPH TO JACKSON.

NEW YORK, October 13, 1831.

My dear Sir, Yesterday, I landed here after a distressing passage of six weeks from Portsmouth. . . .

I have passed the night without sleep, in a high fever, almost incessantly coughing and expectorating blood. This will induce me, as soon as I am able to travel, to take the most direct and least fatiguing route to Richmond, and consequently to leave Washington on my right; unless it shall be your wish that I should appear there in person. In which case, on receiving the slightest intimation to that effect through the Post office at Baltimore, I shall deem it my duty to attend upon you.

I am glad to hear that your health is quite restored. Believe me to be with the highest respect and regard, my dear Sir, your faithful friend and Servant

¹ Copy.

JOHN RANDOLPH TO JACKSON.

BALTIMORE, October 18, 1831.

My dear Sir, On my arrival here last Evening, the Post-Master, Mr. Skinner, waited on me with your letter. Accept my best thanks for your kind indulgence. I am equally sensible to the obliging and friendly manner in which you are pleased to express yourself towards me. I would go on to Washington, notwithstanding your permission to the contrary, if I were not a mass of disease and misery, disgusting to myself and, no doubt, loathsome to others. I shall endeavour to proceed on to Florida in the course of the next month, or the month after.

May I trouble you for information on the following heads, which (as your time is too precious to be unnecessarily consumed) you may cause to be transmitted thro' the Department of State.

1. At what time did my relation to my own government cease to exist?
2. Am I entitled to the expenses of my voyage home including my servants and freight of luggage?

Any balance which may be due me I would be glad to receive by letter of credit on our Bankers in London, as I have occasion for funds in Europe.

Before my appointment Mr Van Buren was kind enough to furnish me with the English Newspapers, as also Mr Branch. May I ask a continuance of this favour? The papers shall be (as they have been) faithfully returned. My address for some time to come will be "*Richmond Virginia*".

I write this in bed. I am, Dear Sir, most faithfully your's

P. S. I have great fears for the Chief Justice. He was not doing well the day before yesterday (Sunday)¹

HENRY BALDWIN¹ TO JACKSON.

PHILADELPHIA, October 18, 1831.

Dear Sir, I am now authorised to say to you that Mr. Lacock had a full knowledge in the winter of 1818,19 of the confidential letter alluded to (or as he calls it the Johnny Rhea letter) from the highest authority.

On the receipt of your second letter authorising me to do so I made application to Col Watmaugh, who wrote to Mr. Roberts and received a reply not explicit, but, from which the inference was irresi[s]tible that he had a full knowledge of the contents of the letter. he promised to give the Col. a full statement of all the particulars attending it when they met which was expected in a few days. The Col. showed me the letter. I then told him that the information was desired by me for the purpose of communicating it to a gentleman with whom I had conversed on the subject and stated my belief that both Roberts and Lacock had seen the letter, wishing him to write to Mr. Roberts, state my object to him and ask him if he had any objection to my making this use of his letter. The Col. wrote accordingly but had received no answer when I went to Baltimore on the railroad

¹ Chief Justice Marshall did not die until 1835.

¹ Since Jan. 6, 1830, an associate justice of the Supreme Court.

excursion, and he went on to Washington before my return. it was a subject of too much delicacy for me to press and finding no letter from Col Watmaugh determined to wait until Mr. Lacock came to the Baltimore Convention to which he had been elected ¹ and I knew he was to be here as a commissioner of a Canal company.

Hearing of his arrival yesterday I called on him and found him alone. after some time I introduced the subject of the Seminole War the proceedings in Congress about it and the controversy at and between Mr. Calhoun and Crawford and referred to the confidential letter.

In the course of the conversation he said he had not seen the letter but that during that session 1818, 19 he had a knowledge of the contents of it in full and of all that had passed in relation to it from the highest authority, conversed freely and repeatedly with Mr. Calhoun on the views taken by the President himself and the Cabinet and the course of proceeding in the Senate on the subject and then remarked, Crawford is right about it. Finding my remarks made in your parlour last winter and those contained in my first letter on this matter fully confirmed I then remarked to him that in 1823 I had stated to you the course understood to have been adopted in the Cabinet that Mr. Crawford had been improperly confused [?] by your friends for the part he was supposed to have taken and that if anyone had taken an unfriendly part towards you it was Mr. Calhoun. I offered to Lacock that Mr. Crawford had given me this information and then stated to him the conversation between us last winter, that for these reasons it was my wish to communicate our conversation to you but that it would not be done without his permission.

Mr Lacock replied that he knew of no reason why everything which took place at that time (1818, 19) should be considered as confidential especially after so much had been published about it, that Mr. Calhoun had written to him on the subject and had his reply in full. he then gave me permission to state our conversation to you which is in substance what is here done. he several times repeated the expression, "yes from the highest authority".

I am much pleased that you are thus able to state the fact of the communication of the contents of your confidential letter to others than the members of Mr Munroes cabinet. it did not occur to me to ask Mr. Lacock whether he had seen a copy, it was my impression from the conversation that he had but I cannot say that any expressions of his were intended to carry that idea. I shall see him again and if a proper occasion occurs will ascertain that fact distinctly.

As it was your desire to receive as early information on this matter as possible it has been given at the earliest time. if in any future interview with Mr. Lacock he should state any thing additional worth mentioning it will be immediately communicated. in the meantime it is my wish that unless it is necessary for your own vindication my name should not be used. A reference to Mr Lacock and his correspondence with Mr Calhoun and if necessary to Mr Roberts will afford ample means of proving all

¹ The Antimasonic National Convention of Sept, 26, 1831.

that this letter contains, probably much more. If you wish me to have any more particular conversation with Mr Lacock I will do it, this has been our first conversation on the Seminole war for many years. he spoke about the matter without any feeling, said much about you but nothing personal or harsh, confining his objections to your reelection entirely to political considerations. I am sure he would not decline any information from any impulse of personal hostility to yourself or political attachment to Mr Clay. as to any matter between you and Mr Calhoun he appears under no bias

Yours with esteem

TO JOHN RANDOLPH.

WASHINGTON, October 21, 1831.

Dear Sir, In answer to your letter of the [18th] instant in relation to the state of your accounts, I have the pleasure to inclose you a letter from the Secretary of State containing the information requested.

You will perceive from that letter that it has been customary for the minister to vouch the contingent expenses incurred during the term of his service; and that after his term of service this obligation devolves on the officer having charge of the legation. The reason for this custom is so obvious that I am satisfied you would not allow its application to your accounts to be interrupted.

With the aid of the abstract from the books of the 5th Auditor which accompanies the letter of the Secretary and which is also inclosed herewith, I am in hopes that you will be able to state your accounts and vouch them in the usual form. When this is done the balance due to you can be remitted to you in a check on the state Bank at Richmond, or otherwise applied here according to your directions. If you will intimate your wishes on this subject to me, I shall take much pleasure in forwarding them.

Wishing you a speedy recovery of your health, and the enjoyment of every other blessing, I remain, my dear sir,
yr obt. and very respectful svt.

[*Indorsement:*] Substance of a letter to Mr. Randolph on the subject of his accounts.

TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOHN COFFEE.¹

WASHINGTON, October 23, 1831.

My D'r Genl, By the administrator of Lt Dumas was your letter forwarded to me from Baltimore where the Lt died with a short illness of two days, supposed with yellow fever. he was taken ill on the saturday evening that he arrived there, and died on monday morning, I regret that I had not seen him, but I still hope there is sufficient honesty in your legislature, to prevent the commissioners of the canal fund from squandering it to useless purposes, and you may rest assured, so far as any duty devolves on the executive here, he will perform it with an eye single to the good and prosperity of your state, and to the public, regardless of consequences.

¹ Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.

Two days since I had sent on a joint commission to Genl J. H. Eaton and yourself, to negotiate with the choctaws and chickasaws for a country within the choctaw boundary west of the Mississippi river sufficient for the choctaws to settle on. It is important, as the choctaws are, now, in part removing that this should be attended to speedily, that the chickasaws may go with them.

you will find you are left unrestricted as to the terms on which this is to be obtained. your discretion and the object to be obtained, you are to be governed by, resting confidently that you will get it on as low terms as you can, and stipulating, that the amount to be paid, shall be by annuities, and that at a distant period, so that the amount can be raised out of the sales of the Chickasaw lands; bearing in mind, that I keep in view steadily, the full discharge of the public debt on the 3d of March 1833, and I wish no debt created that will interfere with the revenue that is to meet that object, therefore it is, that I wish you and Genl Eaton to stipulate the consideration to be paid the choctaws, to be paid by annuities [to] commence after that date, or to be secured to be paid out of the sales of the chickasaw lands. These lands if added to your land district, can be surveyed and brought into market in all the next year, but if annexed to the Mississippi district, may not be brought into market for several years, unless we can get a surveyor Genl with more energy and capacity than the present. we have furnished him with funds to survey the choctaw lands some time ago, and we have not heard as yet of his having stretched a chain upon it. he is one of Mr Poindexters men, and has refused to employ any deputies, as it is said, that does not live in the state, therefore it appears, that the public business must be converted into a political, for private views. I will in due time attend to this. . . .

JOHN RANDOLPH TO JACKSON.

RICHMOND, October 24, 1831.

My dear Sir, Your very kind and friendly letter of the 21st of October was not recd. by me until to day. Nothing was farther from my intention than to suppose, or wish, that any departure from the established rules of the Treasury should be made in the settlement of my accounts with that Department. I have no such arrogance of spirit, but as in truth nearly the whole consists of the allowance made by you, I thought that the items of postage (not susceptible of vouchers) and of stationery, for which I transmitted the tradesman's receipt, might be passed without my personal attendance although I am ready to give it, if required, impatient as I am to set out for Florida before the winter sets in.

I am most anxious to see you if it were but for one hour: to tell you what I am incapable of writing and what I should be unwilling to put to paper, if I were otherwise circumstanced. Since my arrival, I have heard some things that you ought to know, if you have not been already apprized of them.

I cannot close this letter without calling your attention to the hard condition of our *Chargé d' Affaires* at St. Petersburg and at London. These gentlemen have new duties imposed upon them, involving additional

expenses, without any means to defray them. I would not be understood as countenancing such abuse as that practised in the case of John A. King; but where, thro' the absence of the Minister the duty of *Chargé d'Affaires* devolves upon the Secretary of Legation *and he is, by the nomination of the President and approbation of the Senate, confirmed in that situation,* surely he ought to have something more for the additional expense (to say nothing of the additional duties) to which he is subjected, than the Salary of Secretary of Legation, which was previously his own.

I will take leave to call your attention to another subject. I mean our naval discipline. At my instance, the punishment of the lash was abolished in the Army; and if I were in Congress, I should feel myself constrained to bring forward a similar motion in regard to the Navy. I know that common sailors are a very different class of men from our militia men, and will bear what the spirit of these last cannot brook. But the scenes which I witnessed on board the *Concord* were so revolting, that I made up my mind never to take passage again on board of a vessel of War—at least with a newly shipped crew. The men were raw; some of them landsmen; most of them fishermen (not whalemén—they are the best of seamen) utterly ignorant of the rigging, or management of a square rigged vessel. The Midshipmen had to shew them the various ropes etc: the very names of which they were ignorant of, and knew not where to look for them—the lieutenants were worn down performing not their own proper duties only but those of the midshipmen also, who, in turn, were discharging the duties of able bodied seamen. Punishment by putting in irons, and by the *Colt* was continually going on. I do not know whether the *Cat* was used or not, as I always retreated to my stateroom to avoid the odious spectacle which surprised and shocked my negroe slaves. In seven years the same quantity of punishment would not be distributed among the same number of slaves as was inflicted in a voyage of three weeks from Hampton Roads to Portsmouth. What was done afterwards I know not, having been confined to my room and chiefly to my bed during the voyage from England to Cronstadt.

I congratulate you most cordially on the confusion in the Camp of the Enemy, and remain with every sentiment of confidence and regard, Dear Sir, your most faithful servant and friend

May I ask the favour of you to read my letter to the Secretary of State? of this date. My health gets worse every day.

TO JOHN RANDOLPH.¹

WASHINGTON, October 26, 1831.

My dear Sir, Your very friendly and highly esteemed letter of the 24th Instant, in answer to mine of the 21st, was this morning received. I sincerely regret to learn the continuance of your bad health, and hope that your intended journey to Florida, with change of air, etc. will prove so beneficial to you as to restore it perfectly. Immediately on the receipt

¹ Copy.

of your letter, I sent for the Secretary of State, and read it to him. Our conclusion was, to obviate the necessity of your coming here, that it would be best to send you the accounts made out for your signature, which you will receive, under cover from the Secretary of state, by the same mail that carries this to you. This course will, I hope, meet your views of propriety, as, on the return of the papers with your signature, a check (for the ballance due you) will be forwarded to you payable at the Bank in Richmond or any other point which you may wish and will designate. It would have afforded me sincere pleasure to have seen, and conversed with you on the subject of our Foreign relations, and domestic policy. I must, however, for the present submit and forego this pleasure as your health is of great importance to your Country at the present crisis, and should not be endangered by any journey that may not be regarded beneficial to it. I offer up my prayers for the speedy and perfect restoration of your health, which I confidently hope will be so benefited, by your travelling and spending the winter in the mild climate of Florida, that you will be able, on your return, to afford me the pleasure of seeing you, etc. May I not solicit the pleasure of occasionally hearing from you as to the state of your health, etc. etc.?

With sentiments of the highest regard, I am, dear Sir, your sincere friend,

TO ANDREW JACKSON, JR.¹

WASHINGTON, October 27, 1831.

My son: I have perused with great interest the letter of Sarah's which you have submitted to me. Since my heavy and irreparable bereavement in the death of my dear and ever to be lamented wife, the only object that makes life desirable to me is to see you happy and prosperous, and permanently settled in life; united to an amiable wife of respectability, one whose disposition and amiable qualities are calculated to make you happy. Your happiness will insure mine, for the few years which I can expect to live. You say that Sarah possesses every quality necessary to make you happy. The amiability of her temper and her other good qualities which you represent is a sure pledge to me that she will unite with you in adding to my comfort during my life. You will please communicate to her that you have my full and free consent that you be united in the holy bonds of matrimony; that I shall receive her as a daughter, and cherish her as my child. I find you are engaged to each other; the sooner this engagement is consummated the better. Both your minds will then be at rest, and if it suits the wishes and convenience of Sarah, my choice would be that the nuptials be celebrated in due time before the meeting of congress,² as then I shall want your aid, and it would put it in my power to receive you and Sarah here before the bustle of congress commences. Present me

¹ Copy.

² Congress met on Dec. 5. Andrew Jackson, jr., and Sarah York were married in Philadelphia on Nov. 24, 1831. The bride was as amiable and beautiful as her lover represented her to be. To his father she became a true daughter, giving him a wealth of care and affection which he returned with zeal. The ministrations of his daughter-in-law and the comfort he had from her children were the brightest spots in his old age.

affectionately to Sarah, for, although unknown to me, your attachment to her has created in my bosom a parental regard for her. That, I have no doubt, will increase on our acquaintance. I am

Your affectionate father

JOHN RANDOLPH TO JACKSON.

RICHMOND, October 29, 1831.

My dear Sir, Your truly kind and valued letter of the 26th of October was received yesterday. It found me in a state of too great debility to permit me to thank you for it (as I do most cordially) by return of mail. In truth, since the dreadful night of Monday the 10th I have been sinking under a disease which has daily grown worse and I find myself at present in more wretched plight than when I landed at New York. I am detained here by the unaccountable non arrival of my horses, for which I wrote the day after my letter to you from N. York, and in due course of mail my letter ought to have reached my overseer on the 21st. My present condition is indeed most pitiable. My fever has not intermitted for three weeks. I think it is erysipelatous, from the eruptions on my body and limbs. My face has fortunately escaped, but the brain pays for it. Enough, indeed, too much, of this.

Be assured that it will afford me great pleasure to communicate with you by letter, during my absence. You will have yourself to blame, after your kind and flattering suggestion on this subject, if you have more of my letters to read than the calls upon your time may render quite convenient. How is it, my dear Sir, that you and the Secretary of state have so little sensibility, to my insolence and arrogance in slighting "my official superiors" and shewing my contemptuous scorn of them? and how kind and generous it is in Mr Walsh¹ and his co-labourers to resent these indignities for you?

In regard to the old Cabinet, I have been greatly deceived in one man, whom I believed to be personally devoted to you. With respect to the others, I never had but one opinion, and that caused me to regret that (with one exception) you were surrounded by such advisers. You and the country (with that exception) are happily rid of them. In regard to their successors, I only fear that Leviathan² has too many friends among them, and not only that monster in Chesnut Street, but the "American system" and internal improvements also. Every man is free to choose his principles, but as these opinions are diametrically opposed to mine, I cannot feel that cordiality towards their supporters (as publick men) which I earnestly desire to extend to all connected with you. But this does not and cannot affect the sentiments of respect and regard with which I am and shall ever be, Dear Sir, your obliged and faithful friend and Servant

P. S. I beg to refer you to my letter of yesterday to Mr Livingston.

¹ Robert Walsh, jr., editor of the *National Gazette* and of the *American Review*.

² The United States Bank.

TO HENRY BALDWIN.

WASHINGTON, October 31, 1831.

My dear Sir, As I am preparing facts for the faithful historian, and have the most anxious desire that everything, which I may state for the benefit of the present generation or posterity, may be *truly* stated, and as, in Speaking of the Seminole War, it may be necessary to have reference to my confidential letter, written to Mr. Monroe on the 6th of January 1818, and allude to the use which was made of it, I have determined to address you this note in consequence of a Conversation heretofore had with you on this Subject. It may, as I have just intimated, become proper to State, what I understand to be the fact, that this letter was in the hands of Mr. Lacock whilst he was acting as Chairman of the Senate's Committee in 1819, and before he made his memorable report on the Seminole War containing, as it did, from beginning to end a Complete tissue of falsehoods, misrepresentation and false colourings. In the conversation to which I have alluded, and which took place in the presence of Mr. Lumpkins of Georgia and others in my parlour one evening when you called to See me just before the adjournment of the Supreme Court, you remarked "that the letter alluded to was in the possession of Mr. Lacock at that time as you understood." If this expression was intended not to be used or spoken of again it shall be so considered; but, otherwise, I will, with your permission, note it, and at the proper time, use it to shew the fact that the letter, without my Knowledge or approbation, was placed in the hands of Mr. Lacock to be used to my injury. This will also give an indication of the reason which induced Mr. Calhoun to bring this letter to the recollection of Mr. Monroe in Decbr 1818. There is, I am authentically informed, a member of this Committee of the Senate who says Mr. Lacock had this letter in his possession: but I wish this Statement corroborated by your knowledge of the fact. I will thank you for answer to this at as early a period after its receipt as your Convenience will permit.

I am, very respectfully, Your friend,

HENRY BALDWIN TO JACKSON.¹

PHILADELPHIA, November 3, 1831.

Dear Sir, In relation to your confidential letter to Mr. Munro in 1818 my recollection is not from personal knowledge as I never saw it neither

¹ In view of the criticism of Jackson's style of writing, the attention of the reader is directed to the paragraphing, punctuation, and capitalization in this letter. The writer of it was born in New Haven, graduated at Yale, achieved distinction as a lawyer in Connecticut and in Pennsylvania, became an ornament of the Federalist party, which sent him to Congress for three terms, and was a justice of the United States Supreme Court at the time the letter was written. It will not do to conclude that Mr. Justice Baldwin was illiterate. He read the best books continually. Yet in this letter he cared nothing for his own punctuation, he ignored the rules for capitalization, and he was innocent of any intention to relieve the reader's tedium by dividing the matter into paragraphs. Why this result? Probably it was sheer indifference to literary form. Many of the letters of the day are full of the same fault. The editor has set himself to reproduce them as they are. But through regard for the reader he has usually revised the paragraphing. In this particular letter however he has left the matter as it came from the writer, in order that the reader may see what kind of paragraphing might be committed by a man who had received every educational advantage that the country had to offer him in his day.

have I any personal knowledge of its having been in the possession of Mr Lacock or any of the members of the committee on that subject in 1819. I was informed then that he had access to all the correspondence on the Subject of the Seminole war including your confidential letters and that the report of the committee of the Senate disclose many important facts not developed in the discussion which had taken place in the house of Representatives but which would entirely change the attitude in which their vote had placed you before the Nation. The date of the 6 January was not impressed on my mind at the time but my understanding was that the whole of the correspondence public and confidential was before the committee of the Senate by the procurement of Mr Lacock whose friends assumed great merit to him for having discovered what had been up to that time unknown. I have not his report but am confident that he refers to some letters of yours not before published or in any way noticed which showed that he had other means of information than what were possessed by the committee of the house. I was on the foreign committee and was engaged very laboriously for a month in the investigation of this subject through every source of information before the committee or within my reach on seeing Mr. Lacocks report it was unaccountable to me that he should have become possessed of letters which had not been communicated to the committee of foreign relations which is a confidential one, or the committee on military affairs which was likewise charged with the same subject. Mr. Lacock took up this subject with much warmth and zeal. he was very intimate with Mr Munro at that time whose confidence he possessed in a very high degree it was then and is now my belief that he had a more free access to every source of information than had been had by any member of any other committee to whom this subject had been referred and that he had seen every paper that had passed between you and the President but there is no fact within my recollection which would enable me to say that he had seen the letter alluded to His intercourse and mine was limited and far from friendly. the Seminole war was a subject on which we could not converse Col Johnson of Kentucky was on terms of intimacy with Mr. Lacock at that time it is very probable that he had conversation with him which would give more light on this subject than is in my power to do Mr Lowrie the Secretary of the Senate may have heard the whole matter detailed by Lacock he succeeded him in the Senate in 1819 and was a member when your memorial in reply to Lacocks report was presented as that Report caused a good deal of excitement in our part of the country in the spring and summer of 1819 it would be an interesting matter to Mr Lowrie who would expect to hear some reply to it in the Senate at the next session it would be well for some friend to have a conversation with him on the subject. Jonothan Roberts was then a senator from this state he was an *enragii*² about the Seminole war the coadjutor and bosom friend of Lacock acting together on all occasions Roberts has a strong memory especially on all subjects on which he has suffered his passions to take a wide scope as

² Presumably *enragé* was intended, meaning, one enraged.

he did on this. He must know everything which Lacock did and have seen every paper which was in the possession of the other and would I think readily communicate it on an application made to him by some personal friend of his own. It would not be prudent that he should know that you or any of your friends felt any concern about any matter within his knowledge but as there is probably no person who could give a better account of all the papers which were submitted to the committee or communicated to Lacock I would suggest the propriety of an application to him keeping your name wholly out of view, if you approve of it I will have it done through some person who will know me as the only person interested in the inquiry. The part I took in the Seminole discussion connected with my opposition to Mr. Calhoun and his late conduct will be in his mind an obvious reason for my desiring all the information which Mr. Roberts can give.

I am very happy in hearing of the perfect restoration of your health

Yours with esteem

TO BENJAMIN B. COOPER.

WASHINGTON, November 7, 1831.

Dear sir, Your letter of the 1st instant covering a copy of our written agreement about the stud horse, Bolivar, is recd. The course adopted by you with the company is fully approved. I have no fears of the character of Bolivar suffering, his colts will recommend him whenever seen, and his appearance will improve daily. If a *good turf mare*, is put to him, his merit will be proven by the product on the Turf, and it is my belief, from the performance of my filly in Tennessee, whose blood is the same, and as near akin as they can be, not to be brother and sisters, their mothers being full sisters, that his offspring will well compete with that of Henry.

I am very respectfully yr most obdt. Servt.

JOHN RANDOLPH TO JACKSON.

CHARLOTTE C. H., VA., November 8, 1831.

. . . . It is in vain, my dear Sir, to disguise from you or from myself, that there has been a great defection on the part of your supporters in Virginia within the last twelve or fifteen months. Men whom I left your friends I now find not only opposed to *you*, but supporters of Mr Clay—others who were lukewarm, or indifferent, or undecided, have taken sides against the Administration, and in no one instance have I met with defection from the cause of the coalition. One of my firmest and best friends, a man of great wealth, intelligence and influence, I found to my surprise and chagrin an adherent of the Coalition. It is true that he is no longer a resident or, I believe, freeholder of the district, but he is separated from it only by the River James, has married children settled in it and possesses a great and (from his character for intelligence and integrity, as well as his large property) a deserved interest not only here but in the adjoining districts and the City of Richmond. It is true that his conversion to “the American System” and to the cause of its great supporter, Mr Clay, has

been subsequent to his establishment of a cotton Factory. But there are other instances of a similar sort, where there is no such bias as in this case.

It is due to you also to inform you, that several of your warmest supporter's at the late election, who are your unshaken friends at this time and cannot be detached from you have declared to me in private and in confidence their dissatisfaction at some of the persons, who are believed to be much in your confidence and some of the appointments (particularly of newspaper editors) which you have made. Now as I am entirely ignorant of the characters of these persons, it is impossible for me to form, or to express an opinion: but I cannot conceal from myself and ought not to conceal from you, that a very numerous body of your most respectable and staunch supporters do privately regret, and deeply too, that certain persons, whom I shall not more plainly designate, have, as they believe, habitual access to your person and, as your enemies allege, much influence over your decisions. No great captain ever wished to be deceived as to the real state of his own effective force or that of the enemy. And did I deem so unworthily of you, my dear Sir, as to imagine for an instant, that the truth, however disagreeable, would be less acceptable to you than a flattering, but false representation of the state of your and our affairs and prospects, this letter (as well as some others) would never have been written. . . .

Travelling (partly in a carriage and partly on horseback) has expelled so much poison from my entrails that I have gained strength enough to purpose meeting the freeholders of Buckingham next Monday (14th) at their quarterly court; and as I hear dreadful accounts of Florida, I am half tempted to give up my proposed hybernation there. I would go on to Washington but for a reason that will suggest itself to you without my stating it. Referring you to a letter to the Secty of State of this date, I remain, Dear Sir, faithfully your's

[P. S.] Extract of a letter from N. Macon of N. Carolina¹ to J. R. of R. dated Buck Spring Octr. 28. 1831. recd. this day (Novr. 8th.)

"I purposely omit touching on the letters addressed to the people by the ex-secretaries because I care nothing about their contents. Jackson I hope, unless he changes some of his opinions for the worse, will be again elected. Although I do not approve all his opinions, he is the best we can get."

TO SECRETARY LIVINGSTON.¹

November 10, 1831.

Confidential.

The President with his respects to Mr. E. Livingston encloses a letter recd. from Mr. V. B. for his perusal and consideration. The subject of

¹ Nathaniel Macon (1757-1837), M. C. 1791-1815, senator 1815-1828.

¹ From the collection of the letters and papers of Edward Livingston, preserved at his former residence, Montgomery Place, Barrytown, N. Y.; printed by the kindness of Brigadier-General John Ross Delafield.

the North East boundary is one of great delicacy and importance. The suggestion of indemnity for territory surrendered a good one, but a question of great delicacy arises on the manner of suggesting it to the Senate—would it not be well to barely suggest, that if the Senate were of opinion that an indemnity ought to be made, that the Executive would heartily concur in any measure that might put to rest this important and now perplexing subject. The boundary of the state of Main never having been established, but allways in dispute, the constitutional question of the power of the General govt. to partition a State, by surrender to a foreign Government, does not appear to be embraced in this case. When you read the enclosed please return it to me, you will see that it was only intended for my own eye.

TO JOHN RANDOLPH.¹

WASHINGTON, November 11, 1831.

D'r Sir, I have received your favor of the 8th inst., and am truly gratified to hear that exercise and the pure air of Va have had a favorable influence upon your system. Allow me to express the hope that these causes aided by the society of your old friends may yet conquer your disease and restore your usual health.

You inform me that at a late meeting with your constituents you had occasion to use my private letters to you. I have too much confidence in your friendship and discretion to doubt the propriety of any reference which you can have made on that occasion to my correspondence. Although not perhaps as guarded in expression as it would have been if designed for publication, and in this respect may call for some explanation from you, its sentiments I trust are just and obvious enough to save me from misconception and yourself from misrepresentation in using them.

I am aware that some dissatisfaction was exerted in Va by the course of the executive in regard to appointments; but I was never sensible of the justness of the exceptions stated to the employment of Printers in the public service. The press is the Palladium of our liberties. Disfranchise those who conduct it: or what is the same thing make the calling of an editor a disqualification for the possession of those rewards which are calculated to enlarge the sphere of talent and merit, and which are accessible to other callings in life, and you necessarily degrade it. You throw out of its service the principles which foster virtue and distinction and in their place those of a contrary character naturally take root and grow up.

It is the object of all who really take an interest in the honor and welfare of our country to elevate the character of the press and make it the vehicle of truth and useful knowledge. What scheme can be more subversive of this object than one which virtually withdraws from the service of the press those who aspire to some higher character in life than that of mere agents for the advancement and distinction of others? The respectability of the humblest vocations in life cannot be maintained when circumscribed by such a rule, and much less can that be which aims to enlighten the public mind and thus guard the institutions of the country from

¹ Copy. Handwriting of A. J. Donelson.

the counsels of the unwise and the designs of the ambitious. Intending not to sanction a rule so unjust as this in the bestowal of the public patronage I refused to consider the editorial calling as unfit to offer a candidate for office; and accordingly appointed them on a few occasions when they were deemed honest and capable. In doing so I obeyed a sense of duty which I cannot doubt will be approved by the country at large.

There may have been instances in which I selected characters not the best calculated for the service in which they were placed, but explanations on this ground do not reach the objections to which you have alluded and are therefore not called for on this occasion. Those objections have reference to a general principle which renders it improper to appoint printers to offices of honor or emolument; or at least to such an undue partiality for this class of applicants on the part of this administration as to make it obnoxious to the charge of subsidizing the press.

The latter charge is as far from fact and truth as the principle stated would be from a just regard for the honor and independence of the press. On the score of numbers the proportion of printers who have been appointed will be found to warrant no such inference. The few who hold offices are without exception old and well tried members of the Republican party, and were in every instance distinguished by the confidence and regard of the community in which they lived. The fact is that it is against this feature of their appointments that the malice of my enemies has been directed, and I think the public mind will soon perceive it. Look at the operations of the Bank of the United States on this particular and see if all these objections are not gradually conformed to the lists which the magic power of that institution now threaten to enforce.

In regard however to these complaints and others of a similar character founded on a pretended distrust of *influences* near or around me, I can only say that they spring from the same false view of my character. I should loath myself did any act of mine afford the slightest colour for the insinuation that I follow blindly the judgement of any friend in the discharge of my proper duties as a public or private individual. I am sensible of my liability to err: but rest assured that I have too much confidence in the indulgence of my fellow citizens and in the integrity of my purposes to desire any other shield for my conduct than truth and a fair hearing from those who have a right to judge me.

Thanking you most sincerely for the freedom with which you have stated the apprehension of some of my friends and your own unaltered sentiments of friendship and regard, I remain my dear sir as usual yr. obliged and humble svt

GOVERNOR WILLIAM CARROLL TO JACKSON.¹

NASHVILLE, November 13, 1831.

. . . . You have doubtless seen and heard every thing in relation to the reception of Major Eaton in this place. It was in fact a very flattering one. The day after his arrival, I went into the General Assembly and started a subscription paper, for the purpose of giving him a public dinner;

¹ William Carroll was governor of Tennessee 1821-1827, 1829-1835.

and fifty three out of fifty nine present signed it without the least hesitation. The citizens also shewed great pleasure in testifying their respect for him. Upwards of one hundred of them were at the dinner; and the day went off with great harmony and good feeling. Some persons were in favor of inviting the members of the Legislature, but I was opposed to it, upon the ground, that their presence in that case would be doing no honor to Major Eaton, whereas, if they attended as subscribers, being members of the General Assembly, it would have the appearance abroad of being in a great degree the act of the whole State, and would certainly be more grateful to him. In truth it is but Justice to say that Major Eaton never stood as well in Tennessee as he does now; and if his friends urge him for the Senate a year hence the probability is in favor of his election. . . .

TO MARTIN VAN BUREN.¹

WASHINGTON, November 14, 1831.

My Dear Sir, I have the pleasure to acknowledge your several letters, viz: the one at sea, one of the 21st and two of the 28th of September last. Please accept for each and all of them my sincere thanks, and permit me to congratulate you and your son upon the fine health you enjoyed on your passage, and say to Mr. Vail that I regret much to hear of his sufferings. Your two last letters came in good time as we were just preparing a communication to transmit to the Senate with the award, and, it was highly important to be informed of the views of the British Government on that subject, before making this communication to the senate. You cannot, therefore, doubt of having my full approbation of the manner in which you have executed my wishes as expressed to you in my letter of the 10th of August last and I hope the communication promised by the B Minister will reach here before the meeting of congress. The friendly feelings of the Government of England, as expressed by the King and his Ministers, towards this, are highly regarded, and, on a proper occasion, you can assure the Minister that those friendly feelings are duely reciprocated by me. I am truly gratified at the kind reception which you have met with from all, and do not doubt but you will maintain the confidence of that, and advance the interest of our own Government. Your letter at sea affords me some valuable suggestions, which will be beneficially used. Any suggestions which your leisure will permit, and you may choose to make on any subject will be kindly received.

I think we will manage the business in respect to the award pretty well; but the opposition no doubt for political effect, will throw as many difficulties in our way as possible, and attempt to use it to my prejudice. I have but one doubt as to the propriety of my course on this subject, and that is whether I ought not to have taken the open ground of supporting the award. This doubt is created by the fact that, on this subject, the national faith was pledged by the acts and treaties of my predecessor, and, if Great Britain agrees to carry into effect the award and we refuse to do so, we may be charged with the want of good faith, and, on this ground,

¹ Copy. Handwriting of R. E. W. Earl.

Britain might take possession of the soil to the limits of her antient claims, which would lead to war. My advisers think it would be best for me not to avow a positive determination to support the award, as it is believed Congress will advise the award to be carried into effect rather than hazzard the probability of a war, and thereby disturb the good understanding which now happily exists between the two Countries. Nevertheless there appeares something awkward which may be construed as a s[h]rinking from respons[i]bi[li]ty under existing circumstances, which on reflection I do not like, in laying the subject before the senate as it may return the communication, and say that the matter belongs to the Executive, and when he calls upon us for the necessary aid to carry the award into effect, or for further negotiation on the subject they will answer the call. We have, however, determined to persue the course first agreed upon before you left me.

I have prepared the outlines of my message. We have found that we are able, with the use of the Bank Stock, to pay the public debt by the 3rd of March 1833, and we will recommend to congress the propriety of taking up the Tariff, and making a judicious reduction of duties to meet the wants of the Government after the public debt is paid, and consequently go into operation on 4th March 1833. This will annihilate the Nullifiers as they will be left without any pretext of Complaint. And, if they attempt disunion, it must be because they wish it, and have only indulged in their vituperations against the Tariff for the purpose of covertly accomplishing their ends.

The appeal of Maj. Eaton has had the most powerful and beneficial effect throughout the Union. Messers Calhoun, Ingham, Branch and Berrien are completely prostrated. I send you a Nashville paper that will give you some idea of the reaction in that place.² Judge Overton

² A letter from J. C. McLemore to A. J. Donelson, Nov. 9, 1831 (Library of Congress, A. J. Donelson Papers), has the following account of the visits of Eaton and his wife and Branch to Nashville:

"Your kind favour of the 15th ulto. was recvd. a day or two before the arival of Govenor Branch who reached here on the day of the dining given to Eaton. You will have seen by the papers the kind recepien given to Eaton. I was a subscriber to the dinner given him and attended it, there was fifty five of the sixty members of the Legislature and about 130 of our citizens, all thorough goeing Jackson men subscribers, and all attended. Eaton made a verry appropriate and excellent speech, the toasts were not personal and generally good and everything went off well—a good many ladies called on Mrs. E. A large party was given at Mr. Biddles at which she and all the fashionables of our little Town attended—Me and my wife with the rest—no introductions past—my wifes curiosity was satisfied by a sight of Mrs. E. She did not call on Mrs. E. although Bell urged it on me as being proper. I cou'd not see it in that light and of course my wife did not call on Mrs. E. She is however disposed to do whatever may be thought advisable by you and her sister, as she will not do any thing that might be supposed to prejudice her sister. I called on Eaton the day after his arival at the city Hotel. he recvd. me verry kindly and I was introduced to Mrs. E. but no conversation passed between her and me—the Majr. treated me with marked politeness. I gave every encouragement to others to take their wives to Visit Mrs. E, believing as I do *now* the sooner she gets full into society the better. I go in for the support of the old chief and so far as the reception of Eaton may be considered as a support of the Genl. he has been thus far well supported here. In Franklin, Murfreesboro [and] other places it is said dinners will be given Eaton.

"Govenor Branch too has been verry kindly recvd. by the Genls. friends. I called on him at Mr Hills the day after his arival and indeed every day since he has been here. Your Brother Daniel and wife has been with him all the time. my wife called on them

writes me that there was but one lady, Mrs. Doctor McNary, in Nashville who did not wait upon Mrs. Eaton, and I am further informed that fifty four members of the Legisla[t]ure (out of 69 the whole number, one being dead) attended the dinner, and that in the evening Eaton and his wife were invited to attend the Theatre which was crowded by an audience the most fashionable and respectable. But poor Branch, the worst of the matter for him is not yet told. He reached Nashville the evening of the dinner, and, on the next day, went to the Assembly room, where Mr. Bell and Maj. Eaton were by invitation, and, after remaining in the *lobby* for some time without any attention being paid to him, he retired. He doubtless exclaims in his anguish "Farewell, a long Farewell to all my greatness", as he now discovers his sad mistake in supposing that he, Ingham, Berrien, Calhoun, Duff Green and Co could raise up and crush whom they wished at pleasure, and destroy me by prostrating Eaton and yourself. These men have "fallen unwept, unhonoured, and unsung", except by a few of their satalites, and, like Lucifer, to rise no more. Their project now is to impeach me, and reject yourself, McLane and Livingston in the Senate. This is only to alarm. I fear them not, nor need you. You are gaining strength in the nation, and will continue to rise in public estimation. Your enemies might as well attempt to change the running of the water in the Mississippi as to prevent your obtaining the increased confidence of the people. To show you the baseness and further duplicity of Calhoun I enclose you the Globe. Read Speers letter.³ What *must* a moral community think of a man so perversely prone to secret lying as J. C. Calhoun is proven to be? My best respects with that of my son major Donelson

and we invited them to spend an evening with us, but their engagements heretofore has prevented them. We invited them to spend tomorrow evening, but they are engaged to spend it with Mr. Hill and the next day will set out for Sumner, and on Monday Governor Branch will set out for Washington, he with Daniel and wife has however promised to spend a half an hour at my house tomorrow. I have had much conversation with Governor Branch and so has Bell, on the subject of his situation and relation to the Genl, and I am pleased to say to you that the more I know of the man the more I admire and love him; there never was a better or more honest man than John Branch—he is not a great man, but an *honest man*, for had he been great, he wou'd never have come out in support of Ingham and Berrien in the way and at the time he did—in that he committed a great blunder and how he is to get out of it is difficult to imagine. Yet I hope there is a way; and so far as may be in my power I am ready and willing to help so as not to injure the Genl—not otherwise. Bell and myself have had much conversation on the subject and we both went as far as we cou'd with safety, to render Branch's stay here as suthing to his feelings as possible. Bell went with him to the Legislature while in session and he was invited and took a seat within the Bar. A private dining was given the Governor at Mr. J. Nichols and several large private dinnings was given him at Franklin, (as I am informed by Mr. Hill) from which place the Governor has just retur'd. He spent an evening at Mr. Berryhills and upon the whole he has spent his time quite agreeably. The only occurrence I regret is his dinning at Dr. M[c]nairy's. I wish he cou'd have gotten over it; but I am told that the Doctor was so pressing he cou'd not well get over it. I am glad Daniel and wife did not attend. The Doctor give him a verry large dinning as I am told, upwards of eighty attended. Bell and a great number of thorough going Jackson men were at the Dinner, maney of the same who were at Eaton's Dinner. Bell was at Eatons dinner also. Bell done every thing he cou'd to render Branches situation as agreeable as possible—he is a noble fellow. Jackson and Branch never had a better friend than he is."

³ Alexander Speer, of South Carolina, an agent to collect a claim of the state from the federal government. His letter was published in the newspapers and is in *Niles' Register*, XLI. 141.

his Lady and miss Easton, with Major Lewis and Mr Earle to you, are affectionately presented to you, your son and mr. Vail, with my prayers for your prosperity. My son on the 24th instant will be a married man, unless a slip between the cup and lip. he marries the accomplished and said to be beautiful miss York of Philadelphia. your friend

TO ANDREW J. HUTCHINGS.¹

WASHINGTON, November 15, 1831.

My D'r Hutchings, I have not received a line from you for the last three weeks, how this has happened I am at a loss to account. One inch of a candle more than is burnt in your usual studies, would remedy the neglect I complain of, if applied in writing to me. Am I mistaken? if I am not, then, you did promise to write me once every week. the pleasure I assured you, of hearing from you weekly, and judging of your improvement from your composition, I had a hope would have been a sufficient inducement to your fulfilment of this promise. Hoping that you have a good excuse for this neglect, I shall wave further comment at present, looking to a faithful fulfilment on your part for the future.

I am perfectly recovered from the attack of fever, and my strength quite restored, I am more free from affliction than I have been for years, for which I am thankful to the great giver of all good, to whom we are daily indebted for his protection and preservation.

Mr Trist has informed me that you suggested to him a desire you had to visit me in the christmas holidays. I will be happy to see you then, and if it should be necessary for me to request this indulgence from the professors, I will address them a note upon this subject: inform me on this point.

My son is to be married on the 24th instant to Miss Sarah York of Philadelphia, said to be, by my friends who have wrote me on the subject, accomplished, amiable, beautiful. these qualities must insure his happiness, or the fault must be his, and in his welfare and happiness mine measurably consists. therefore my full approbation is given. I cannot yet say when he will return, but I suppose in a few days after their marriage, when I would be happy you could be here, and become acquainted with your adopted cousin.

COLONEL ROBERT LOVE TO JACKSON.

RALEIGH, N. C., November 17, 1831.

. . . . My worthy friend the object of this letter is to crave your friendly permission for myself to dig for Gold in the Cherokee Country. I have three sons and as many son in laws living not far distant from me, and we can spare among us forty strong and active hands and still retain a force sufficient to make our bread, and that is all we can do in a country like ours where we cannot grow Cotton or Tobacco, our employment being

¹ Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.

as the old saying is, we can make plenty of Hog and Hominy, and then sit down and eat it. . . .

[*Indorsement in Jackson's handwriting:*] Rob. Love of No Carolina friendly letter, enclosing the Constitutionalist, and asking permission to dig for gold in the Cherokee nation. answer to be given.

The State sovereignty being extended over the cherokee country, the right of domain and the fee, being in the state, the privilege asked for, must be granted by the state, the Federal Govt. having no power to interfere. The domain in fee belonging to the State the mines and minerals are vested in that sovereignty, until granted away by it. A. J.

TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOHN COFFEE.¹

WASHINGTON, November 21, 1831.

D'r Genl, I wrote you a hasty letter on yesterday in answer to yours of the 10th, and noticing that part of your letter which had relation to the account as guardian of A. J. Hutchings. I now seiz my pen for a moment to say to you how much I am gratified with the reception Major Eaton met with on his way out and at Nashville. I have just recd a letter from him. he appears happy that he is in retirement, "he says he appears to be relieved of the weight of mountains that were upon him". How happy the man, free from ambition and who finds such pleasure in retirement. I am sure he is like myself, in this, that he would not thro choice, abandon retirement, and sweet home for any office that could be offered to him. And my dear Genl, I am sure I will be in retirement the first moment that I can with honor to myself and justice to the people, retire. the people say "my services are necessary to preserve the union, by restoring the constitution, by the administration of the government, to its original reading, and thereby harmonise the people in every section of the U. States.

I do not suppose the ideas of the people in these particulars, to be well founded but as the appeal has been made my gratitude to them and my principles upon which I have always acted forbid me to withhold my assent to their call. But my dear Genl, it was a severe trial, and I look forward with great anxiety to the period when I can like Major Eaton withdraw from the bustle of public life, and mix with my neighbors and friends in private. This I will do the first opportunity which offers after the publick debt is paid and a judicious Tarriff arranged and the bank question settled. I am interrupted, and have to bid you for the present adieu,

MARTIN VAN BUREN TO JACKSON.¹

LONDON, November 25, 1831.

my dear Sir, As I had seated myself to write you I was very agreeably surprised by the arrival of our friend Dr Randolph, on his way to Spain, from whom I was most happy to learn your restoration to health, and

¹ *Ibid.*

¹ Library of Congress, Van Buren MSS.

many particulars, of a very gratifying character, in regard to matters and things at home. He was disappointed in not finding a conveyance from Liverpool, as was expected, and will make the best of his way, and with the least delay, from here. I go tomorrow to Brighton, where the King is, and will, as is usual, pay my respects to him there, and return in five or six days to London. I see by the papers, that Com. Porter has exchanged the ratifications of the Treaty with the Porte,² and that Don Miguel has agreed to make compensation. What glorious materials for a message. I think fortune will be more than usually unkind to me, if she does not make me some remuneration, for having cut me off from such truly gratifying and proud events.

Washington Irving³ has been staying some weeks in my house, and will I hope continue to do so through the winter. He leaves here for the U. States in the Spring. An intimate acquaintance with him, has satisfied me, that I was mistaken in supposing, that his literary occupation had given his mind a turn unfavourable to practical business pursuits, and as I am not sure that you did not entertain the same impression, I think it but just to correct the error. So far from it, I have been both disappointed, and pleased, to find in him, not only great capacity, but an active and untiring disposition for the prompt, and successful discharge of business. If an opportunity should present itself in which you can employ him as Charge d'Affaires, I am confident, that you may count with confidence, on his faithful discharge of the duties imposed upon him, and I am quite sure, that a better American, or a more honest man does not live. Mr McLane is anxious to gratify him in this respect, and can tell you all about him. Mr Irving is not pressing, so far from it, that my writing to you is not of his seeking. He would have accepted the mission to Naples, but is perfectly satisfied that it was not offered to him, as he sets up no claims. If Mr Van Ness⁴ should ask to return next year, as I presume he will, and the state of our relations with that Country be such, as to render it allowable, to reduce our mission there to the rank of a Charge's; which it appears to me would be in all respects proper, if the subject of claims there, should before that time, be, in any way disposed of, Mr Irving would be the proper man for the place.⁵ He has resided there for many years, is well acquainted with the Spanish character, and has by his writings made, (what is very unusual,) a marked impression upon the favourable feelings of the men who constitute the Court. This has shewn itself in several acts of respect, and kindness to him; and I have no doubt that he would be able, to do more good there, under existing circumstances, than any other selection that could be made. Bear this in mind if you please if an opportunity should present itself to act upon it. . . .

² Treaty of May 7, 1830.

³ Washington Irving was secretary of legation in London 1829-1832.

⁴ Cornelius Peter Van Ness, minister to Spain 1829-1837.

⁵ Irving was envoy to Spain 1842-1846.

TO MARTIN VAN BUREN.¹

WASHINGTON, December 6, 1831.

Private

my D'r sir, Both Houses of congress formed quorums on yesterday, and proceeded to business; in the House of representatives, elected Mr Stevenson² speaker on the first ballot, by a majority of one vote, the balance scattering. This was fortunate, as it is believed by some, that had he not succeeded on the first ballot, the opposition might have defeated his election. Dr Southerland³ got 54 votes. The vote of Col. Drayton who arrived five minutes before 12 meridian, and just in time to answer to his name, gave the majority to Mr. Stevenson. This was fortunate as it saved much feeling that must have arisen out of this subject had not a choice been made on the first ballot.

At twelve o'clock to day, my message, of which I inclose you a copy, will be delivered to both Houses of Congress. I will thank you, when recd. and read, for your opinion. You will see, that in the ensuing year we will pay off the national debt. I am sorry that I cannot send you the detailed report of the secretary of the Treasury. it is full and lucid, gives a glowing picture of our prosperous condition, and a display of talent honorable to its possessor. You will find Mr McLane differs with me, on the Bank, still it is an honest difference of opinion, and in his report he acts fairly, by leaving me free and uncommitted. this I will be, on that subject, still I like his frankness, and that open candeur with which he acts—he is a fair honorable man, with whom I am much pleased, and will get on with very well—in short my whole Cabinet are harmonious, and I have no doubt but we will succeed well; but with all their talents, and the confidence I have in them, still, I miss you, and Eaton, very much. I do hope, that, in the *selection of a vice President*, I may be placed in such a situation at the time I have heretofore suggested to you to withdraw to the peaceful shades of the Hermitage, from the busy scenes of public life. on this subject I will write you fully in a few months

Every thing is going on well at present. Nullification and antimasonry, are both declining fast, and will ere long be *buried in oblivion*, doing no harm, but carrying with it, they promoters, excitors, and supporters. Major Eatons appeal has completely nullified the nullifier, with all his coworkers in his wicked secrete slanders of female character for political effect. How degrading the idea, that the second officer of the government, aided by three of the heads of the Departments, should be engaged in such a scene for the agrandizement of an ambitious demagogue, so disgraceful in itself, and to the great injury of the public concerns to which their whole thoughts should have been directed. They are all prostrate, never to rise from the disgrace they have meritedly brought upon themselves; they have outlived almost all their friends, and are never spoken of but with disapprobation.

Mr. Clay elected senator for Kentucky has arrived last evening, Mr Calhoun is expected, but has not yet arrived: do not be astonished, should

¹ Library of Congress, Van Buren MSS.

² Andrew Stevenson, of Virginia.

³ Joel B. Sutherland, of Pennsylvania.

you hear of a union between mr Clay and Calhoun, on the Tariff. mr Clay, has said that, he is willing to bring down the tariff to meet the views of all *moderate* men, him and calhoun agreed in 23 as to the protecting system, and internal improvements, and altho, since then, they have been as distant from each other, on these subjects, as the antipodes, why not in 1831, and 2, come together again.

My son, has a few days since, presented me with a daughter, amiable accomplished, and pretty, and well educated, with whom I am much pleased, and promise myself much happiness at the Hermitage, should I be permitted to retire to its peaceful shades. Major Donelson and Emily with mary Easten are here and in good health, and unite with my son and Sarah in kind salutations to you. The Major, your son, is well, present me kindly to your son, john, and mr Vail, and recollect, I write in great haste and without time to correct, and that you are to forgive all blunders you find in it. Major Lewis and Mr. Earle requests to be kindly presented to you with their best wishes for your health and prosperity. judge Overton always recollects you in his letters to me, write him occasionally. In Nashville, Franklin and murfresborough they citisens have given to major Eaton public dinners, and treated mrs. Eaton with parties. he writes me, that he is happy, and relieved from mountains of care, and trouble, by his retirement. He will be elected Senator next year if he will accept. I must close. I have to read over the message and compare it. your friend

TO COLONEL ANTHONY BUTLER.¹

WASHINGTON, December 9, 1831.

My dear Sir. Your letters of the 6th and 25th of Octr. last have been received. The apprehension which they express, that Mexico will soon be convulsed with another civil war, are a source of deep regret. Abounding as that country does, in so many sources of wealth and prosperity, it is a subject of wonder that the motives for peace and good government exercise so little influence among the great body of the people.

I approve of the caution with which you disclose your views in regard to the boundary. The objection of a want of constitutional power in the supreme government doubtless arises from an apprehension that the public mind is not yet sufficiently enlightened to sustain it as a measure of sound policy. It can scarcely be supposed that the supreme power of Mexico is divested of the right negotiated to dispose of its domain especially of a part that is the subject of negotiation in the settlement of a boundary between it and another power.

As you are aware of the great importance of the cession of Texas to us in maintaining future peace and good neighborhood between the United States and Mexico I have only to add in relation to this subject generally that I hope you will urge it at as early a day as you can with propriety and a prospect of success.

We are anxiously looking for the arrival of the commercial Treaty, which from your last despatch of the 25th Octr. we had a right to expect in November.

¹ The italics in this letter represent portions written in cipher.

Congress is now in session. I send you, herewith, a copy of my message, delivered to both houses last tuesday. The Secretary of State will also forward by this conveyance the current newspapers.

My dear Sir, write us often; and *keep steadily in view the boundary and its importance to the future peace of the two countries*. Your despatch by the way of New Orleans has not come to hand.

December 20, 1831.

[P. S.] The above has from inadvertence laid on my table since its date. In the interval your letter of the 3d of November has been recd. and its contents duly noted. It is a source of the highest gratification to me to be informed that in a few days we may expect to be in possession of the Treaty. After its receipt you shall hear from me fully on the other question of interest growing out of the relations of the two countries.

Your request in behalf of your nephew has been attended to.

I remain as usual Yr friend and most obedient srvt.

RECEIPT.¹

December 9, 1831.

Recd. of A. Jackson five hundred and eighty nine dollars and fifty three cents, it being for 4 pipes of [Madeira] wine purchase[d] for him, per my order, by H. Toland of Phila.²

W B LEWIS

¹ It is interesting to examine the many receipted bills in the Jackson MSS. for wine and other liquor. They show that a large amount of liquor was consumed in the household of the President. Taking the year 1834 as an example, we find that on Jan. 13 the President paid Henry Toland, of Philadelphia, for two hogsheads of claret, one barrel of brandy, twenty baskets of champagne, one half pipe of sherry, and one barrel of gin—\$662. In April he bought in Washington two and a half barrels of ale, one dozen London porter, and one dozen old port wine. In May he bought five and a half barrels of ale, three dozen London porter, and two gallons of whisky. For June the only items are three gallons of Jamaica rum, at \$2 a gallon; and it is stated in a bill rendered in August that they were omitted in the last bill. As no June bill appears, it is clear that one was rendered and has been lost. In July Jackson left Washington for the Hermitage and did not get back until late in September. In August however the President's household in Washington ordered seven gallons of brandy and two of Holland gin. In October the orders came freely. They consisted of five gallons of brandy, four of Holland gin, three of Jamaica spirits, three bottles of Chateau Margaux, three bottles of Chateau Lafitte, one dozen of London porter, two barrels of ale, and one half barrel of lager beer. In November they included six gallons of brandy, and eight gallons of Holland gin. This was evidently the everyday supply. For festal occasions the cellar was replenished during this month by one quarter cask of superior sherry, twelve baskets of very superior champagne, PW "Joly", one barrel superior old Holland gin, one barrel of superior old "Coniac" brandy, and two casks of ordinary sherry. This wine came through Henry Toland, of Philadelphia, and the cost amounted to \$511.11. Toland seems to have acted merely as Jackson's agent in the purchase of wine, as in various other things. In December the orders included one dozen old port, one dozen Chateau Margaux, one dozen Sauterne, and two dozen London porter. It should be said also that, in the grocery bills, appear whisky and brandy. One bill, without date, has the following "List of Goods sent to Ripraps": sixty-six bottles of wine including Madeira, pale sherry, champagne, and "chateau", two gallons of brandy, two of whisky, and two of Holland gin.

² On the MS. the following is written:

"4 pipes Md. Wine

102

103

103

105

gal. 413—at 142 1/2 cts—\$588.53

Portage—1

\$589.53"

TO COLONEL ROBERT LOVE.¹

WASHINGTON, December 10, 1831.

My Dear Sir, Your kind letter of the 17th ultimo has been recd. some days, but the pressure of business incident to the meeting of a new Congress has not allowed me an opportunity to reply to it earlier than the present.

Had I the power to grant the privilege which you have asked for, there is no individual for whose benefit I would exercise it more freely than yours. According to my understanding of the nature of the possessory rights which the Indians, within the limits of Georgia, enjoy, they do not include the right of working the mines with which their lands may abound: in as much as this right has ever been considered as following the domain, from which it cannot be separated but by positive grant. Georgia by the extension of her laws over these lands, having never considered her fee simple in them as in the slightest degree interrupted by the possession of the Indians, must exercise the same controul over the mines and minerals within her limits, that the United States would be entitled to exercise over such as might be found in any of the Territories. In this respect Georgia is not in the same situation with Alabama and some of the other states who have derived their titles from the United States, who still retain the fee simple of the lands yet unsold, and who of course could work the mines as the proprietor of lands in No. Carolina and elsewhere now do.

From these hints you will perceive that I regard Georgia alone as competent to grant the privilege of digging the gold mines in the lands of the Indians lying within her limits: and that the President of the United States has nothing to do with the subject.

[*In Jackson's hand:*] I take this occasion to inclose my message with the documents accompanying it, made to the present congress, which I hope you will accept as a token of my friendship and regard and believe me yr friend

MRS. MARY DUNLAP TO JACKSON.

LANCASTERVILLE, S. C., December 13, 1831.

Mrs. Dunlap acknowledges the recpt. (thro her friend and relative Col. Williams) of the very kind communication, and a treasured memento, from one of her earliest and most esteemed friends Genl. Andrew Jackson. With feelings of gratitude to the Author of all good, she informs, the Genl. she now possesses and has for many years enjoyed good health, and that tho many of the dear objects of her tenderest regard have been removed, she is still consoled in the affection and attentions of three surviving Children.

¹ Draft. Handwriting of A. J. Donelson, except the final paragraph, written by Jackson. This letter offers the opportunity of seeing how most of Jackson's letters were prepared. By referring to Colonel Love's letter, Nov. 17, 1831, *ante*, the reader will see Jackson's endorsement, containing the substance of his reply. The matter then went into A. J. Donelson's hands, who enlarged the endorsement into the draft of a letter, which was again copied after Jackson had approved, or revised it. The draft was usually retained for his files and the final copy despatched to its intended destination.

The Genl. has feelingly alluded to the joyous days of youth, of the endearments of early friendship, as affording subjects of pleasurable reflection to him after the lapse of years, and the many vicissitudes of his truly eventfull life. The writer assures him, she fully participates in the pleasure of recalling scenes long past, but never to be forgotten. Absorbed as you must necessarily be, in the discharge of the duties resulting from the elevated and responsible station you occupy, the writer cannot but receive your notice and present, as a token of friendship; in return for which, permit her to present her sincere thanks, to one, who in youth she esteemed for his noble generosity, and in age, she reveres for his heroism displayed in defence of "Beauty and Booty"

TO MARTIN VAN BUREN.¹

WASHINGTON, December 17, 1831.

Private and confidential

My D'r sir, When I wrote you for the last packett I was surrounded by company and had it not have been that in my previous letter I had promised, I should not have troubled you with that hasty scrawl.

Congress have been some days in session, the committees all raised, but the leaders have not as yet unmasked their views, or the course they mean to adopt. Clay and Calhoun both present. rumor says that these antipodes in politics, have come together on the tariff. If this be so, then we have a clue to their joint opposition of those important matters recommended in the message. Mr. Calhoun has declared to mr McLane, that nothing will satisfy the south, short of the *pos[t]ponement* of the payment of the *public debt*, and an immediate reduction of the tariff on *all* imported articles, to fifteen percent ad valorem. If Mr. Clay has come down to this standard, it must be to catch the south, and to athwart the views of the administration. Virginia will not take the bate if mr Clay presents it, she is as firm as a rock, and I think Virginia, north carolina, south carolina, Georgia and Alabama, except those members who are calhouns *mere tools*, will unite in meeting the north upon a reduction of the tariff so as to give a fair protection to our own labour, by placing it upon a fair competition with that of Europe, and if mr Clay unites with Calhoun in his course his political sun is set forever—all his fame built on his american system is lost, and all his friends gained by this bubble, deserts him.

I have no doubt Calhoun and Clay will unite on one scheme, that is if possible to destroy me, and prevent your growing popularity. We have nothing to fear from their intrigues so long as we continue the straight forward uniform course we have adopted, looking alone to the good and prosperity of our beloved country.

The other day the convention at Baltimore nominated,² *as instructed*, mr Henry Clay for President, and John Seargeant for vice President. I am told that several members of that body have said that it was not with any hope of his success at the next election, but for future use, and to

¹ Library of Congress, Van Buren MSS.

² The National Republican Convention of Dec. 12, 1831.

prevent him from sinking into oblivion as a candidate for the Presidency, and prevent his friends from attaching themselves to others as my successor, that is to say, to keep you down, if possible.

Calhoun and Duff Green are both sunk into insignificance, and will be both soon in oblivion. This they foresee, and are become desperate, and are prepared to do any act of desperation that may appear to give the least glimmering hope to their wild ambition. I have no doubt but Calhoun would, if he could, induce South Carolina to secede from the union if he was sure he could place himself at the head of that Government. Governor Hamilton,³ I regret to say, appears equally mad and reckless as Calhoun, and the old adage appear to be realised, "that evil communication corrupt good principles." This appears to be the case with Hamilton, and as a proof of the fact, I refer you to his 4th of July speech, and his late message to the Legislature of South Carolina. These afford conclusive proof to me, that he is devoid of truth, candeur, honor, or fairness—equally destitute of *all*, as I know Calhoun is, and fills the character given him by Mr Poinsett and others. I pray you to read them. the 4th of July speech shews, if his relation was strictly true, which it is not, that he has sacrificed every principle of honor by exposing in a public speech, what he says, was a private and friendly conversation—this is pursuing the example of his master Calhoun. I sincerely regret how he has fallen, for I thought him, as I once thought Calhoun, a high minded honorable man, but birds of a feather will flock together, and Hamilton has been corrupted by Calhoun.

Letters from Columbia inform that Calhoun remained four days at Columbia on his way hither, and whilst there, I have no doubt, prepared that part of H. message that attacks me. Calhoun came on to Richmond, and tarried there until he arranged Gov. Floyds message, at least that part that assails me—all will not do. the old dominion, Judge P. Barbour⁴ says, in a letter to Mr McLane, remains as firm as a rock, and cannot be shaken. he is in an extasy with my message—so much for domestic, I must draw your attention to our Foreign matters.

I am in great hopes, from your gracious and friendly reception by the King and queen, as detailed in your last, as well as the confidence you have acquired in the ministry, that you will succeed in the proposed arrangements on the subject of impressments of our seamen—if you can, it removes every thing that can interrupt that harmony and good feeling which now exists between the two governments, and which is increasing daily, amongst our citizens, and will lay a lasting foundation for perpetual peace and harmony between the two countries. Surely great Britain must see that her interest, as well as ours, urge the settlement of this question so important to the peace of both. there is nothing but this that can disturb it, for I have resolved that the north Eastern boundery shall not, because I am sure, that great Britain will agree, if the senate do not adhere to the award, to settle this matter justly by negotiation. therefore you can urge, that with the present mutual good feelings that exist how unjust

³ James Hamilton, jr., governor of South Carolina 1830-1832. He supported Jackson's election in 1828, but was a leader of the nullifiers in later years.

⁴ Philip P. Barbour, U. S. district judge in Virginia.

England and America would be to both their best interests to permit this subject to remain unsettled, which might involve them in war, and which may now be settled by treaty, and when thus settled, will ensure perpetual peace, and harmony between the two nations. This would afford me a fine theme with others in my farewell address to the nation—obtain it. Urge this matter with all your tact, and talents, and you will succeed, and if you do it will add another gem to your character for diplomacy, which the people must long cherish with gratitude. closely connected with this subject, is a regulation by treaty on the subject of our fugitive slaves to Canada. I inclose you a letter addressed to me on this subject from a respectable source, that you may feel the British minister on this subject and know whether they will make some arrangement whereby our citizens may reclaim their fugitive slaves from Canada.

I cannot close, although it is now late, without naming to you, confidentially a subject which is constantly on my mind; it is this: If I am reelected, and you are not called to the vice Presidency, I wish you to return to this country in two years from now, if it comports with your views and your wishes. I think your presence here about that time will be necessary. The opposition would if they durst try to reject your nomination as minister, but they dare not, they begin to know if they did, that the people in mass would take you up and elect you vice President without a nomination; was it not for this, it is said Clay, Calhoun and Co would try it.

You know Mr Livingston is anxious to go abroad, and I am as anxious again to have you near me, and it would afford me pleasure to gratify both. I find on many occasions I want your aid and Eatons. I have to labour hard, and constantly watchfull. had I you in the state Department and Eaton in the war, with the others, filled as they are, it would be one of the strongest and happiest administrations that could be formed. we could controle the little Federal leaven, in that high minded honorable and talented friend of ours, Mr McLane. Cass is an amiable talented man, a fine writer, but unfortunately it is hard for him to say no, and he thinks all men honest. this is a virtue in private, but unsafe in public life, for the public interest sometimes may suffer from having too much confidence. You are aware of the friendship I have for Livingston, and the respects I have for his talents; that he is a polished scholar, an able writer, and a most excellent man, but he knows nothing of mankind—he lacks in this respect, that judgment that you possess, in so eminent a degree. his memory is somewhat failing him, and a change in due time, would be pleasing to him, and with your consent, beneficial to me, if reelected. I would not be surprised, if contrary to your declared wishes, you should be run for vice-President; as sure as the Senate make the attempt to reject your nomination I am told it will be done. This will bring you back in twelve months—if not, then I wish, if reelected, to bring you back as intimated. I flatter myself in one year you will be able to effect the great and important object of your mission. I shall write you again shortly, my Household, *all* join in kind salutations to you, your son, and Mr Vail, and believe me yr friend

P. S. I need not say that this is for your own eye.

JOHN RANDOLPH TO JACKSON.¹

ROANOKE, December 19, 1831.

strictly confidential

My dear Sir, I am confined to my apartment living on asses milk and Sarsaparilla with small hopes of ever leaving it except feet foremost.

I have been trying to write to you. A letter from Hamilton of So. Carolina charges you with oscillating on the great and vital question of the Bank of the U S. I repelled the charge with indignation. But the report thickens from all quarters. I get it from Richmond thro' our friend Mr. Tho. Miller of Powhattan, as the common talk and belief there. I receive it this instant in a letter from one of the most virtuous and discreet of men, a member of the Virginia delegation in Congress. It is even said to be squinted at in your message which I have not read and I have no body to read it to me, being like Darius,

“Deserted in my utmost need
By those my former bounty fed”

I am literally alone, eating and sleeping in the same room which I never quit, keeping up fires day and night, and the room never under 45.50 of Farhenheit at day break, or I suffocate.

In my speeches to the people I have bottomed my support of you upon our identity of opinion on the Bank question. I said that in comparison with this, the Tariff, the Internal improvement and surplus distribution questions, in which I differed from you, were merged and that I verily believed that if you had not with fearless integrity come out and stirred that nest of hornets you would not have lost a vote more than you had at the last election. I added “that this made up for all our differences on political subjects, *for that if you were a friend to the chesnut street monster as you were its bitter enemy, it would be impossible for me ever to support you, cordially.*

I therefore stand committed, but I am a thing of nothing, not so your fame, which is part of the property (and the most precious part) of our country. I cannot and will not believe it possible that you can waver upon this subject until proof not to be resisted is brought to my senses. But I deem it my duty to tell you as a friend that you are surrounded with evil counsellors. I say evil because one is ultra Federal, ultra Tariff, ultra Bank, as an old sedition law federalist might be expected to be. Another to say nothing of other matters, is a republican convert to the Tariff, Internal improvement and Bank questions: of itself enough to damn him politically with all *real* republicans. I am not blaming the first of these Gentlemen for his principles, he is right to follow his vocation. But if (which may God in his mercy avert) he or any body else shall cause you to hesitate even, on this question there is an end of your reputation. The laurels of the 27th Decr. and the 8th of January will have been blighted, your real friends will hang their heads and blush. they will indeed *vote* for you, at least I will against Clay and the grand *Nullifier* and Webster and John Adams (the best of the set), but the vote will be ex-

¹ Copy. A. J. Donelson's handwriting.

torted from them. I shall be delivered of mine with *forceps*. This is plain language, but it is that of a friend ready to pour out his blood for you: of one who wants nothing, but who is turning all his property into money as fast as he can, that he may escape next year, if he shall survive, from a climate worse even than that of Russia. A climate where we have a Greenland winter and an African summer in latitude 37° north, the latitude of Algiers! Mr. Taney and Mr. Woodbury I have confidence in. Mr. Cass I have not the pleasure to know; but all your real Virginia friends agree that the present cabinet is more objectionable than the last. Then we had the head of it with us as far as a New Yorker dared to go—now—but I drop my pen.

TO JOHN RANDOLPH.¹

WASHINGTON, December 22, 1831.

D'r Sir, I have just recd. your letter of the 19th instant which I have read with much pleasure as a candid and frank expression of your opinions not the less valued because they differ from mine in some respects in the estimate which they place on a portion of my Cabinet, and of the views which they as well as myself entertain of some public questions.

You have done me no more than justice when you repelled with indignation the declaration that I had changed my views of the Bank of the United States. Nothing more foreign to truth could have been said. As at present organized I have uniformly on all proper occasions held the same language in regard to that institution: and that is that it has failed to answer the ends for which it was created, and besides being unconstitutional, in which point of view, no measure of utility could ever procure for it my official sanction, it is on the score of mere expediency dangerous to liberty, and therefore, worthy of the denunciation which it has recieved from the disciples of the old republican school.

Mr. McLane has on his own authority, in conformity with his sense of a positive duty which he did not feel at liberty to disregard and which it would have been unbecoming in me to controul, ventured the expression that the institution might be so modified as to strip it of the constitutional objections entertained by the Executive. In saying this it was far from his intention or wish to be understood as committing me in any manner to the friends of the Bank in the support of any scheme for obtaining a new charter. He saw that there were arrangements that might be favorably accommodated with the aid of a Bank provided it could be so modified or constructed as to obviate constitutional objections: and he felt it his duty to base his financial arrangements on this hypothesis.

But in doing this he has spoken for himself and has not committed me, and I feel confident that he is the last man who would desire to commit me on such a subject.

Rest assured, Sir, that Mr. McLane is a man of too much honor to play any game with me that may possibly make him a winner at the expense of the principles which are the rule of my administration.

P. S. [*in Jackson's handwriting*]. agreeable to your permission I have copied the first sheet of your letter and inclose you the original.

¹ Handwriting of A. J. Donelson.

TAILORS' BILL.

WASHINGTON, 1831.

Mr Andrew Jackson, jnr

Bought of Tucker and Thompson,

Feby	2	To fancy Silk Vest \$7 $\frac{50}{100}$ (12) repg Blk Pants 50	8	00
March	12	" " Cass Pants \$13 $\frac{50}{100}$ 1 Pr Gloves 1.25....	14	75
	"	" 3 Pr Cotton Drawers.....	4	50
May	10	" Bro Sumr. Cloth Pants 7 $\frac{50}{100}$ fancy Slk Vest \$8		
		Handkf 1.50.....	17	00
Augt	16	" Blk bome. ¹ Coat \$17 1 Pr Canton Crape Pants \$9	26	00
Sept.	6	" Blue Cloth Pants \$15.....	15	00
Nov.	14	" Boston Wrapper \$38 Octo. 8 Blk Coat \$38..	76	00
	"	" White Cass Pants \$13 White Slk Vest \$7..	20	00
	"	" Pr Gloves \$1.00 1 Hkf 1.25.....	2	25
	16	" 2 Pr Linin Drawers \$5, Pr Cotton do \$1.75..	6	75
Dec	6	" fancy Invisibile frock \$36 Blk Pants \$14....	50	00
	"	" " Velvet Vest \$9. 1 Hkf. \$1.50.....	10	50
			\$	250 75

1831 Decr 22d. Recd. Payment

TUCKER AND THOMPSON

TAILORS' BILL.

WASHINGTON, 1831.

Genl. A. Jackson

Bought of Tucker and Thompson,

Augt.	16	To Blk bome. Coat \$[17, pr] Mr Hutchins	17	00
Nov.	1	" " Cloth [Coat].....	38	00
	"	" " [Pants]	14	50
			\$	69 50
Dec.	21	To 3 1/2 yds Blue Cloth at 3.25 for Servant		
		making and Trimg.....	19	00
			\$	88 50

1831 Decr 22d Recd. Payment

TUCKER AND THOMPSON

¹ Probably bombazine is intended.

OPINION ON THE BANK.

[January, 1832 ?]¹

The great point to be steadily kept in view is the establishment of the general Govt. and the sovereign powers granted to it by the people and the states. 1st, all sovereign power was in the people and the states. 2d, where sovereignty is vested it cannot be divested but by express grant, therefore as the general Government is based upon the confederation of sovereign states, you must look into the constitution for the grants of sovereignty made by the people inhabiting those sovereign states to find what portion of sovereign power has been granted to the general government for no sovereign power not expressly granted can be exercised, by implication.

Is the sovereign power to grant corporations expressly given to the general Government to be found in the constitution, I answer no. Therefore as all powers granted are general and national, not local, or for local objects, and all powers not delegated etc. are retained to the states and to the people, a corporation or monopoly cannot be granted by congress beyond the limits of the ten miles square, and it is fair to advert to the journals of the convention to prove that the power to grant corporations in various ways was attempted to be introduced in the constitution and was rejected in every form presented by the convention who formed it. It is therefore worse than idle to contend that congress can have this sovereign power by implication when it was rejected in the convention, and when sovereign power can only be conveyed from one power to another by express grant—If it be true that necessity gives the power to create Banks and corporations. It is true necessity creates its own law, but it must be a positive necessity not a fained one. The powers of the Government are general and national, not local. it must follow then that if necessity creates the power, that the Bank must be exclusively national having no concern with corporations. it must be an appendage of the Treasury, a Bank merely of deposit and exchange.

within the 10 miles square, Congress has the sole sovereign power, can therein grant a corporation, and exercise all the Legislative powers as a state can, but neither state or general Government can create or grant a monopoly. It is inconsistent with any of the powers granted that our Gov. should form a corporation and become a member of it. The framers were too well aware of the corrupting influence of a great monied monopoly upon government to legalise such a corrupting monster by any grant either express or implied in the constitution. Bank corporations says Mr A. is brokers on a large scale, and could it be really urged that the framers of the constitution intended that our Govt. should become a government of brokers? if so, then the profits of this national brokers shop must anure to the benefit of the whole and not to a few privileged monied capitalist, to the utter rejection of the many.

¹ This memorandum, in Jackson's handwriting, was probably written in January, 1832. It was on the ninth of that month that Erastus Root, of New York, in the House of Representatives, made the argument to which this memorandum was a reply, as to the necessity of the bank.

But it is said (by Mr Root in debate) that their is as much power vested in congress to establish a Bank by the constitution as to establish a custom House or a post office—could either of these be established by creating a corporation. Admit his doctrine and it clearly shews the unconsti[tu]tionality of the present bank charter, for if it is for the safe deposit of the Revenue it must appertain like the custom Houses to the Treasury Dept, all its profits if any accrue to the nation as the Taxes collected do, its only power to deposit and the power of exchange by which it can transmit the funds of the Govt. to any place wanted, and as part of the Dept. its whole transaction exposed to the congress and the nation annually.

A Bank might be established in the District and by the consent of the states and in compact with it it might be branched into the states, but the Genl Government cannot consistant with any power granted, become a member of any corporation congress may create.

COLONEL ANTHONY BUTLER TO JACKSON.

MEXICO CITY, January 2, 1832.

My dear Sir, Before this letter can reach Washington City you will have the Treaty before you, and my Correspondence on that subject with the Department of State as well as with yourself. Of the Treaty of Commerce¹ I shall at present say nothing but confine myself to the important question of the Treaty of limits negotiated with this Government by my predecessor Mr. Poinsett.² There is no doubt but that the Mexican Government expects both Treaties to be laid before our Senate for their Approbation at the same time, and the additional article intimates as much; whether however after all the delay which has taken place since the Execution of the last mentioned Treaty by the plenipotentiaries (a delay of more than four years and one created solely by their own misconduct) our Government will think proper to submit the boundary Treaty to the Senate is not for me to determine: I may nevertheless be permitted to suppose, that as the delay was on their part, and not on ours, and the Treaty executed under a former Administration of our Government, satisfactory reasons may be found for reviewing the whole subject previous to the final adjustment of a question of such magnitude, and that all the previous proceedings and Negotiation about boundary may be considered as at an end. To this may be added that as the Treaty of 1828 with Mexico merely recognises as a boundary the limits designated by the Treaty of 1819 with Spain, and the latter concluded evidently either without a Correct knowledge of the Topography of the Country or an utter disregard of our true interests in that matter; whether that consideration would not of itself justify the withholding from the Senate that Treaty—a Treaty not only unequal and unjust in the Terms stipulated, but destructive to the interests of the Western Country.

¹ Treaty of Apr. 5, 1831, negotiated by Butler.

² Treaty of Jan. 12, 1828; ratifications not exchanged until Apr. 5, 1832.

There has besides a very great change been operated upon public opinion in regard to the Country ceded to Spain by the Treaty of 1819³ since that contract was executed, and even admitting that the Mexican Government in their present condition might claim all the advantages which Spain could have done under that Treaty, Then another and more important question would arise. Have we the power of ceding by Treaty Stipulation any portion of Territory once become a part of the United States? It may be inferred however very fairly as I think from the Treaty of 1828 that the Mexican Government do not conceive themselves entitled to consider the Sabine as the boundary to which they would have a right to claim Jurisdiction unless first sanctioned by a Treaty arrangement with ours; and if this position be a correct one we might here make our stand, to place the question once more under Negotiation. I throw out these suggestions hastily for your Consideration.

As I presume you are still as anxious to procure Texas to be added to the U. States as you were two years since, or at least so much of it as will prevent the dismemberment of the Territory of Arkansas, and give to us the command of all that part whose waters discharge themselves within our limits, and thereby not only preclude the probability of any collision between the two Governments which might grow out of such a State of things, but moreover provide lands for the Indians about to Emigrate to the West, for which purpose I am convinced that you have not at present territory sufficient without sending them North of parallel 42°, it becomes all important that the Treaty entered into with my predecessor *should not be ratified*. By any subsequent Contract on that subject we cannot do worse. my opinion is most decidedly, that we can do better. Nay, open the question once more fairly and leave the whole ground to be acted upon, and I should not despair of inducing the present Administration to grant us all we desire—I mean to grant us as far West as to a line that would divide between us the Grand prairie or desert. If they once decide on yielding us the Territory as far as the Colorado, there would be little difficulty in obtaining the residue. Let me add, that although I do not mean to assert that the ratification of the Boundary Treaty of 1828 will close all prospect of obtaining a different boundary hereafter, yet it will most assuredly multiply greatly the difficulties to be encountered in a negotiation with that view. The Mexican Government with that Treaty opposed to our pretensions, may notwithstanding be induced to yield us a portion of the Territory they would have a right to claim under it. A man of Address, and tact and Talent might do much, but most certainly if that obstacle does not exist the labour would be less, the difficulties to overcome fewer and the probability as well as the extent of the success much greater.

I will not dilate on the question how far the ratification of the Treaty of 1819 was a Usurpation of power on the part of the Senate of the U. States, because you are surrounded by Counsellors much more competent to discuss that question than I can be, and who will no doubt do so whilst

³ By the treaty of 1819 the United States accepted the Sabine as the western boundary of Louisiana. Butler's suggestion for repudiating that action was as bad morally as it was logically.

considering the propriety of submitting that of 1828 to the Senate. It seems to me however sufficiently clear that in ratifying the Treaty of 1819 the Senate acted upon those latitudinarian doctrines, of inferring the possession of all power not expressly prohibited to them, instead of abstaining from the exercise unless specifically delegated. Upon such assumption it must have been that the Treaty referred to was confirmed which ceded to a foreign Government a part of the Territory of the U. States. It is full time that better land marks were established, and I sincerely hope that your Administration will have the credit amongst other benefits conferred on our Country, that of bringing back the Text of the Constitution to its true reading.

Having said all that is perhaps necessary on the subject of Texas, and suggested the probabilities of our acquiring the Territory, let me add a few words for myself. You are not ignorant of the disadvantages under which I commenced in Mexico; You know the weight of prejudice, suspicion, and bad feeling that prevailed against the Govern't and people of the U. States generally, and the odium engendered against my predecessor; all of which was transferred to me in advance, and the first notice taken by the Newspapers of my Arrival in this Capital, and even before I had obtained an Audience for delivering my credentials, was to attack my character, misrepresent the objects of my mission, and identify me in the hate they bore towards Mr. Poinsett. Add to all my other difficulties that I was a stranger to the language of the Country, without a Secretary or any one in whom I dared place confidence to act as the medium of communication between me and those with whom it was proper to cultivate intercourse and thereby dissipate the prejudices under which I was daily suffering, and you may imagine a part of my difficulties and understand how embarrassing was my situation.

To acquire a foreign language at my period of Life you will admit was a task of no easy accomplishment and would require great labor, application and attention. And I can assure you that for the first eight months of my residence here, every hour not occupied by the duties of the Legation was devoted to the study of the Castillian Language. Thus much for part of the labors I have performed, and when it is recollected that my correspondence with our Consuls, as well as with our Merchants and Traders located in almost every part of the Mexican Confederacy from Yucatan to Santa Fé, and who were complaining of or asking something by every mail, with all the writing and copying to be performed by myself without even the occasional assistance of a Clerk I think it will be admitted that the Office I fill is no sinecure.

But this is not all, for in a place so expensive as Mexico my present Salary is insufficient to support me in the manner which my Station compels me to live. You will admit that it is necessary for me to be in Society and to maintain free intercourse with those from whom I expect to derive advantage; if I do this, and accept their Civilities and enjoy their hospitality, they must partake in turn of mine, and notwithstanding this is done as sparingly and æconomically as possible, and so much so as to have drawn forth remarks on the difference between Mr. Poinsett's entertainments and mine, and inferring from this difference my parsimony,

still the drain of an occasional dinner party once in about three months is more than my allowance will bear. A tolerable dinner in Mexico will cost \$10 a head including Wine, so that such entertainments never Cost me less than \$250, and one in each quarter if no more is a deduction of \$1000 from my Salary. The single item of House Rent is \$1200 per Annum, and a servant of character will cost you \$18 to \$20 pr. month, and these two items as a fair sample, shew clearly how inadequate is the pay I receive to the expences I incur.

Now you will ask perhaps what does all this mean? Why simply and plainly my D'r Sir this—that my Salary may be augmented, and that a Secretary may be allowed me. I believe it has at all times been customary with our Governm't whenever any interesting question occurred, to send abroad an additional Envoy in aid of the Minister resident. Such was the case in 1796 when Mr. Pinckney was sent to Spain—the same in 1798 or '99 with France; again in the Treaty for the Cession of Louisiana, and so also with the Commercial Convention with England in 1815, and many other similar Cases that my Memory will not permit me to refer to specifically, but which you will doubtless call to mind as precedents: Now I do not ask for, expect, or even wish for an adjunct in the Negotiation for T.—on the contrary it is my firm conviction that I can do better with these people alone: I know them, and they know me. All that I wish is to give me the rank of Envoy Extraordinary, send me full powers and any additional instructions that may be necessary on the subject of T., and my life on it the affair is settled in less than five months.

The occasion I think justifies the proceeding, the magnitude and interest of the question pending would in conformity with all previous practice under our Government warrant the expectation. And to all this let me add that the Mexican Govt. will themselves expect such a Compliment to be paid them, as seeing once more a Minister Plenipotentiary from the U. States located here. I know that they have complained of our treatment in this respect—their Jealousy has been roused. They say that we maintain a Minister plenipotentiary at Colombia, a power acknowledged to occupy a Rank below them in the list of the New Republics of America, Whilst Mexico which is admitted by Universal consent to be the head and Chief from her Superior extent of Territory, her population and Resources sees at her Court a Chargé d'Affaires. They add moreover, that untill very recently they have been always represented at Washington by a Minister of the first Grade, and that the departure was forced on her by the course pursued on our part, and that if she omitted to appoint a Minister plenipotentiary at the time Mr. Montoya was named, it resulted from the Conviction, (after having Col. Tornell⁴ in the U. States for more than 12 months), that the Courtesy would not be extended to them. It has been added in remarks to me "But we hope after the Treaty is concluded to see a Minister Plenipotentiary in our Capital", And let me tell you that the conduct of France who has very lately advanced her Minister one grade immediately *on merely signing* the Treaty will not

⁴ Meaning José María Tornel, envoy extraordinary from Mexico Feb. 16, 1830-June 6, 1831.

have a tendency to tranquillize them under a disappointment, for although the Treaty with France has been rejected by the Mexican Congress, yet the Rank of Minister Plenipotentiary still continues, and a new Treaty will be commenced. Now I confess very frankly that I should not have noticed this Complaint on the part of Mexico had I not felt it indispensable on my own account that my Salary should be increased and knowing that it could not be done unless in the mode of changing my Rank; At the same time it is proper to express my belief that such a measure might contribute to our success in any future Negotiation by conciliating the Temper and flattering the Vanity of these people.

After all I have said, it may not comport with the opinions that you and the Cabinet entertain to make such a change, or if you do, that some other may be deputed the Representative of our Government here. Well Sir to this I can have nothing to object. I can only say that I have labored faithfully, and have done all that under the Circumstances it was in my power to perform, and retire when I may, shall do so with the consciousness of having performed my duty to the full extent that a faithful vigilance and industry enabled me to achieve. At the period of life to which I have advanced You well know that there is no time to spare. You know moreover that during the last five or six years I have been compelled to sacrifice on account of Obligations incurred unfortunately for others, the greater part of what might well have been deemed a very competent Estate—had this incident never occurred I would not now have complained of deficiency in Salary, but cheerfully contributed from my own means, what was necessary in addition, and even as it is I have been already compelled to draw on my private funds although so little able to afford the Aid. I cannot think the Governm't would desire the services of any Citizen to engage in a responsible and laborious employment without at least providing an ample subsistence. If therefore it is decided that no increase of Rank is to be allowed me, I can only add that my desire is to be permitted to retire from the Station I now occupy, and this may be the more confidently expected on my part after having closed as I hope satisfactorily the Negotiation with which I was charged.

Whoever my Successor may be I think I have it in my power to afford him such information when he arrives as I feel confident if employed judiciously cannot fail to result in the acquisition of all we desire in regard to T. Should it be decided to continue me in this Legation, I must request that the Secretary sent me, be a good Spanish Scholar, that is he must both speak and write the Castillian with ease and correctness, for if he does not, the burden of my duties will be but little lessened; If you have no gentleman such as I describe ready for the Station, then suffer the Secretaryship to remain open, and I will employ one *pro. tem.* amongst our Citizens in Mexico.

I shall in a few days make a journey North with General Mason and hope on my return to hear something definitively from you. With best Wishes for your health, happiness and increased Glory, I remain My dear Sir now as ever most truly yours

JOHN RANDOLPH TO JACKSON.

ROANOKE, January 3, 1832. In bed and very ill.

My dear Sir, Your most welcome letter of the 22d of last month, post marked the 26th was recd. by me late in the night of Friday the 30th so as to render it impracticable for me to acknowledge it's receipt by the return of mail, as it was my wish to have done. For among the other *conveniences* of my residence here is this—that I have to send 12 miles over a very bad road to Charlotte C. H. for my letters and newspapers, and also to put a letter in the post office. Mr Barry I know would readily establish an office nearer to me and about half way between Charlotte C. H. and the next post office in Halifax called Mount Laurel, about ten miles distant from each and within two of my house, but mortifying to relate, out of four families who live clustered around the spot which is a publick House and where once was a considerable store, there is not one person who can read and write! and therefore no one to officiate as Post Master! So much for the *march of Intellect*.

Whilst lying here helpless and never out of pain the most monstrous and incongruous lies are daily fabricated and put into circulation against me with an assiduity truly diabolical. But I find my strength failing and must conclude by saying that to me the fate even of the Bank Bill is a mere trifle in comparison with your fame, and I shall die satisfied that that cannot be tarnished—at the same time that I cannot help thinking that in having for leaders in your ministry two persons who differ so essentially from you on this great and vital question as do Messrs. L. and McL.¹ you must find yourself in a *false position*. I remember your advice to Monroe² and I see with pride and pleasure that you are true to your principles although I cannot help thinking that you have pushed liberality too far in taking into your ministry persons so *ultra* on the opposite side of our principles. But again I say let the Bank triumph. I care not so long as your laurels are as they must and shall be unsullied. I see that with your arch enemy the Grand Nullifier working in the Senate with the Coalition and his *cliental* defendant upholding the Bank in the other House and all working against you that you have a Sysiphean labour to perform. I wish I were able to help you roll up the stone, but I cannot, I am finished.

In the hurry of writing you omitted to notice my query respecting my predecessor at the Court of Russia. Did he dare to say that I had complained of Mr V. B. and to him.

Most faithfully Yours

COLONEL JAMES A. HAMILTON TO JACKSON.

NEW YORK, January 12, 1832.

. . . . I am particularly opposed to the renewal of the Present Bank for considerations arising out of its course and not least because in making the application at this time it has determined to brave the General which It will hereafter do at any time with success if it should be renewed. Give

¹ Livingston and McLane.² Letter of Dec. 14, 1816 (vol. II. p. 266).

this institution a charter for 20 years longer and it is a perpetuity too strong for the Government unless it should be much modified and restricted.

For your gratification I am preparing a statem[en]t of the causes arising out of frauds attempted upon the Governm[en]t which have been tried in order that you may see how the business is disposed of in this district.¹ I will only remark that I think it will not induce you to regret that a change was made.

with sincere regard

MARTIN VAN BUREN TO JACKSON.¹

LONDON, January 13, 1832.

my dear friend, I embraced the opportunity afforded by the Christmas Holidays to make a visit to the Country, in Company with Mr Irving and my son. We took Oxford, Stratford on Avon, Blenheim, Newstead Abbey, and several of the most interesting Castles, Ruins and Country seats, in our way to Barlborough Hall, in Derbyshire, where we spent some days, with as hospitable and warm hearted a man as lives. It was at his table that I recd. your very interesting letter of the 6th ultimo, with the message enclosed. The latter was immediately read to a large party of Ladies and Gentlemen, and from that day to the day of our departure, The President of the U. States, was always the first and frequently the last Toast at dinner.

Our good host the *Recd.* Mr Rodes requests me to present you the accompanying pen and paper knife, containing a very accurate representation of his venerable old mansion, which is seated in the heart of England, and was erected in 1584. He had given extensive invitations to the surrounding gentry for a Fancy Ball, at which he had in ccontemplation several devices, to do honor to our country, but the whole plan was frustrated by the sudden death of a brother of Mr. Backhouse, the Under Secretary of State, who is the nearest relation of Mr Rodes, and is to be the heir of his large estates. Of the Message, and the estimation in which it is held here, I have expressed myself fully, and what is I fear not always the case in public despatches *sincerely*, in a letter which I this day send to Mr Livingston. It is really excellent, and the reports of the different Secretaries are all able and lucid State papers. With Major Barrys brevity, and pregnant results I was delighted.

Upon the subject of the Vice Presidency I do not know that I have any thing to say different from the views which I have before expressed to you. I may wait until I receive your promised letter, and will perhaps write you again upon the subject in a short time. Our friend Hamilton suggests the propriety of my writing a letter to Genl. Marcy of the senate, expressing my unwillingness to be supported for that place, on the supposition that I might otherwise be exposed to the imputation of wishing to

¹ Hamilton had been made U. S. district attorney for the southern district of New York.

² Library of Congress, Van Buren MSS. Those who wonder how Van Buren got his influence over Jackson may find the question partly answered in this letter, full as it is of skillful flattery.

run the chances. There is a good deal of weight in this—think of it if you please and let me know how it strikes you. Of one thing be forever certain, that whatever course this matter, or any other question in relation to myself may take, it is not in the power of circumstances to disturb the settled conviction of my mind—that I have not in the world, a more faithful and sincere friend than yourself. With this conviction I left you, and in this faith I mean to die.

I congratulate you from the bottom of my heart on the marriage of your son and beg you to remember me affectionately to the happy couple. If the fair lady is as amiable as I know Andrew to be, (of which I have no doubt), they cannot fail to be a source of great pleasure to you, in those years of retirement, which I fervently hope a kind providence may allow you, after you shall have *wholly* finished your brilliant and useful career in public affairs. For the news of the day, and my impressions as to the course of affairs in this part of the world, I refer you again to my letter to Mr Livingston. In these free, friendly and informal communications it is more congenial with my feelings to speak of you, and yours, than to discant on public events. My abstraction from the agitations of Washington, and my remoteness from the scene of its intrigues and distractions, have enabled me to take a calm and I have no doubt a more accurate view of the actual condition, and true interests of a public man stationed there, than I have ever before had it in my power to do.

There are few men possessed of more fortitude or who can brace themselves with more strength agt. the torrents of calumny which are the unavoidable portion of our public men, than yourself, and until I knew you, I thought myself to occupy the front rank in that regard. Yet I cannot in my present view of things avoid looking with mixed feelings of shame, and merriment, at the ridiculous, and uncalled for solicitude, which even we, at times, experienced for the censures of those, whom we ought to have known, that no meritorious actions could appease, and who hated us the more for our well doing. In some of your letters I yet perceive some traces of sensitivness upon this point. Cast it all—all, away I beseech you for those who excite it are not only unworthy of your concern, but have it not in their power, to affect in the slightest degree your well founded and well deserved standing, not only with our own people, but with those of Europe and America. This is in that respect a profitable school. There is scarcely an important public movement in which the prominent actors in it, are not only, most violently and flagrantly traduced by the public press, on the one side or the other, but are moreover hung up in all the print shops in caricatures of the most ludicrous and odious description; and yet, the individual, who was only suspected of the weakness, of being disturbed by it, would be literally laughed out of public life. act upon the same principle yourself, and rest assured that you will not only do justice to yourself, but to your revilers also.

I have derived the greatest satisfaction from your account of the State of Major Eatons feelings, and of the honors which have been done him by those who know him best. The cruel and unmerited sufferings to which he has been exposed, give him the strongest claim upon the public

favour, and I have no doubt, that in the end, the debt, which is so justly due him will be fully paid. Remember me affectionately to him and Mrs. Eaton when you write him, and tell him that it would give me sincere pleasure to hear from him. Make my best respects to Major Donelson and Mrs. Donelson, Mr and Mrs. Jackson, Miss Easten, Major Lewis and Miss Lewis and to my good friend Col. Earle. Tell Miss Easten if you please that John has promised me to write her and send her a piece of the house in which Shakespeare was born—a spot which we visited with the greatest interest. Write me as often as your leisure will permit and believe me to be Very truly yours

TO THE UNITED STATES SENATE.¹

WASHINGTON, January 16, 1832.

To the Senate. In the recent journal of the Senate, handed me by the Clerk on the 14th instant, I perceive a proposition made by Mr. Ewing, a Senator from Ohio, to inquire into the moral character of the Agent employed by me to negotiate treaties with the several bands of Indians residing within that state, connected with an inquiry into the fairness of the negotiations and the genuineness of the Treaties presented to the Senate.

Every member of the Senate has an undoubted right to suggest an inquiry into any fact connected with the negotiation of a Treaty which goes to make it void, as well as whether it be "truly engrossed". So much of the resolutions, therefore, as relate to these points, come within the legitimate power of the Senate. But it certainly seems extraordinary that in the absence of a whisper of complaint loud enough to be heard out of the Secrecy of the Senate, a *Senator from Ohio* should propose to *go in pursuit* of evidence to produce the rejection of arrangements so important to the interests and welfare of the State he represents. This consideration, however, does not impair his right to pursue so extraordinary a course.

But from the leading resolution proposing the inquiry I am not permitted to suppose, that the rejection of the Treaties is the *only*, or indeed the *principal* object of the Senator from Ohio. He proposes first to inquire "Whether the agent employed by the Executive to negotiate the Treaties was a man in whose known probity and moral worth the nation has a sufficient guaranty that injustice has not been done to the Indians or imposition practised upon them by him in these negotiations."

Mr. Gardiner the agent referred to,² is not before the Senate. His character whatever it may be, does not in the slightest degree affect the validity of the Treaties. Were he the most abandoned wretch on earth, still the Treaties may have been fairly negotiated and correctly engrossed. If, therefore, it were conclusively proved that he is a bad man, that fact would in no manner affect the validity of the Treaties or enlighten the Senate in relation to their duties.

¹ Handwriting of A. J. Donelson. This paper is not in Richardson's *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, nor in the *Executive Journal of the Senate*. It was apparently not sent. Senator Ewing's resolution, Jan. 13, is *ibid.*, IV. 199.

² James B. Gardiner signed a treaty with the Ottawa Indians on behalf of the U. S. Aug. 30, 1831, and another with the Wyandot Indians Jan. 19, 1832.

This resolution is not, therefore, intended as a means of gaining information affecting the validity of the Treaties. Its only possible effect will be to engage a secret committee of the Senate in investigating the moral character of a private citizen, to gratify private curiosity or a worse feeling; or it will stand on the journals without further action, a perpetual memorial implicating his acts and his fame. I cannot believe the Senate will be induced by any consideration to enter into an investigation of the "known probity and moral worth" of any of their fellow citizens who are not in nomination for office. It is surely enough, that the private characters of citizens should be handled without reserve or remorse when they appear before the Senate as candidates for some appointment. The Senate will not drag in others who are asking nothing at their hands, and employ their secret committees and agents, to hunt thro' society for charges to destroy their reputation and cover them with infamy. When this shall be, it will be time to burst open the doors of the conclave and let in the light. It will be time for the people to demand, why a body whom they have created to aid in promoting those measures which the public good demands, have converted themselves into an inquisition worse than the Spanish, intent only on the destruction of the men whom they hate or whom they fear. When this period arrives, if arrive it must, I hope the Executive may not render himself an accomplice in the injustice by concealing it from the people.

The character of the proposed inquiry forbids the idea that it will be countenanced by the Senate. But the resolution is embodied in the journal and there it will stand. If not counteracted, it may operate as an everlasting stigma upon Mr. Gardiner and those who appointed him. So much of it as may be intended to reach me is wholly disregarded. But Mr. Gardiner is otherwise situated. He is a poor man, undistinguished, and surrounded with a large and peculiarly helpless family. He has been once nominated for an office and rejected. Producing additional testimonials of character and ability, he was employed on a confidential service by the Treasury Department, which he performed with distinguished ability. He was then employed as an agent to negotiate Treaties with the Indian bands living within the state of Ohio, and has acquitted himself with great honor. On all hands and by all parties, the Treaties have been pronounced highly generous to the Indians, just to the state of Ohio which required this service from the General Government, and beneficial to the Nation. Not a suspicion of impropriety and not a whisper of dissatisfaction, had ever been heard of by the Executive, prior to the reception of this resolution. How is the man rewarded who has thus laboured for his country with singular ability and brilliant success? By another stab in the dark. No industry, no integrity, no splendid service can save him. Tho' not before the Senate and asking nothing at their hands, a committee is asked for to investigate his private character, to hunt up his foibles, to embody his errors, to ruin his rising reputation and cover him with infamy: or at least, he must stand stigmatized on the journals of the Senate as a man worthless and abandoned, whom the Executive had employed to cheat the Indians out of their homes, by deceptions, fraud and forgeries. This attack is not made in open day where men are responsible to the injured

party and to their country: but in secret night, beneath a veil of sworn concealment which no mere citizen may be able to penetrate.

It is I who have unwittingly exposed Mr. Gardiner to this attack. I see the dagger, but he does not. Conscious I verily believe, of having rendered an essential service to his country and particularly to the State of Ohio, neither asking nor expecting any thing from the Senate, he reposes in the bosom of his family at the distance of many hundred miles, least of all things expecting that his services are to be rewarded by charges of entire depravity of character, deception, fraud and forgery, made by a citizen of the State he has served, and entered in perpetual testimony upon the journals of the Senate. It is therefore that I make this communication as a duty to the man whom I have exposed to unseen dangers; which I request may be entered on the journals together with the accompanying testimonial of Mr. Gardiner's "probity and moral worth" signed by many respectable citizens of Ohio of both political parties, as an antidote to the charges which have already been admitted.

I trust that this communication will not be misunderstood. The Executive acknowledges no responsibility to the Senate for the moral or religious character of the agents he employs. For the acts of those agents he is responsible only through an impeachment by the House of Representatives. Were the resolution for an inquiry into the moral character of Mr. Gardiner finally passed, and were he called on by the committee or by the Senate, he would not be bound to answer. If there be any who object to the time of this communication, let them reflect that its object, and its *only* object, is to repair a wrong already done to an agent of the Executive, and not to inform the Senate. The obligation to make it would not have been at all strengthened by the adoption of the proposed resolution, or weakened by its rejection.

I request that the testimonials referred to after being copied for the use of the Senate may be returned to the Treasury Department where they were originally filed.

TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOHN COFFEE.¹

WASHINGTON, January 21, 1832.

My D'r Genl, I have been trying to obtain as much leisure as to write you, but the press of business from the different branches of congress, but particularly from a factious opposition in the senate with Calhoun and Clay at its head, for they have formed a union, and with a severe attack of the prevailing influenza, and an operation on my left arm, by which the half bullet prepared by Doctor and Nat McNairy, for Jesse,² was extracted, has given me but little time to write to any one.

I have no hesitation in saying that Calhoun is one of the most base hypocritical and unprincipled villains in the United States. his course in secrete session, and vote in the case of Mr Van Buren, has displayed a want of every sense of honor, justice or magnanimity. his votes has dam'd him by all honest men in the senate, and when laid before the

¹ Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.

² Refers to Jackson's quarrel with the Bentons, 1813, when he received a bullet in his arm from Jesse Benton's pistol.

nation, and laid it will be, will not only dam him and his associates, but astonish the american people. From the vote in secrete session Moor³ has shown his adherence to Calhounism. The senate would reject Van Buren for his virtues, but it dare not.⁴ the factious and unprincipled opposition know that his rejection would first make him vice president, and then president, indeed they see that the indignation of the people are aroused every where at the attempts of persecution. They are getting alarmed, they begin to think if the senate will not take off the injunction of secrecy, that I will—and this I am sure to do—that the people may see and judge for themselves. more hereafter, but one thing I tell you, there are a combination secretly formed and forming from this place all over the union, and James Jackson is the nucleous, with Lewis and Moor here for Alabama; and James and his satilites in Alabama. at your next election have him left at home, and begin in time, and let Moor feel by meetings if they can be got up, that his course is one not pleasing to the people of Alabama.

This combination they know cannot effect me, but it is to bring Calhoun or Clay into the presidency four years hence—a greater curse could not befall our country. I believe Clay, as bad as I th[i]nk of him, a better man than Calhoun. Solomon says “that there is a time for all things”, and the time I think is fast approaching when an opportunity will be afforded to place him before the nation with all his duplicity and hypocrisy unveiled and naked to the world.

I will thank you at as early a period as your leisure will permit, to advise if any, and what funds, can be collected for me. my sons marriage has increased my expence. The marriage of Mary Eastin which is to take place the 14th of next month, will add a little more to it, and the conduct of my overseer and the smallness of my present crop, will give me nothing from my farm; therefore the desire that I have to know all the means I can command and shape my expences accordingly. Miss Mary is to marry Capt Finch⁵ of the Navy, a worthy and gallant man, but not wealthy, but worthy in every respect, about 40.

Hutchings visited me in the Holidays, and urged me for permission to visit Philadelphia. Miss Mary McLemore is there. I yielded to his request, and furnished him in forty dollars for the trip and to return him to his college. I enclose an account. I did not take his receipt as I know he will acknowledge it, and my son and Major Donelson and Mr Brand of New orleans his companion has knowledge of it. you will add this to my credit with the estate.

I am interrupted with company, and must close with my respects to you all which my son and daughter, Major Donelson, Emily and Mary Eastin with Mr Earle and Major Lewis unite,

yours truly,

³ Gabriel Moore, representative from Alabama 1821-1829; governor of Alabama 1829-1831; U. S. senator 1831-1837.

⁴ Jan. 25, 1832, Van Buren's nomination as minister to England was defeated in the Senate by the deciding vote of Calhoun, vice-president.

⁵ William B. Finch, commissioned captain Feb. 21, 1831.

TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOHN COFFEE.¹

WASHINGTON, January 27, 1832.

My D'r Genl, I have only time to say to you, that the factious opposition in the senate day before yesterday rejected the nomination of Mr Van Buren by the casting vote of the vice-president, Miller and Hayne of So C., with Moor of Alabama and Poindexter voting against him. Here is the high minded chivalrick feeling of South Carolina, no better could be expected from Moor and Poindexter,² they would betray their god let alone their country and I am sorry Hayne has joined the ranks of Clay, etc. Miller made a most disgraceful speech in the secrete session, him and Calhoun are both politically dam'd. The feeling and indignation of the public run high, and it is the universal cry, we will wipe off the disgrace done to our country and national character, by placing V. Buren in the vice presidential chair. He will be I believe taken up by acclamation. I trust you and Col McKinley³ will see to it, that James Jackson will no more preside in your senate, and that your citizens do not approve of Moors course. If you will have a meeting at Florence, condemning his course and inviting him to resign it will be followed all over your state and there is nothing that will destroy him here so much and so soon as such a movement of the citizens. Lewis is as bad as Moor and his constituents ought to know it.

expecting soon to hear from you and with a tender of my kind salutations with that of all my household I remain your friend. It can now I trust be seen by my connections, the injury done me, by them joining the vile persecution against Eaton, with the view to destroy me. it is now against Van Buren with the same view, and there is not a more perfidious man than John Branch amongst the opposition, he is devoid of truth, honor or principle and his associates Poindexter, Moor and Calhoun etc. etc. etc.⁴

TO COLONEL JAMES A. HAMILTON.¹

WASHINGTON, January 27, 1832.

My D'r Sir, The factious opposition in the Senate rejected the nomination of Mr. Van Buren day before yesterday, by the *casting vote of the vice President*. I am told that Miller of S. C. made one of the most disgraceful speeches that ever was heard in any deliberative body. The injunction of Secrecy has been taken off, and I am told we will have the speeches published. The injury done to our national character by their wanton act in all Europe, is an account that the people have to settle with

¹ Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.² Of Mississippi.³ John McKinley, senator 1826-1831, M. C. 1833-1835, associate justice of the Supreme Court 1837-1852.⁴ Francis P. Blair, writing to Van Buren in London on Jan. 28, 1832, described Jackson's frame of mind at this time in the following words: "Our venerable Patriot President has had a hard winter of it, in every sense. His wounded arm has worried him, a set of artificial teeth has served to harrass him still more, and our Epidemic Influenza wasted him considerably. He has taken out the teeth and the bullet and his Influenza has yielded entirely. Just upon the heel of his disorders, your rejection has followed, and has roused him as much as the Semenole conspiracy against himself. The prospect before you serves to calm him and to that I take measure[s] to direct his mind."¹ N. Y. Pub. Lib.

the Senate who has brought this disgrace and injury upon us. I mean the factious opposition, who have degraded that august body, once the admiration of the world, lower than a Spanish inquisition, and from report of Millers speech has changed the debates in the Senate to that of—I cannot find an epithet that will convey a proper idea of its blackguardism, and demerit. While I mourn over the degradation that the factious opposition has brought the Senate, still I cannot help but rejoice at the proper indignant feeling expressed by the public, at this cruel and unjust act. it is, I am told, universal, except the opposition and nothing is spoken of but redress of Mr V. B.'s injured feelings, and the insult offered to our government by placing V. B. vice president, by acclamation. I suppose the journals will speak.

A. J.

TO GRAVES W. STEELE.

WASHINGTON, February 4, 1832.

Sir, Yours of the 12th ultimo has been recd. and I will thank you to send me on, an account in full of the expences of the farm and that as soon as possible, and how paid, and the account for the supplies furnished Mr Morrison, in such a way as I can fairly understand it. the one given I cannot send in its form to Mr Morrison.

I have directed Mr Nichols to pay you, your full wages (five hundred dollars) for the year 1831 out of the proceeds of the cotton when recd. and have directed Col White to sell the cotton shipped so soon as in his judgt. the market will justify a sale, and remit the amount of sales to Mr Josiah Nichol, who will pay you your wages for the year 1831.

Having promised Mr Morrison to pay him in cash for the improvement stipulated to be made by him, and having expected the \$150 for which you sold my Carryall and pair of horses and which I had to be paid over to [him and] so directed you, I have now to remit him the ballance of his account \$187 or thereabout. You will therefore hold yourself accountable, to account with me, for the \$150 dollars for my horses and carriage sold at au[c]tion for cash last spring.

I have written to Pittsburgh to have sent to the care of Mr Josiah Nichol six bushels of clover seed. this will sow 32 acres full, thick for cutting, which you will sow in the race tract field, with the oats, or shortly after they are up so that the seed may be covered from the frost should it fall after sown

You will see Mr William Donelson, and know of him whether he has determined to let me have, for my son, Saml Donelson Lott of land adjoining me—if he has, then you will plant it in cotton or seed it in oats as you may judge best. I want at least this year planted in cotton one hundred and Eighty acres measured, that I may have one good crop in four years, if the season should be favorable.

You will also ascertain from Mr. William Donelson whether he has determined to let me have, for my son, Alexanders Lot of land which adjoins his brothers Samuel, and if he has, then you will unite with Mr Donelson, in extending a fence on the Western line of Alexanders, and the Eastern line of the track he gets of Mr George Martin thro the entire

tract, or to the road as laid out to the mouth of Stones river, and on the dividing line, and planting or sowing the good land on that lot so that it may be a pasture for my stock in the fall. Write on the receipt of this what Mr. D. has determined.

My son will be out early this Spring. yours respectfully

TO SECRETARY LIVINGSTON.¹

February 5, 1832.

My D'r Sir, Reflecting on the French treaty, and its conditions, it appears to me, that it had better not be promulgated until the act of Congress is passed making the reduction of duties agreeable to the Treaty. The collector could not comply with its terms, and I have no doubt but many vessels are on their passage to this country, and will enter our ports on the promulgation of the Treaty. Pause and reflect upon this subject before you have it published. It may bring us into collision with Congress, and a few days delay, until we know what Congress mean to do, can prove no injury.

Yrs. respectfully,

TO MARTIN VAN BUREN.¹

WASHINGTON, February 12, 1832.

Private

My D'r sir, I am this moment advised that the secretary of State is making up a mail for you by the packet of the 16th instant. I cannot forego the pleasure of dropping you a note, still I hope, if you are not engaged in closing the important negotiation on the subject of the empressment of our seamen, and what shall be contraband of war, you will ere this reaches London, have left that city for your country, that is prepared with open arms to receive you.

I must refer you to other friends² for a detailed account of the disgraceful scene in the senate by the faction in the opposition, in that once

¹ From the collection of the letters and papers of Edward Livingston, preserved at his former residence, Montgomery Place, Barrytown, N. Y.; printed by the kindness of Brigadier-General John Ross Delafield.

² Library of Congress, Van Buren MSS.

² The Senate removed its ban of secrecy from the debates over this nomination and the proceedings were published in *Congressional Debates*, vol. VIII., pt. I., pp. 1310-1386. For an account of the rejection of Van Buren's nomination the following letter from William L. Marcy to Van Buren is very serviceable:

"As usual my communication to you will be the herald of bad news. You are rejected by the casting vote of your quondam friend the vice President. The ground of opposition assumed by the friends of the late Administration was the tenor of your instructions to Mr McLane in which they say you denounced the government to a foreign power and invoked favours upon party considerations. Mr. Clay made a very intemperate speech against you and Mr Webster a very plausible one—or at least so much so as to induce those who usually act with him to follow him in their votes. The injunction of secrecy is removed and the debate will be published but probably not in time to go with this letter. Calhoun and his little band of four came in to the Aid of Webster and Clay but the grounds were very different. You had seduced as they represented—not a woman, but the President—made a breach between him and our worthy presiding officer. You were a great intriguer, the author of sundry plots, etc. etc. I will not go on with the detail. You will appreciate the character of this portion of the unholy alliance when I assure

august body, on your rejection. Their speeches were disgraceful to themselves and degrading to the senate, and humiliating to our nation, and national character, and insulting to all E[u]rope, but particularly to England where you are accredited, and have been received with so much cordiality. The people will properly resent the insult offered to the Executive, and the wound inflicted in our national character, and the injury intended to our foreign relations, in your rejection, by placing you in the chair of the very man whose casting vote rejected you. My last will have furnished you with the names of the members who voted against you, and the Newspapers which the Sec. of State will forward you, will shew, the proper feelings of the people on the occasion. you will see that Genl Hayne has voted against you, and his reasons given has plainly shewn, that he has fallen from that di[g]nified and magnanimous course, that we have always ascribed to him. Richie has criticised his speech *well*, and in such a way that he cannot excuse himself from that disgrace that now awaits Calhoun Clay and Webster. How mortifying it must be to a high minded honorable man, to be associated with such an unprincipled faction. Time will not permit me to say more. I expect to see you all in april unless engaged in the important negotiation and with prospects of success.

With my best wishes for your speedy and safe return

TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOHN COFFEE.¹

WASHINGTON, February 19, 1832.

My D'r Genl . . . I have just been advised by the professor of the university of Virginia and Master Hutchings himself, that he has withdrew from the university.² on receipt of this information, fearing he might

you that it was inspired with the spirit of the great nulification chief Calhoun. Now what is to follow. Willing or unwilling I think you will be made the candidate for the Vice Presidency. This proceeding of the alliance between high tariff and nulification will, if I do not wretchedly misjudge, call forth a general spirit of reprobation through the country. The consequences were feared by those who have lent their hands to accomplish it, and they could never have been brought to it had it not been for the subtle arts of Calhoun and the uncontrolled and dare-devil passions of Clay. Considering where you are and what you are this business will be mortifying to you. I have but little optimism compared with the liberal endowment which you possess but I have enough to have become satisfied that it is for the best, but the whys and the wherefores are too many to be here enumerated and too obvious, many of them, to escape your observation altho. your eye is not fixed immediately on the passing events. There is one that I will allude to. Of all the candidates for the V. P. spoken of there is not one who possesses more than barely sufficient qualifications for the office of V. P. Gen. J. is advanced in life and to be frank with you is in feeble health. I must say, however I may wish otherwise, that I think the chances are against his lasting five years longer. With the best of those now spoken of for Vice Prest. at our head as chief magistrate we should be in a miserable situation. This consideration has had great influence with our wisest friends in bringing them to the conclusion that you should at all events be a candidate for V P."

¹ Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.

² Feb. 11, 1832, Jackson received notice, with "heartfelt mortification", that the career of his ward at the University of Virginia was at an end. Hutchings has rendered himself liable to discipline by absenting himself from classes and was in peril of dismissal if no improvement was made in a month. Under the circumstances the boy withdrew of his own accord. Jackson learned the news from an officer of the university. "How humiliating",

be without funds, I wrote him to advise me of his wants, and I would supply them for his return to Tennessee. he wrote me he had wrote you for funds, and I am happy to learn you have forwarded them. I requested him to come by this place, on his way to Tennessee. by a letter wrote by him to my son and reed to day he declines coming here, and I suppose will soon be with you, as he writes me, he intends going to his place and residing there. I am happy to learn from the professors, that his moral conduct is without blemish, that he had failed to attend three recitals, and was, I suppose, severely lectured upon this subject, and threatened with expulsion, and he with three others, I understood, withdrew. Hutchings says, the professor of one branch of his studies was sick, and failed to attend, and reported them absent, when he was not there to hear them. Be this as it may, I am happy to inform you, that he stands remarkably high in the estimation of all his fellow students, and the citizens of Charlottesville. he has improved very much, both in his size and education, and I have no doubt now, but he will apply himself to his farm, and if he does, and gets a few good books, a well selected little library, he will make a useful citizen; but he cannot bear the subordination of a university. he has talents but as yet, lacks application.

your other letter gives me your views as to the chickasaws. I view them correct. I would let Levy Colbert manage this matter with the choctaws in his own way, and when matured, reduce it to an agreement.⁸ the sooner this can be, the better, as I have no doubt but in a few days a full delegation from the creeks will be here to make a treaty and all agree to go to the west. There the four southern tribes can form their confederacy. The publication said to be Hawkins, is the work of some tool of Clay, Webster, and Calhoun for political effect but it must all fail. The late disgraceful conduct of the unprincipled faction in the senate, in the rejection of Mr V. Buren, headed by the above trio, has roused such indignation against them and their unprincipled faction, that has sealed their political fate forever. Yes your honorable senator Moor, with his fit associate Poindexter voted with this faction and Mr Branch, and the notorious Clements were the secrete witnesses.

he wrote to Hutchings, "to my feelings this intelligence! How useless has [been] my various admonitions, and your promises to me when last here, that your application should be redoubled, and your obedience to all the rules of the university strictly observed, if I would permit you to visit Philadelphia. I have been unwearied in my attention to have you given a first rate education. My solicitude that you should come well into life, could not have been exceeded by your D'r father who bequeathed you to me. But enough. My present solicitude is to know where you are. Your determination being taken to withdraw from the university without my knowledge and consent, and your want of funds to take you home, has doubled that solicitude. There is one, and only one consolation left me, and that is, that you stand accused of no moral delinquency. Your moral character being still maintained I can forgive and take you to my bosom again. On the receipt of this you will apprise me of your pecuniary situation, the amount that will close all your accounts, and take you to Tennessee, where you will await my further instructions after you receive the funds to take you there." Jackson to A. J. Hutchings, Feb. 11, 1832, in Tenn. Hist. Soc., Transcripts.

⁸ A treaty with the Chickasaws was made by Coffee and Levi Colbert and signed Oct. 20, 1832. A treaty was made in Washington with the Creeks Mar. 24, 1832. In each treaty the Indians gave up lands east of the Mississippi and moved to the west.

It is a novel coalition—who would have thought that Calhoun would ever have been found in a league with Webster and Clay, and your honorable senator and Poindexter their associates. The people will set this right, and will repel the insult and injury to our national character [and] to the executive, as it would appear, from the excitement of the people, by placing Van Buren in the chair, that give the casting vote for his rejection.

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MARTIN VAN BUREN TO JACKSON.¹

LONDON, February 20, 1832.

.....

Feb'y. 21st. I had written thus far when I was called off, and to day I have your letter, and those of several of my friends informing me of my rejection by the Senate. The knowledge of the result has in no sense changed my views of the matter, but the accompanying expressions of public feeling have on the contrary confirmed my previous impressions. The same Packet also brought me Mr Livingstons amended instructions upon the subject of Impressment, without which I could not have concluded an arrangement if it had been practicable but I must also add that for the reasons I have alluded to, I should not yet have pressed it if I had had them before. Mr Livingston kept them for a safer opportunity than the mail. Although this result will as I have no doubt in the end prove beneficial, it causes me an infinite deal of vexation and no small amount of loss. I have taken my house at a heavy rent for a year, and have an establishment of Carriage, Horses, and Servants, on hand which it will require some time and management to get rid of without very heavy sacrifices. John has left me, to spend a few months at Naples, with Nelson,² and it will take me several weeks to get him back. The advice of my friends in regard to the period of my return, is, as was naturally to be expected, various. Whilst our excellent friend Mr McLane is in favour of my immediate return, and election to the Senate, the greater part are opposed to that plan, and urge strenuously that I should defer my return until after the Baltimore convention. I have conferred as fully with Mr Irving as the few hours which are allowed to us before the Packet sails would admit of, and the result of our reflections is that the plan of an immediate return and election to the Senate is under all the circumstances impracticable. The objections to it are numerous and formidable. There is no vacancy in the Senate from our State and no one knows positively that it would be agreeable to Mr Dudley³ to resign his place. There are many and strong reasons why I would not for the world suggest, or cause it to be suggested to him. I have before had occasion to tax his patriotism by asking him to decline a nomination for the good of the cause; and under circumstances which excited regret on the part of his friends. But if it were otherwise I could at the utmost

¹ Library of Congress, Van Buren MSS. This letter was begun Feb. 20 and continued the next day. During the interval news came that Van Buren's nomination was rejected by the Senate.

² John Nelson of Maryland, chargé d'affaires at Naples 1831-1832.

³ Charles Edward Dudley succeeded Van Buren as U. S. senator and served from Jan., 1829, to Mar., 1833.

only hope to arrive a very [few] days, possibly weeks before the end of the session, when we all know that any thing like a useful debate upon any subject can never be had, and even then it would [be] necessary, first, to get Mr Dudleys resignation, and then a formal appointment by the Legislature, at the close also of its Session, with its invariable excitements, which if done would unavoidably reduce the period of my seat to a few days at the utmost, the chance of making which beneficial would not to my mind be very promising. There are so many points in the proposed arrangement, the failure of either of which would be fatal, and it would moreover wear so much the appearance of a systematic scheme to hurry home and make the most of the sympathy produced by the violence which has been done me, that I am strongly inclined to concur with those, who apprehend that the good feeling which has been excited, would, by those means be blunted, and the false imputation of an original design on my part to run for the Vice Presidency, if not confirmed certainly somewhat countenanced. It appears to us therefore that the more respectable, and wiser course for me, will be, to avoid any hasty, or feverish movement, to settle my affairs here as well as I can, and place those of the Legation upon the footing on which they ought to stand before I leave it, which will probably take me a few weeks, then run over to the Continent, and avail myself of the only opportunity, that will ever be afforded me, to visit as much as I can of that portion of Europe, and return in May or early in June to the U. States, thus affording another proof of the falsehood of the accusations agt. me, which attribute to me a desire to intrigue for the nomination at Baltimore, by leaving my fate to the unbiassed disposal, of our political friends with a determination, from which I shall not depart to abide by their decision but to be satisfied with it, they always remembering my strong repugnance to the place of Senator. I beg you to explain these views to my friends McLane, Forsythe and Marcy etc. I have re'd a very affectionate letter from the highly respectable Committee of Newyork, and shall by the next Packet reply to it in which I shall state the determination I have here expressed in regard to the time of my return. I sincerely hope that our friend McLane will upon reflection think this the wisest course. I assure you with great sincerity, that the circumstances of this difference of opinion among my friends, urged with equal confidence, has given me more uneasiness than any thing connected with the whole affair. . . .

COLONEL ANTHONY BUTLER TO JACKSON.

MEXICO CITY, February 23, 1832.

. . . . Your letter dated on the 9th and 20th December last was received during my illness, and I have but read it now, having to go through the fatigue of decyphering which in my feeble state was a tedious affair. Your injunctions shall be attended to, and obeyed to the letter so far as all my efforts will enable me to carry them into effect—from my present state of debility however I fear some time will elapse before I shall be competent to any mental effort. All my arrangements are made, the ground well explored, the strong and weak points on either side as I think well understood; so that whenever the time arrives for me to begin

I feel satisfied in being able to settle the question, on the one side or the other with very little delay. If I can succeed at all, there is no doubt of my convincing the other side of the propriety of the measure very readily—if on the contrary I should fail in producing this conviction after fully unfolding my views upon the subject I shall despair of time adding to the chances of success. In the negotiation I can foresee many and great difficulties, yet I believe it will be in my power to vanquish them all; and my opinion will remain unchanged untill I make the attempt and fail. If my health is restored as soon as I hope it will be a few weeks will serve to test the result of my efforts, of which you will have immediate notice.

. . . .

TO COLONEL ANTHONY BUTLER.¹

WASHINGTON, February 25, 1832.

(private)

My D'r Sir, Your letter of the 23rd of December last has been received. The Treaty reached us, only, a few days past, having been detained at New York; the messenger when he reached there, being out of funds, and having no letter to any one explaining his true character, and not showing his dispatches—it was brought on by a messenger employed by Mr Jameson he being confined when the funds we sent, reached him. On yesterday, I sent both the treaties to the senate.

I could not withhold the treaty of boundary from the senate, the additional article made it necessary that it should be sent, and I could not violate the faith pledged in that article. I wrote to Judge Tazwell chairman of the committee on foreign relations, enclosing him your private letter to me for his own eye, and requesting if it could not be postponed, and was ratified this session of congress as it call[ed] for the west bank of the Sabine, the senate might indicate on its ratification, that the line was to run up the west fork of that river, which formerly was called the Sabine. This, if adopted will give us room, and time, as I am told Mexico will contend for the line to run up the East fork which they say is the Sabine, and call the west branch by another name, which we cannot agree to, as it would take from us two populous counties.

I fully approve of the note you addressed to the minister of foreign affairs, the day before the Mexican Congress adjourned, and I have no doubt but it was owing to that, the treaty of commerce was approved and ratified by the proper authorities—I repeat “under my own hand” that I approve that step taken by you.

I have again to repeat my request that you push with all your zeal the negotiation of a new boundary *agreeable to the instructions* you will receive, and if you can, extend it to the Desert. I have but little doubt but there will an insurrection in Texas in less than six months, which may compromit the peace and harmony of the two Governments. I will as far as I have the power prevent our citizens from taking any part in this matter, but you know we cannot prevent them from emigrating to that country and each soldier has the right to take his rifle with him, to

¹ Univ. of Texas, Butler Papers.

defend himself against the Indians, and thousands will go, and it will be impossible to restrain them, altho we will prevent them from going in organized bands, or corps. Still, it may be, altho, we will employ all our means to prevent them, that Mexico may not believe that we are acting in good faith towards her and bad feelings may arise.

I was shown a letter, enonemous, yesterday that leave no doubt upon my mind but a revolution in Texas is intended, and people are emigrating to that country with a view to this thing and it will be attempted shortly. What situation will this place the two countries in—The present resources of Mexico will not be competent to reconquer and put down this insurrection, and regain the country if once lost and a government composed of all kindred and tongues on our borders, plundering, and murdering, our good citizens at will, and exciting the Indians to make war upon us, and on our borders. This may compell us in self defence to seize that country by force and establish a regular government, *there*, over it. This necessity I do not wish to see, and would much deplore, if *it should* occur. Therefore it is we want to obtain a cession of that country for a fair consideration, to prevent this very unpleasant emergency, that would compell us to seize that country on principles of real necessity and self defence, *being* well aware that Mexico cannot prevent Texas from becoming independant of her.

JOHN RANDOLPH TO JACKSON.

ROANOKE, February 26, 1832.

My dear Sir, I wished to write you a long letter but I am sorely beset by my own affairs having at least one hundred unanswered (and I fear unanswerable) letters on my file, Many of these on business of great concernment to me, and I have had heavy losses by not being able to attend to my affairs.

This Russian Campaign has been a Pultowa or *Beresina* to me although I am neither Charles XII of Sweden nor Buénaparte, but a poor and half ruined Virginia Planter. It is well that I was put out of the notion of going to Italy. Another year abroad would have given my estate a shock that it could not have recovered in a life time. As it is I have lost two crops at my three best plantations. Every overseer on the river proved a scoundrel who bribed the negroes with the plunder of my property to wink at their own depredations, My agent Mr Leigh overwhelmed with business of his own, entirely trusting to these same overseers who pillaged me without mercy.

The enclosed is worthy of republication at this juncture. Ritchie¹ refused to insert either, although I pressed him to do so. *His holding with the Hare and running with the hounds* has damned him with all the old Republicans in Virginia. If the Bug were worth my resentment I could crush him. But Hamilton will do that in his nullifying paper at Charleston, and the Coalition detest him. Like all other double dealers (when found out) he will be abandoned by every party and every man in the U. S.

¹ Thomas Ritchie, who for some forty years was editor of the *Richmond Enquirer*.

Beware of his *friendship* His enmity is now powerless to *do harm* to any one. Pray excuse my abruptness as I am barely in time for the post and have to send this scratch 12 miles to the Post Office thro this horrid weather.

Asses milk and sarsaparilla and rigid abstemiousness from every thing else but these articles of sustenance and diet except Cows milk and unleavened bread have wrought such a change in me that if this Ant-Arctic winter ever closes I shall pay you a visit at Washington as soon as the roads are passable. At present they are impracticable to any thing but mail Carts. It has been hailing and sleeting three days and now the freezing Rain falls as if the store house were inexhaustible.

I am My Dear Sir most sincerely and faithfully yours

Before sending the enclosed paper for publication please to have cut off my strictures upon R. in the margin which are for *your* eye only.

TO HENRY BALDWIN.

WASHINGTON, February 27, 1832.

My D'r Sir, The frankness with which Mr. Lacock's letter is written,¹ that you had the goodness to read to me today, assured me that he will not

¹ Baldwin wrote to Lacock (see vol. II., p. 345), asking for certain information with respect to Jackson's letter to Monroe of Jan. 6, 1818. From Lacock's reply, Feb. 18, 1832, Baldwin made the following extract and sent it to Jackson:

"Before I can agree to furnish the facts requested, it would be necessary, and but fair for me to be informed of the use intended to be made of the facts. If it be to give them publicity, I should hesitate before I should agree to furnish any information that would bring me before the public, as the friend of Jackson or Calhoun, nor would it conform, it seemed to me, with your present situation to be made the medium of such a communication. Mr. Monroe is dead, and politically speaking I consider Mr. Crawford in the same situation; the situation in which I stood with these men, especially the president, would forbid me to make a disclosure that by implication might be construed to their disadvantage.

"The President and Vice President are the only men living who can be concerned in the disclosures in question, nor can I feel such an interest in their personal disputes as to furnish either with the means of defence or annoyance. How you are or can be affected in any way I do not comprehend, nor do I understand what you mean when you say 'my object in asking this information is to support and confirm what I stated as my belief in 1824 and 1831.' The truth is I do not know what it was you did state at the times mentioned, nor to whom nor for what purpose the statements alluded to was made. And until I do know can I discover, why you wish the information in relation to yourself. So far as your character may be concerned I should be willing and anxious to have justice done you if in doing it I am not called upon to violate those principles of honor by which I trust my conduct has always been governed.

"That at the time I knew as well as I now do, everything connected with the Johnny Ray letter is most certain: This information was not *at the time recd* from Calhoun. I never had a copy of the letter. I had from Calhoun his views fully in relation to Jackson's conduct in the Seminole war, they agreed with mine, he never told me the course that the other members of the Cabinet wished to pursue in relation to that transaction, but said he had given up his course out of respect to the opinion of the President, who had adopted a course less strong, etc. All this I had known previous to my conversation with Mr. Calhoun. Except Adams (who is sure to be on extremes) the President and his Cabinet agreed, as to the unconstitutional and illegal course pursued by Jackson and the only question was how they had best get out of the scrape. The middle course (often the worst) was taken 'disavow the acts, surrender the posts, but neither punish nor censure the officers.' When Calhoun published his pamphlet against the President he sent me one, in it my name was gratuitously introduced. I wrote him a letter, not a flattering one, it contained reminiscences, facts and observations not a few. He Calhoun

deny me the privilege of extracts from it so far as it relates to the interviews he had with Mr. Calhoun whilst he was preparing his report for the Senate in 1819 on the subject of the Seminole war, particularly when he is informed that my object in requesting them is to support your statement in 1824 and 1831 that you understood in 1819 that the Johnny Rhea letter so called (my confidential letter to Mr. Monroe) was known to him and believed to have been made the basis of his report. Those extracts are also important as shewing how much Mr. Lacock was imposed upon by the duplicity of Mr. Calhoun and how much injustice has been done me by the same cause in having represented me as transcending my orders and violating the constitution.

Under these circumstances I am sure that Mr. Lacock will freely dis[c]lose the facts adverted to: and I cannot but believe when he sees my expose that he will be convinced of the great injustice which his reliance upon the statements of Mr. Calhoun and others led him to deal out to me in his report to the Senate in February 1819. It is therefore that I ask extracts from his letter and that in the expose I am about to make I may use them for the purpose of doing justice to Mr. Crawford for injuries of which I was the innocent instrument, being deceived in the same manner by Mr. Calhoun.

If Mr. Lacock should refuse to furnish the extracts of his letters as requested, then I must request you to ask him to have the justice to state, whether he had not been put in full possession of the contents of my confidential letter to Mr. Monroe, called the Johnny Rhea letter, and from what source he derived a knowledge of the contents of that letter? Whether Mr. Calhoun in his interviews with him as chairman of the committee investigating the Seminole Campaign and whilst engaged drawing up his report did not fully approve of Mr. Lacock's views as they were expressed in the said report made in February 1819: Whether Mr. Calhoun in the said interviews did not give it as his opinion that I had transcended my orders, violated the constitution, and called out the troops without the knowledge of the Governor of the state as charged in said report? Whether in these interviews did not Mr. Calhoun understand that Mr. Lacock had been made fully acquainted with the contents of

told Marks and others that he had recd the letter from me, this justified me in telling you and others that I had written to him. I have a copy of the letter, he may publish it if he pleases. I shall never except in self defence. It reflects with severity upon the Administration, and all concerned in justifying Jackson at the expense of the constitution and laws of the country. These things have passed away with most of the individuals who were then concerned. although conscientiously satisfied with the course I pursued, retrospect is not pleasant, nor flattering to our country, let us look ahead, and save the nation if it can be saved. If the Govt. is overthrown it will be not by foreign, but domestic enemies, an act of political suicide alone can destroy us. The Nation look to the Supreme Court for protection, there is no man in the Nation upon whom the people lean with so much confidence as Judge Marshall. Let us boast as we please, our confidence and the stability of the government depend upon a few men who administer it. The rank and file of the nation have had and still have to a certain extent confidence in Genl. Jackson, But every step he takes is calculated to weaken that confidence.

"Gov. Wolf and his whole cabinet are at this moment as deadly hostile to Genl. Jackson as Sam. Ingham, and yet the old man is willing to be made the pack-horse to carry them along. That Wolf cannot be re-elected in this State is to me quite evident, and were it possible to break down Jackson this would do it."

the confidential, or Johny Rhea, letter, and did not Mr. Calhoun refer to that confidential letter as positive proof of my intention to violate my orders by my intended operation in Florida, and lastly, whether in the several interviews Mr. Calhoun had with Mr. Lacock whilst he was investigating the subject and preparing his report on the Seminole campaign, did he not fully approve of all the views and statements made by Mr. Lacock in said report, as made to the Senate, and if Mr. Calhoun did not agree with all, in what did he differ from Mr. Lacock, and did not Mr. Calhoun inform Mr. Lacock that he had moved in the cabinet council for my arrest or punishment and that he was overruled by the members of the cabinet; and if so by what members? and to give any other information that Mr. Lacock may please as it regards Mr. Calhoun's advice, sentiments or action on that occasion that induced Mr. Lacock to embody any or all of the facts he did in said report.²

Your early attention to this will greatly oblige Yr. friend

COLONEL ANTHONY BUTLER TO JACKSON.

MEXICO CITY, February 27, 1832.

. . . . I shall watch steadily and constantly the variations in the political horizon and be prepared to Profit of all favorable circumstances. The Government are at the present moment sustained by a loan recently obtained from the Capitalists of Mexico to the amount of \$600,000—this is but a drop, and will very soon be exhausted, and as I am confident that the experiment cannot be successfully repeated, I shall be ready to offer a supply to their necessities the moment they are found to be pressing. I intimated a few days since to the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, that "if he became much pressed for money I thought ways and means could be devised for obtaining through the U. States a few Millions, and about which we could converse whenever he felt a desire to do so:" My suggestion will not be forgotten, and the first serious difficulty will no doubt send him to me for an explanation of my remark. . . .

JOHN RANDOLPH TO JACKSON.

ROANOKE, March 1, 1832.

My dear Sir, I have never received any letter from you that gave me so much pleasure as that which reached me by the last mail (tuesday night) which I recd. by express from Charlotte Court House; for I have to send four times a week 12 miles equal to 48 if Cocker¹ be not mistaken every week or lose a mail. And my case is without remedy, for on the whole road there is not one person who can read or write and hardly one that is not a sot or notorious receiver of stolen goods, from slaves instigated to steal by the wretched "House Keepers" who by the votes of Fenton

² Writing to Lacock Feb. 25, 1832, Henry Baldwin said that he learned from Crawford in the winter of 1819-1820 the part Calhoun and others in the Cabinet took with respect to Jackson's Seminole campaign. He also said that he revealed this information to Jackson early in 1824, who acknowledged that he, Jackson, had been badly informed and had done Crawford an injustice. Jackson added that he would call on Crawford, and Baldwin asserts that the call was duly made.

¹ Referring to Edward Cocker's celebrated arithmetic.

Mercer² and Madison and Monroe! were made voters at our elections by our new Constitution.³ and for that Constitution to my eternal shame and remorse I *voted* while the *white* Basis men who put into it all these villainous provisions refused the dose they had mixed for us and we eastern folks were such asses as to swallow the vile compound for fear the next dose would contain arsenick. For my part I wish I had dashed the poisonous chalice from my lips for if we are to be poisoned let it be with Prussic Acid or something that does it's office quickly instead of lingering in tortures, and dying by half Inches. But why intrude upon you our vile and nasty State politics.

Yes my dear Sir, your letter has lifted a load from my mind and put me where I hope ever to stand in *my own Court* towards you—on a footing of unreserved confidence and esteem, and so long as I have this feeling in my own breast I shall feel assured of your reciprocal friendship for me. If Alexander be satisfied of the friendship of Hephestion he will care little about his estimation of his lieutenants. Now although you are not Alexander (that would be fulsome flattery) and I boast that I am something better than his minion, (the nature of their connexion if I forget not was *Greek Love*) yet if I could discern in your lieutenants an Eumenes, or even an Antigonos, Lysimachus, Perdikkas or Antipater he should have my voice.

I am glad for Mr Middleton's⁴ sake that he has been slandered foully, in regard to the representations made to me of what he said in relation to me, and to you as Mr Miller (Thos. of Powhatan) always your friend represented to me.

As to him of South Carolina he is like his File leader the great *Bank* man and Nullifier. Hamilton is a noble fellow. He is your enemy—openly so but he has frankly and publicly sung his palinodia and abjuring the heresies of federalism, reconciled himself to *our church*. He is anti-Bank as every *real* state-right-man must be. As to Mr V. P. he and his man Friday the grand and lofty *tumbler* of the lower House and all their miserable *clique* they are politically dead. As dead as they and Duff Green will be at the close this century—physically. They have retrieved for V. B. his false move and forced him to reappear on the theatre which he ought never to have quitted, I mean the Senate, Where in three weeks he would render J. C. C. and his new allies Clay and Webster as harmless as the old man and woman in the vinegar bottle. . . .

TO COLONEL ANTHONY BUTLER.¹

[WASHINGTON, March 6, 1832.]

. . . . Your letter of the 2d January last by way of New Orleans has just been received.

In relation to the negotiation for an extension of our boundary, which I am happ[y] to learn from you may in a short time be attempted with

² Charles Fenton Mercer, M. C. from Virginia 1819-1841.

³ The Virginia constitution was revised in 1830

⁴ Henry Middleton of South Carolina, Randolph's predecessor as minister to Russia.

¹ Univ. of Texas, Butler Papers. The letter is incomplete, but it is endorsed by Butler, "Gen. Jackson, 6 March, 1832".

some prospects of success, it will be necessary for you to keep in mind the instructions already forwarded. It is our wish to go as far West as the Grand Desert, or if that is impracticable as far as can be obtained. You are no doubt advised of the critical situation in which the province of Texas is placed by the disaffection of a large portion of its inhabitants. Since my last letter to you in which this fact was mentioned additional information has been received here which renders it quite probable that by this time an insurrection has made its appearance. There can be but little [ques]tion of such an event. It is unquestionably the interest of the latter to take the only step which can relieve her from the necessity of war.

The new Article in the Treaty left me no discretion as to the propriety of submitting that rela[t]ing to the bou[n]dary to the Senate. If it had been withheld it would have been called for by the Senate. I have however laid *confidentially* before the chairman of the committee on Foreign relations your private letter on the subject, which I trust will produce a postponement until the next session. . . .

Diplomatic corps and the insufficiency of their salaries, as well as the propriety of allowing a clerk or secretary to the charges d'affaires, to be laid before the senate, but I fear no steps will be taken to correct the evil. I have no better hopes to hold out to you either in regard to the substitution of a minister of the first grade at the court of Mexico.

Under these circumstances you must judge for yourself whether or not you ought to remain longer at that court.

I have this moment recd. a letter from Major Cameron, Vera Cruz, informing

[If anything?] can paralyze the course of the executive, it will be done—they have become envious of its success, both at home and abroad, and Clay, Calhoun, and Webster have [never?] ceased to endeavour to put me down and the supreme court in a late decision² declaring the Cherokees an independent nation, have united, to embarrass me. *It all will not do.* I have always relied on the good intelligence and virtue of the people. They will decide. I have directed the secretary of state to send you the papers.

Very respectfully your friend

MARTIN VAN BUREN TO JACKSON.¹

LONDON, March 6, 1832.

Confidential

my dear friend, I have deferred writing to you until this the last day for the Packet, in the confident expectation that the one of the 8th of Feby. would certainly have arrived ere this time. Such however has not been the case, and I am without any thing from the U. S. later than the 1st Feby. My answer to the N york Committee was sent by the last Packet, and a duplicate will go by this. Before this reaches you it will I trust have appeared in the N york papers. Every hour since my last has confirmed us in the conviction, that to have hurried away from here immediately after

² Worcester vs. Georgia, 6 Peters 515.

¹ Library of Congress, Van Buren MSS.

the receipt of the information of my rejection would have operated badly; as well in regard to public as private considerations. It would have been acquiescing in the personal humiliation intended for me by my enemies, and left my own conduct as well as the act of the Senate open to all sorts of inferences; as strangers are very apt to put the construction on an act of this description by which the individual concerned appears to regulate his own conduct. By continuing to appear amongst the public men, who belong to, and are stationed in the Country, from day to day, and conversing freely with them upon the subject, the matter, has become understood, and I think duly appreciated; and I flatter myself that I shall leave here with as much respect, and more kind feelings than I could have hoped to have been the case if I had served out my time. My situation was one of peculiar and painful delicacy, which it is difficult for those at home to appreciate, and I am happy to believe that I have made the best of it. The King asked me to explain the matter to him and enquired with earnestness whether my rejection proved that you were losing ground. I of course had no difficulty in satisfying him upon that score.

I wish you would ask Mr Livingston to shew you Mr Gallatins letter to Mr Clay of the 22d Sept 1826. In the third paragraph of that letter you will find the concessions as to the points in which we were in the wrong, of which so much complaint is made, distinctly stated by Mr Gallatin and if you refer to Mr Clays subsequent instruction to him you will find that Mr Gallatins views are in effect acquiesced in by him. That part of the letter and so much of the 7th paragraph as shews that the question had become a matter of feeling, between the public men of the two Countries are very important. They will put to shame the pictures that we now set up, and explain the views which directed the instructions as well as the difficulties they were intended to obviate. As I may have occasion to use these extracts immediately after my arrival, and cannot do so without your authority, as Mr Gallatins letter has never been published, I wish you would look into the matter, and if you see no objection place that authority in the hands of a friend in N York to be delivered to me on my arrival. I can myself see no possible objection to this course. You have been accused of giving your sanction to instructions which admitted that we were *assailable* upon points in which it is contended that we were not, and those accusations are bro't forward in the Senate of the U. S. can it therefore be doubted that you would be justified in shewing the state of the case, as you found it upon the records when you entered upon the Government; nor is the case without example, as you will remember that Mr Adams published the Panama Instructions, after he had asked for and failed to obtain the assent of the Senate. You will see how much farther Mr Gallatin goes than the instructions do—he says we were *vulnerable* not merely *assailable*. . . .

TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOHN COFFEE.¹

WASHINGTON, March 9, 1832.

A word on politics. Moor, and Poindexter we all know never had any moral principle, and when this is the case, such men never can be relied

¹ Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.

on in mainta[ini]ng sound political principles. we know that men without moral principle, can always be corrupted by ambitious demagogues and are unworthy of trust by a virtuous people. These men are politically dead and must resign, if they possess the least feelings of propriety. A letter recd yesterday from a worthy citizen of Mississippi says "Poin-dexter has deceived the state—he is a moral and political scoundrel—a traitor etc. etc.". this will apply to your senator with équal propriety. It would not do to renominate Mr V. B. I could not thus corode his feelings, or risque my own with such a corrupt faction, as the opposition in the senate. a crowd approaches and I must close, with my kind wishes to Polly and the children and best wishes for your health and happiness
 yr friend

JOSIAH NICHOLS TO JACKSON.

NASHVILLE, March 12, 1832.

Genl. Andrew Jackson

Dear sir, Yours of the 21 and 22d Feby is duly received, and agreeable to instructions I have deliverd the Revr. Mr Hume, his Sons note, With a Credit placed on it, of One hundred dollars. I have this day recd. a Letter from Col. M White of New Orleans, inclosing a draft on Yeatman Woods and Co, Bank payable ten days after sight for 2595. 10/100 cents, Which Will be disposed of, agreeable to your Order. Steels Wagees Will be paid, as Soon as I see him. Col. White informs me that your last 25 Bales of Cotton is not yet sold, and that your furniture has not as yet reached New Orleans. I am sir Verry respectfully your most Odbt Sert

TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOHN COFFEE.¹

WASHINGTON, March 13, 1832.

(Private)

My D'r Genl, I am just informed this evening that the committee, on public lands, at whose head is Mr Charles Wyckliffe,² has directed a messenger to go on to Tennessee to take depositions as to the value of the reserve including the salt spring, and to bring on copies of the lease etc. etc., and that a cousin of Mr Wyckliffe is selected, a violent opposer of the administration, to perform this service. Mr Clay of Alabama, one of the committee, has had Mr Colinsworth added to this commission, beginning to think, that there is more under the rose than is seen—Wyckliff it is well understood here has gone over to the enemy. It may be that it is intended to implicate you and Major Eaton, and perhaps reach others. It may be that as Doctor McNairy has been here, James Jackson is to be interrogated. If that is the case, have Col McKinley sworn as to the conversation he had with James Jackson on this subject. on the receipt of this see and converse with Col McKinley on this subject. Col. McKinley well remembers that James told him, that I had no knowledge of the lease being obtained by Major Lewis until I reached Nashville. It cannot be

¹ Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.

² See p. 326n., *ante*.

possible, that if there were nothing in this but to obtain information of the value of the land that a special messenger would be sent at the expence of four dollars a day and his expences, a violent enemy and cousin of Wyckliffs. The instructions to Colinsworth is to notify Mr Cursen, but who knows what may be the private instructions of Wyckliff (who has turned traitor) to this *agent of chiltons*, and violent enemy of this administration. I write this to put you on your guard. the stroke is intended at you and Eaton, and thereby if possible to effect me, therefore it will be proper if James Jackson is called upon, to be present yourself, and have Col McKinley present to interrogate him.

Hutchings is now with me, he came today. I will send him home. I am surrounded with traitors, but I fear not, I will with the aid of providence, put all down. In haste, with my love to Polly and the family

I am yr friend

P. S. let me know if this reaches you.

JOHN H. EATON TO JACKSON.

NASHVILLE, March 13, 1832.

Dear Sir, We have had 10 days of fine weather and the farmers are all at their ploughs. To day it is quite cold, and the snow is falling.

Saturday we had a respectable meeting. The Resolutions you will see in the papers. Here and elsewhere in the State, V. B. has become very strong. Men are warmly for him, who heretofore scarcely knew him. Your friends are his. The opponents would now be glad for you to bring him again before the Senate upon a renomination; but I sincerely hope this will not be done. Let him stand where his foes have placed him. He will triumph over them all in the end. The enemy has done for him, more than could his friends have done. To renominate him, even could he pass would be to injure him.

This evening we have a great wedding on hand, Jno. Lytle of Cincinnati to Mrs Boyd, daugh[t]er of C. Biddle. Could you not give this young man, some appointme[n]t. He and all his, are your warm friends; and he is qualified and worthy. Col. Pyatt is in ill health and may not live, So says rumor; could you make him Pay master it would be good appointment. I know he would be pleased for I have conversed with him on the subject. Delicacy and proper feeling will prevent him from saying any thing about it, unless Col Pyatt dies; and then such is the grasping after office, that it may be too late. Therefore do I take the liberty to name it to you now; and to recommend one, who has always been true and steady to you, for the situation should it be rendered vacant.

I am a delegate to Baltimore;¹ and if I can go, I will

Yours truly

My wife joins in kind regards to you; she is in bad health, and has been so, since her arrival in this State.

¹ To the Democratic nominating convention of 1832.

JOHN RANDOLPH TO JACKSON.

ROANOKE, March 18, 1832.

My dear Sir, I perceive by the newspapers that Mr Rives¹ comes home next Autumn. This and the recall of Mr Van Buren by the infamous coalition between Calhoun and Hayne with Clay and Webster, leaves two vacancies in our diplomacy, the most desirable of any in your gift.

As both of us have been most unjustly and, in my case, *cruelly* censured and calumniated about my outfit, which, *by right*, ought to have been in my pocket when I sailed from Hampton Roads, if not sooner (for from the adjournment of the convention until April, I held myself at the disposal of the Department of State,) only begging "not to be sent in February on account of the cold weather", but absolutely "*protesting* against being sent to sea or being at sea in the month of *July* because I dreaded the Summer climate of Russia more than it's winter".

Now, Sir, If Mr Middleton's son had not married the daughter of Mr John P. Van Ness, who from a bitter *personal* as well as political enemy of the Secretary of State, Mr Van Buren, had become his warm partisan and supporter, because of his, V. B's, patronage and supposed influence with you; I would have been as I ought to have been in St. Petersburg about the time that I left Hampton Roads; in which case I should have left Russia when the news of the *three* days of July reached St. Petersburg and I should have come home with a Treaty in my pocket, or have sent it to you by a special Courier leaving Clay Chargé d'Affaires. But the delay interposed by the pitiful Intrigue to save Middleton's feelings blew up all hopes of success. I had not been presented to their Imperial and Royal Majesties before the news from Paris was received. The truth is, that if I had known when I was in the North Sea of what was going on in France, I never should have seen the Waters of the Baltic. I should have caused myself to be put ashore on the coast of Scotland, or at the mouth of the Elbe and remained in Europe to watch events.

To return to Russia is impossible. It would be suicide. But after the entire failure of my negotiation by the delay brought about by the Intrigues of Van Ness and I am forced to add of Van Buren also (against whom, nevertheless, I have no *personal* ill feeling), the French revolution of July 1830 being followed up by the *Cholera Morbus* and the Polish Insurrection treading close upon the heels of that Turkish Plague (for such it is in fact, but not in name) all hopes of doing any thing with the Autocrat, or the Imperial ministry vanished, and Mr Buchanan will go upon a "*sleeveless errand*".

But Sir if I had the strength of Sampson and the constitution of the Imperial Tyger that now sits on the tottering throne of the *Csars* I could not endure to be at a Court where I must smother my indignation at the infernal Tyranny which the Autocrats fears² causes him to practice against the brave but unfortunate Poles. Chlopicki for example—knouted, branded and sent to work under ground for *life*, in Siberia.

Sir I do most heartily repent me of my timidity (the effect of disease) in not strenuously advising *you* to interfere in behalf of the gallant,

¹ William C. Rives of Virginia, minister to France since 1829.

² In the margin is written, "Fear is always cruel".

heroic but betrayed and abandoned Poles; and I do hope that, by this time, Louis Philip's head is in the sack of the Executioner and that France will once more precipitate herself upon Germany and Italy and upon the Austrian and Russian Barbarians; that the wrongs and Blood of Poland, which cries from the earth for Vengeance, will produce a rich harvest; and that the Barbarians, whether Austrian or Tartar, may be once more "driven back to their frightful climates", where but for Buonaparte's presumptuous rashness they would now be.

You Sir might have add[ed] imperishable renown to your fame by sending the very squadron of which the Concord [?] formed a part into the Baltic and enforcing at Dantzic and Memel the hollow neutrality of Prussia. Would to God that I had such a chance of immortality. Your fame is now American almost exclusively. You might have a renown in the 3 other quarters of the world equally great, and in your place I would have it.

The infamous conduct of Calhoun and his wretched creatures has damned him and them everlastingly in Virginia, Penna. and N. York, and in the west also. Clay has "trained off", He has cut his throat with his own Tongue. John Q. is the best of the set and I would vote for him as your successor in preference to any named nag, if he was not such a mean creature.

Van Buren cannot be president. I told Ritchie of the Enquirer (who is a double faced villain that will not outlive the year, politically) as I was on my way to Russia that neither Calhoun, Van Buren, or Clay could ever be President. Van is the best of the set but he is too great an intriguer and besides wants personal dignity and weight of character. He is an adroit, dapper, little managing man, but he can't inspire respect, much less *veneration*. He is very well in his place—not where he now is, because the English are the most fastidious people on earth. You may talk as much nonsense as you please, but you must not betray a want [of] education.

Now Van Buren cannot speak, or write the English Language correctly, and I can see the eyebrows of the fashionable raised at his false pronunciation. He always says "consitherable", for *considerable* etc: etc: A single substitution of *will* for *shall*, or a single false quantity would blow him up. For either of these embassies I offer you my services. For that of England I am more fit than any man I know, unless perhaps Mr Gallatin. For that and a popular assembly or a publick meeting I am particularly well qualified. You must not send needy people abroad but especially to *England*. Your minister there must *give* as well as *receive* dinners. I ask no outfit—let the one I have serve, and I will go [and] stay out my two three or four years. Don't mistake me, I am not asking for office. I scorn it and spurn the Idea; but I happen to know that from my perfect and most minute knowledge of England and of the intermarriages etc. of all her great and small people³ who have influence,

³ In the margin is written: "McLane and his Lady made dreadful mistakes for want of this knowledge. He too is illiterate and needy. V. B on the contrary is easy in his circumstances."

that I can succeed where any other man in the U. S must fail; except perhaps Mr Gallatin; and the English will forever look upon him as a Frenchman, which will do him no good at the Court of London, although it does fit him better for any of the Continental courts than any other man in America, unless Livingston for France. Again I say Sir, that I am not asking Office at your hands, although I am very desirous to fill the place for a short time at least; for reasons that I shall communicate to you in a few days, personally.

I am slowly recovering from the severest fit of gout first in one leg, the right, and then in the other, that I ever saw any man suffer under except my maternal grandfather Theoderick Bland of Cawsons Esquire. He was a very superiour man to his elder brother Richard of Jourdain's Point who was in the first Congress (1774) and died soon after Peyton Randolph the first President, or to my uncle (his only son[])] Doctor (or Colonel) Bland of the old Congress in 1780-1781,⁴ and who commanded the guard over the Convention troops at Charlottesville (Burgoyne's army) in 1779-80 which nearly ruined him, for he was proud and magnificent.

But I must stop. I have something of the most vital importance to communicate which I dare not trust to paper. I shall therefore cause myself to be put into my chariot and taken to the Steam Boat at Potowmack creek as soon as this Antarctic weather shall relent, which must be in a day or two. Before yourself I shall lay *facts* and leave you to draw your own conclusions. No body that I know is more capable than yourself of deciding correctly—indeed no one as capable.

Of your re-election there can be no doubt but it will be to rule over a dismembered Empire. A mine is ready to explode under you. Excuse my abruptness, it is the effect of weakness not of arrogance. You have been but too pacific. Let the fools and knaves in the two Houses of Congress disband and then strike at Cuba. It will give vent and profitable employment for all our now burthensome slaves. It will strengthen the *great slave holding Interest*. We shall have at the least every thing south of James River with the naval depot at Norfolk. I say *we* for, with Earl Grey, if the struggle does begin (as I happen to know it will unless you avert it by a prompt redress of our intolerable wrongs) "I shall stand by my order." It is Slavery versus Anti-Slavery: and if the Fanatics and Fools in England drive matters over hard with Jamaica, she will be glad to throw herself under our protection. With the Havannah and the Bay of Tampa, the only port in the Gulf of Mexico capable of receiving a first rate line of Battle Ship, we have a Slip-knot around the throat of the Mississippi and we can strangle the Commerce of the "*Free States*" northwest of the river Ohio, if those States give us any annoyance.

To England, who will not object to our holding Cuba, we will give the monopoly of our carrying trade. If any body had predicted in 1776 and had been believed that in two years after declaring Independence we should have been fighting side by side with *Frenchmen* against old England, Independence never would have been declared. Washington would

⁴ Dr. Theodorick Bland was a member of the Continental Congress from 1780 to 1783.

have remembered Fort Du Quesne and the bloody field of Braddock, and made the best terms he could with Lord North.⁵

Nations, like men, can be governed only by *Interest*; and the Slave Interest has the knife at its throat in the hands of Fanatics and rogues and Fools and we *must* and *shall* and *will* defend ourselves. If the storm blows over I go to England in June, I cannot stand this climate. But if as I believe and *fear* this Rope of Sand, miscalled the federal Government, shall go to pieces before the end of May, I may yet die in harness, with spurs on (as I always desired to do) instead of snivelling my life away on a bed like a breeding woman. For I am resolute not to assist in the subjugation of South Carolina but, if she does move (as I fear she will) to make common cause with her against the usurpations of the Federal Govt. and of the Supreme Court especially. The late infamous decision of those minions of arbitrary power will give us Georgia. Every thing south of Ohio, except perhaps Kentucky and the Western District of Virginia, must be with us. With this noble country and Cuba, where we can make a hogshead of Sugar as easily as a pound can be grown on the Mississippi or in Florida, we shall have a vast empire capable of indefinite improvement and of supporting easily forty millions of people.

I shall go to England as I said before whether I receive the appointment of Envoy or not, unless S. C. shall strike as I dread she will.

I am dear Sir most faithfully yours

[P. S.] Do not suppose that I disparage Mr V. Buren. He wants nothing but education (for his abilities are of the first order) to fit him for the mission to England. He is not like Gallatin or Livingston⁶ *bien instruit*, but give him time to collect the requisite information, and no man can produce an abler argument than V. B

WILLIAM P. HARVEY TO JACKSON.

CHARLOTTE COUNTY, VA., March 20, 1832.

Sir. Since Mr Randolph's letter to you he was taken dangerously ill and can't come on and begs you to answer his letter. I am yours with greatest obedience

[*Jackson's indorsement:*] answer Mr Randolph's letter acknowledge its receipt, regret his illness that has deprived us the pleasure of seeing him here, and observe, that I have determined for the present to nominate no one as minister to England until I can hear from that court, whether under the direct insult offered by the Senate, by their rejection of Mr. V. B. who had been kindly received and with whom it had entered on a negotiation to settle the all absorbing questions of the impressment of

⁵ In the margin is written the following: "If I had a seat in the H. of R. I would move an impeachment against the Ch. J. and Story. Their *motives* are nothing to me, and Thompson"

⁶ In the margin is written, "Livingston is the very man to succeed Rives".

our seamen, the right of Blockade, and contraband of war, A minister would be received—to which add, that I could not hazard a nomination before the senate of such a character as I would select, least I might again be insulted and his feelings excoriated by a rejection.

Wish him a speedy restoration to health etc.

JOHN RANDOLPH TO JACKSON.

ROANOKE, March 27, 1832.

My dear Sir, The imperious duties of his office compelled my brother Mr Tucker¹ very reluctantly to leave me yesterday morning. The Court of Appeals being obliged to close its session in a few days his presence became indispensable (Mr Green not having been able to attend during the whole term) to form a court, and many most important judgements remaining to be given, and himself charged by the Court with preparing their opinions and their reasons in support of them, His absence therefore, at this juncture, would have been equivalent to the suspension of the functions of our own highest court of Judicature, to the incredible vexation and loss of suitors: amounting, in fact, to a denial of Justice. our mutual hopes that I had thrown off so large a mass of morbid matter as to justify the expectation that a crisis was approaching in my disease, has not been disappointed.

I am very glad to learn that you do not intend to nominate a minister to the Court of England. and if you will give me leave to obtrude my advice upon you, I would suggest the expediency of if not delaying Mr Buchanan's departure yet contriving it so, as that he shall be a long time on his way from Paris to St. Petersburg, for if he consults his comfort or safety he will avoid a frigate or man of war—of any sort: For, whether English or American, they are the most uncomfortable and dangerous ships in the world even to the Admirals and Captains. The best is a good frigate; but when you take into consideration that her guns and equipage bring her low into the water, that 200 human beings can not find room hardly to turn round, and that without close hatches, which make a black Hole of Calcutta of all below, stifling even the ward room officers (and indeed the Captain him self where there is no Poop), you may judge of the discomfort and danger; for a sudden flare of wind would cause her to fill and sink before (as the saying is) you could say Jack Robinson. This I have no doubt is the true history of the disappearance, without being heard of, of 99 in a hundred of English and American Men of War. Although ill fitted to encounter a gale of wind yet there is less danger in a man of war in a storm than in the mildest and most deceitful weather. If ever she gets upon her beamends she never can *right* herself. Her armament prevents that; neither can the lower guns be got at to lighten her, and throwing over board the others could only aggravate the danger and ensure her destruction.

This is the secret of the loss of the *Royal George* who went down at Spit-Head with the brave Kempenfelt and 1200 men on a perfectly calm

¹ Judge Henry St. George Tucker, Randolph's half brother.

day in water as smooth and Land Locked as a mill Pond. In attempting to *Careen* the Ship they drew her "a *thought too much* on one side", when she sunk and the Admiral, who was in the *Great Cabin* writing, and the whole crew were drowned.

There is a beautiful ballad which runs some how in this way—²

"It was not in the battle—his hand was on the Pen—

When Kempenfelt went down with twice six hundred men."

Neither have the English with all their diving bells and surpassing knowledge of mechanics and unrivalled Industry, ever been able to remove this dangerous artificial shoal in the harbour—so fastly an[chored] is she by 130 heavy Cannon for altho rated at 100 she actually carried, I am told, that number.

There are some other smaller but most cruel annoyances. The worst is the shrieks and yells of the men seized up to gang way whose flesh is tearing (or as the English *now* say *being torn*) off their bones by the Cat of a boatswain's mate. Except the Russian *Knout* there is no species of torture by *whipping*, if such it may be called, to compare with it. In the army they talk of 500 or 1000 lashes. But 12 dozen from a Boatswains mate would kill any man that ever lived, and if the wretch had a spite against the victim he could kill him dead with 2 dozen.

I moved to abolish whipping in the Army, because the rules and articles of war extend to the Militia when called into actual service, and I knew that our free holders sons would never endure and ought not to endure this infamous punishment, fit only for slaves, and even they are degraded by it.

When the Marquis of Hastings³ came home from his government of India, it is said that the officers of the *Starboard Watch*, under whose heavy military boots and *tramp* his lordship found his slumbers much disturbed, had orders to come on deck in *Slippers*. This gross breach of discipline (and insult into the bargain) some had the spirit not to brook. These were *arrested court marshalled* and Cashiered, upon charges got up for the occasion. (It is the e[a]siest thing in the world to find a stick to beat a dog, and a *naval* officer stands no chance against a vindictive and not over scrupulous commander). They who complied were *promoted*. Also that the men's mouths were stuffed with oakum and buried in strong ship's Canvass bags, that His Lordship (*our Lord Rawdon*) and his Lady (Countess of Loudoun in her own right) might not be annoyed by the shrieks of the men *seized up to the Gangway*. I had determined to mention this subject to you at sight and to bring it before Congress in Case I shall ever again have a seat in the House, for no earthly consideration could induce me to hold myself responsible to our "annual Mob", as Col. Jones used to call our assembly, when they were as children of light to our present race of sons of darkness. Having occasion to send an ex-

² Cowper, "On the Loss of the Royal George", imperfectly quoted.

³ Francis Rawdon Hastings, the Lord Rawdon of the Revolutionary War, governor general of India 1813-1822.

press to night 12 miles to the C. H. with a letter for Mr Livingston I send this with which otherwise I should not have *bored* you.

Mr Buchanan's arrival in Petersburg will relieve my poor friend Clay from the most cruel and unjust of Laws. There is tenfold reason why the *Chargé d'Affaires* succeeding to the appointment abroad, by the absence of his principal, shall have an allowance of \$4,500, more than if he went from the U. S. (of course I mean where he is nominated by the Senate and approved by them). He is run to expenses that the other need not incur at all.

What you say upon the subject of exposing your *friends* feelings to insult whilst regardless of your own is of a piece with your whole character—noble, perfectly disinterested and high minded. In all my acquaintance with mankind I have never met with a character so perfectly devoid of the least taint of Selfishness as Yours. I suppose that I should have found less favour in the eyes of that honourable Body than Mr V. B. himself. Unless Mr V. P and his shadow, Hayne, should have thought they could gain $\frac{1}{4}$ of 1 per Cent by voting for me. I am sorry for Hayne. He and his principal are damned with us beyond redemption and the few partizans that Calhoun had flattered and cajoled into the meshes of his net (such as Goode of Mecklenburgh etc: etc:) dare not now to lisp his name. Calhoun always had a knack of turning young men's heads but then he was young himself and with a great character for talents and yet greater for stern uncompromising publick Virtue.

This second Joseph turns out to be an old battered *He-Bawd*, another Sir Pandarus of Troy, *quoad procurement* of offices for his adherents in order to obtain the highest for himself. Pray let Mr Livingston read this and do not be surprised if you see me in your closet in less than a fortnight. Most faithfully and truly yours.

P. S. . . . The Cabin etc: of our merchant men may be likened to the Car attached to a balloon.

In our Packets adroit and practised Stewards are ready day and night to supply all your wants and to suggest others that never might have occurred to you.

In a Man of war *all fires* are extinguished at a certain hour (nine I think) and I remember my agony when I could not get a bottle of hot water to apply to my stomach (on board the *Concord* []) because there was no fire in the *Galley* where all the Cooking is done for Captain, officers and crew. It is true they are soon afterwards relighted but take a long time to burn with any efficient heat.

JOHN RANDOLPH TO JACKSON.

ROANOKE, Wednesday morning, March 28, 1832.

My dear Sir, I was guilty of a great omission, in my hurry last night and my zeal to protect yourself from what I know to be a false movement (from a personal acquaintance with facts that I had kept in reserve to be communicated to you orally, because *verba volant, scripta manent*, and

because I have no desire to incur the displeasure of Autocrats whose arms stretch from the N. West point of our own continent including a vast indefinite portion even of *it* across Behring's Straits and the whole widest breadth of the other Hemisphere to the N.W. point of Norway, almost to Spitzbergen). In *your* honour and discretion, I have the most unreserved confidence, but our Litany teaches us to pray for deliverance from Battle and Murder and from Sudden Death, and in Case of your death there is no knowing through what hands your papers may pass. For although the first hand to whom you should have entrusted them might prove worthy of your confidence, yet he too might be called by God; and God alone knows into what hands they might fall. I am determined to run some little risk however to inform you that of all the Powers of Europe Russia is beyond all doubt the most *unfriendly* to us. This I had an opportunity of *knowing* that my Secretary and yours J. R. Clay had not. I had access to sources of information that were shut against him.

The reverse was the case at the breaking out of the French Revolution of July 1830. But such is the abhorrence of the Autocrat for all Liberal Governments *¹ that the principles of our own have more than counterbalanced his jealousy of the Maritime preponderance of England, In consideration of which he at that time could have given us commercial facilities that will now be denied.

And in my heart I believe that he hates England as much for her Liberal Principles of Government as for putting a hook into his nose and a curb into his mouth and staying the march of his all devouring Rapacity.

I was right. Nesselrode was disgraced. Lieven preferred the Port Folio and Power and the Countenance of his Sovereign to the Pageant of the Russian Embassy at London in time of Peace. He supplants Nesselrode who never would have been recalled to Court but for the 3 days. That alters the whole affair. The power is transferred to the Conference and Lieven takes Power and pleasure instead of a Bastile with a possible chance for Siberia, and a Polar Stay.

I am very glad that you do not mean to risk the affront of a refusal by Earl Grey to receive your minister. He is the haughtiest of the cold, supercilious proud: Wrapped up in his own self sufficiency and arrogant as if born to a throne. He too has no more good will towards us than *Nicholas*. But it is easy to see that the Ball being set in motion by Lord Althorp's and Mr Stanley's frank and manly avowals on the subject of *Irish Tithe*, no earthly power can now stop it's Career. Whether for weal, or for woe, onward it must go. Forward! Forward! *En avant!* *En Avant!* (the war cry of Napoleon) is the *word* now. But the struggle will be great and a single battle will not decide between Privilege and Prescription on the one side and a resolute determination to accept nothing short of their Rights on the other. In this state of things I have it in my power to do you and our cause more service than any other man in the *world*, and I would not make this vaunt if I did not make a gratuitous tender of those Services, and I do most heartily rejoice that the circum-

¹ Original note: " * Buchanan will be *ramped* at the Tartar's Levees. He is a genuine Cossack: implacable, remorseless and blood thirsty."

stances of this case; however otherwise provoking and vexatious; do enable me to prove my *disinterestedness*. Send me therefore as soon as you please an unpaid, secret, confidential agent. Write to V. B or whom you will or (if you dare) confide solely to my honour. Give me an Autograph Letter, the hand writing of which ministers can compare with your signature at least, in their possession. Let it be from A. J. to Lord Althorp or Lord Holland (he by the way is *effete*) or Mr Stanley, or to whom you will—I say Lord Althorp the *Soul of Honour*. My character stands high with all parties in England. As a Republican standing up for our free-hold right of suffrage and other old Institutions in Virginia, Lords Harrowby and Calthorpe and Wynford (Late Ch. Justice Best of the Common Pleas), look upon me as a high Aristocrat. Even old Eldon gives me a nod of recognition. The first is a man of Sense and Influence—the rest fools of no weight—besides Harrowby is a temperate Anti-Reformer and his Son Lord Sandon the school fellow of my nephew to whom he was warmly attached, is an enthusiastic ultra, who goes the whole game. He must soon be Earl of Harrowby. It is true that his father turned him out of his borough of Tiverton for voting for *The Bill*. But this was a mere shew of *vigour* to drive Ministers from their purpose, and but for Lord Althorp and Mr Stanley they would have had the fatuity (being out-voted) to yield after the old version of the Constitution of England, affecting deference for the H. of Commons that they never felt; and that no body has felt since old George's and Pitt's Victory over it, headed by Fox and North. I say *George's* Victory for the King won it by his *firmness* (obstinacy, insane insensibility to Danger) and Pitt was frightened at the bare idea of holding out against a vote of the Commons House of Parliament. He was the pupil as well as the Son of the *Great Commoner* who was cheated and cajoled into selling his Power for a bauble, and a *pension* of 3,000 per Annum. It is true that *at first* Lady Hester was the *Peer* as Baroness Chatham, whilst *Mr Pitt* remained a Commoner and pocketted the pension.

But John Bull gullible as he is cannot swallow such a camel as this with his whole pack upon his back. Pitt saw his Errour too late. He *ratted*, became Courtier. George the 3d and Charles Jenkinson laughed in their sleeves to see the awkward predicament of their arch-Enemy: for hatred of Pitt was the *primum mobile*, the great moving principle of the Kings mind; and Jenkinson a scholar and a ripe and good one, and a man of antient equestrian family the Heads of which represented Oxfordshire long before that needy pedant James the First thought of selling *hereditary* Knighthood (*Proh! Pudor*) at 1000 pounds per head to any one however ignoble by blood or by occupation or character that was able and willing to pay down the price of the *patent*. Jenkinson had *personal* insults to resent also.

There to fore (as Phil Barbour would say) Knighthood whether by Accolade, or on the field of battle (Knights Bannaret) or even in the Civil Service, as Knights of the Shire, had been a personal dignity altogether; implying personal merit. At first military prowess solely was understood—afterwards *civil* service was admitted as is now the case in the remodelled Institution of the Bath.

The *Reason* of benefit of Clergy; a privilege strictly clerical at it's institution; was to secure to the Priesthood it's arrogant claim of Exemption from trial by the *Civil* Tribunals—thus confining the Kings authority, by submitting *their* crimes however flagrant to the Cognizance of their own Courts alone. To what will not custom reconcile the most enlightened and free of Mankind.

We have reformed our Accompt as to Money, but look at our Weights and measures, one measure for dry another for wet, one for Wine and Spirits another for Cyder, a long and a short hundred, one set of weights for Iron, another for Cotton and Wool, a third for gold and Silver, Avoirdupoise and Troy. Troy again subdivided for Apothecaries, an ounce solid and another ounce liquid—a penny weight for Silver and gold and Jewels, and, scruples and drams for opium and mercury. But I must not let my pen run away-with me at this rate.

I stand well with every interest in England. The Person in the ministry most opposed in his heart to the Reform Bill, not excepting Williams Wynn who went out (although not of the Cabinet) is the Chancellor Brougham. It is wormwood to him as too bitter. Ld. Grey is not. There I am Alcibiades, Here Diogenes. My speech *bewrayeth me not*. Like Ali Bey, I can sweep the floor of the *Caaba* without being detected as an Impostor. Not that I wish or try to deceive (I am known to all but the vulgar) but sometimes in sport and in self defence among low people, who would despise and insult me if they knew me to be an American or as they would say Yankee. That Buffoon Charles Matthews, whom we have so much caressed has done more than any man alive to injure us with the English, and to do even *him* Justice, Cobbett has done more to dispel their prejudices against us.

The great vulgar despise us too as American, *ipso facto*; although they believe me to be English by education and every thing but Birth; because they cannot bring themselves to believe it possible that I alone of all the Americans since Mr Jay (and his time is Ante-Diluvian with them) should speak English as well as an Englishman.

N. B. Mr King was *uneducated*. He could neither write, nor speak English as an *English Gentleman*. Neither can any Scotch or Irishman, unless caught young as Dr. Johnson said of Ld. Mansfield [*sic*]. Shall and will is the Shibboleth. In 19 cases of 20, the error lies in putting *will* for *shall*.

In a word, I can do and if you shall permit me, I will do our country and your administration more service for nothing than you can procure from all your Diplomatic Troops abroad, and I serve volunteer and find myself. I do not ask even a Ration.

I beseech you not to impute this to vain glory. It is the effect of accidental circumstances operating upon a good memory. I happen to know England far better than I do the United States or even Virginia, where all is ceaseless and senseless change. Of the various State Constitutions I am not half so well acquainted as I am with the infinite variety of law and customs all over England—even in the same County.

With our leading men *now*, I have but a slight acquaintance compared with my perfect and accurate knowledge of those of G. Britain and Ireland for ages, past. It is true I know all about ours from Bacon's Rebellion and even before, until I left off attending to such things some 12 or 15 years ago.

Calhoun, by this time, must be in Hell. He has fallen into the very trap that caught and destroyed Clay. He is self mutilated like the Fanatic that emasculated himself. By the way, Pray observe the Complexion of our Bank Committee. So far as *we* are concerned, I had rather given them their own Committee; aye and their own Speaker too, Mr Stevenson! Watch the movement of Singleton's brother in law and Son in Law and of the Enquirer and of Calhoun and the nullifiers, *who are Bank men*. They all *row* one way, although they look not two, but twenty ways. I mean no disparagement of Mr Singleton but describe *two publick characters*.

I told my noble friend Hamilton in my letter to him (which you shall see) that the throwing over board Mr Jonas Calhoun was a condition precedent to any aid from *our* quarter, especially from me.

I commend M[y] quondam Secretary and name sake to your protection. Mr Livingston reports most highly of him. I have thought and expressed myself too hardly of Mr L. and of Mr McL. also, but it was the result of artful misrepresentations. For the present Farewell my dear Sir and believe me unalterably and faithfully your's

Thursday night March 29th, 1832, past ten. I have been up all last night. I am stupefied. When I shall have sealed this letter I hope to sleep 12 hours at the least, by dint of Morphia. Come what may I embark in six weeks or less from this date.²

TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOHN COFFEE.¹

WASHINGTON, April 7, 1832.

D'r Genl, In my last I informed you that we had just concluded a treaty with the creek Indians, who had ceded all their lands east of the Mississippi river to the United States with certain reservations to chiefs and heads of families. This treaty has been ratified by the senate by a unanimous vote. Clay and Calhoun in the first instance trying to raise opposition to it, but finding their whole strength nine, they abandoned their opposition. This I name to you to show you the malignity of these men, and to what they stoop in their opposition. They would if they could, overturn heaven and earth, to prostrate me, but providence athwarts all their wicked designs, and will turn it to the benefit of our happy country.

² The following memorandum on a separate sheet, in Jackson's handwriting and dated Apr. 1, 1832, was evidently intended as instructions for his reply to the above letter: "answer, having communicated fully and frankly in my former letter to mr. R. of my views and determination, there remains no justifiable cause for doing that secretly which I have determined not to do publicly. Our concerns with England must therefore remain as they are left by mr. V. B. until he returns and we are advised of the feelings that the rejection of V. B. has left on the minds of the British Government. when the time arrives to send out a successor then a fit and proper selection will be made. A J." See the letter of Apr. 12, *post*.

¹ Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.

The object of the government now is, to have all their reservations surveyed and laid off as early as we can. they will sell and move to the west, so soon as this is done, and the commissioner of the General Land office is preparing his instructions to forward to you with the necessary funds, so soon as the appropriation is made for this purpose and the object of this letter is to advise you thereof that you may be prepared with the necessary surveyors to compleat the surveys of the reservations as early as possible. when the reserves are surveyed it will require but a short time to compleat the ballance and have it into market, for the reserves are to be bounded by sectional lines, and the improvements as nearly in the center, as possible.

I hope you will be able to do something with the chickasaws before you are called away on this business. The cherokee delegation are still here, and it is now believed before they leave here will propose to treat with us for their intire removal. The decision of the supreme court has fell still born, and they find that it cannot coerce Georgia to yield to its mandate, and I believe Ridge² has expressed despair, and that it is better for them to treat and move. In this he is right, for if orders were issued tomorrow one regiment of militia could not be got to march to save them from destruction and this the opposition know, and if a colision was to take place between them and the Georgians, the arm of the government is not sufficiently strong to preserve them from destruction. . . .

GRAVES W. STEELE TO JACKSON.

HERMITAGE, April 11, 1832.

D'r Sir, Your letter baring date 24d of March has bin recieved. Mr. Hutchings has not arrived as yet but I think that he will be up in the Stage in the morning agreeable to the date of your letter and the time that he left the City. Mr. Lievi Jones¹ has not sent out the negrows that you speake of in your letter to me. I did on yesterday give the Colts a triell run, the track was heavey and the boys did not understand riding, the correct time could not be had with the riders that we had. Polley Baker was not in good condition for a triell run. I hear give a Statement of the triall Polley Baker was run two miles and repeat. Polley Baker first two miles, four minuts and five seconds. the repeat or third and fourth mile four minuts and fifteen seconds. the filley was not much distrest at the expiration of the four miles. Sir william stud Colt and Gilding was run one mile and repeat, william stud first mile two minuts and second mile two minuts and five seconds.

Gilding first mile two minuts and four seconds and second mile two minuts and five seconds. William is of the opinion that their heels and bottom ar surfiseant to com in contact with the best horses in the u s

² Maj. John Ridge was a leader of the Cherokee party that held out against removal west of the Mississippi. It was not until the treaty of New Echota, Dec. 29, 1835, that this party gave way and agreed to exchange their lands. Major Ridge was one of the signers.

¹ Levi Jones wrote Jackson Apr. 9, 1832, with reference to two negroes that he had been thinking of purchasing for Jackson, to be sent to Tennessee. For some reason the orders to buy had been countermanded by Jackson.

States. he depends moore on their bottom than on their heeles and furthier Informes me that the are the most promising Colts that he ever had in his hands. Dunwoodey is of the oppinion that the are the best and most promising Colts that you ever had at your stable. he is of opinion that the stud Sir william is the best runner and has best bottom of the three. mi own opinion is that not one of them will doe to compeet with firstreight harses and when the ar brought on the Turf if the ar not enteried with Judgement you will have them disgrasd and if it had bin Left to mi judgement I should not have sent one of them on to the city, but you have directied me to send such as Alexander may think will doe to compeet with their best horses on the Baltimoore turf. I would wright you more on this subject but I will send them In and Alexander will give all the information that will be required. I shall starte him on monday the 16th In companey with Byron Jim and Jessey. I have got evreything that is necessarey for the Journey

I am with respect

MEMORANDUM FOR ANDREW JACKSON, JR.

[April 12, 1832.] ¹

1st. He is authorised as soon as he gets home, if Saml. Donelson (his brother) will take for his land adjoining me fifteen hundred dollars on his making a Deed to draw on me for that sum and, Mr Josiah Nichol, who may want funds in Philadelphia or Baltimore will cash the draft—no more will be given for said lot of 100 acres, by me.

2nd. That he will as soon after he returns, as may be convenient, have a settlement with Mr Morrison about the extra work that he was to do, for the consideration of the labour and supplies furnished by Mr Steel and see that the work is done as agreed upon between him and Mr Morrison, and urge the completion of the monument in the Garden, and write me if compleated, that I may direct \$1000 to be paid him which is to be in full of said work as pr contract. he will take Mr Morrisons letter with him, and see that the work is well done and with the materials as agreed on.

3rd. He will at as early a day after he returns as may be convenient, have a settlement with Mr. steel, for the cash he has collected for articles sold and money recd. To do this fairly, Mr Josiah Nichols accounts must be compared with those furnished by Mr Steel, to correct errors and mistakes one of which will be found in cash paid for plows. in Decbr. 1831 I am charged with upwards of \$300 by Mr Nichol paid to Steel for plows etc. etc. Mr Steel in his letter recd 27th instant states that he has sold cotton at Nashvill to amount of \$72, and applied forty odd dollars to the payment of note for plows. It will be seen in another statement of mr steels, that after enumerating all the cash recd. for articles sold, that he strikes a ballance due from him to me of \$30 odd dollars, in which the sum

¹ Andrew Jackson, jr., set out for Tennessee Apr. 12, 1832. It is evident that this undated memorandum was written about the same time, and that date has been assumed as the approximate time at which the memorandum was written.

of \$150 he recd for the sale of the pair of horses and Carry all is not concluded—he sold these horses for cash in the Spring 1831, his letter so states and such was my instructions.

again in his last letter recd. on the 27th instant he says he has just applied forty odd dollars to the payment for plows and the ballance to my account with Mr Josiah Nichol. This cannot be true, as I have recd Mr Nichol account up to the 7th of January including the account for rope and baling from Mr Foster for all of which I have paid Mr Nichol, see Mr Nichols account letters and draft upon me for upwards of two hundred dollars—therefore this is error—have it corrected, and see how he has applied the \$150 for the Horses. You will have to take a full view of Mr Steels accounts as rendered and compare them with Mr Nichols, and see how they tally and how Mr Steel has applied the mony he has recd. from the sales of articles sold from the farm. the horses directed by me to be sold and the cotton he states he has sold close the whole account, and if he falls in debt take a due bill for the amount. Mr Josiah Nichol has paid him \$500 his wages for 1831, and he has not accounted for the \$150 pr[i]ce of pair of horses and carryall. Mr steel was to have paid it to Mr morrison, in this he failed, and then to deduct it out of his wages. settle with him fairly and justly but see that \$150 has been fairly accounted for. I believe Mr Steel honest, but careless and does not understand accpts.

I hope to be out this summer—should I not I will write you and shall expect you and Sarah to write me often. If Mr Steel can make as many Brick as will put up a set of stables for our riding and carriage horses I wish it done. The plan a passage through the center and stalls at each side, with Shades and Stables all around, The Passage large enough to take in a carriage, or the Shade on the south side which would be better.

When you reach the Hermitage get the note given for the stud colt put in the bank for collection and inform me when it becomes due, as also the note for the stud colt sold to Capt Stockly Donelson. These two notes may be applied to the purchase of Alexanders Lot of Land adjoining Saml Donelsons—let me know the date it becomes due, and whether Saml and Alexander will sell. my son [will] have nothing to do with major martins Lot, until William Donelson or Mrs. Anderson is done with the purchase, and even then, not until you advise me on the subject.

When you reach home I hope you will find the supplies and furniture which I have sent on, safe at the Hermitage. The pipe of madaera wine you will have placed on its stand and one half gallon of best french brandy put into it, and after two or three days it will be fit for use.

You will have the old dinning room newly papered, for sarah's and your bed room, as it will be more convenient than up stairs, but when she sees the House she can judge for herself. The carpet in the Portrait room will be taken for that, and the one in the parler put in one of the rooms up stairs. sarah will arrange the rooms and furniture.

examine the stock hogs when you reach home, if decreased and not sufficient to make a supply for the family then along in the summer purchase shoats and good sows, in sufficient numbers, as will make a supply

of pork for the family—it will take at least 20,000 lbs of Pork for my and your family—perhaps 25,000.

I suppose the quantity of Pork laid in for the present year will fall short of a supply, you will inquire and at as early a period as you can get a supply laid in—get Mr Nichol, and as far as it may be wanted for the Negroes, have it of middlings—it may take from 3 to 5 thousand pounds, the middlings can be got for six cents per lb perhaps 5. If the supplies I have sent on reach home in safety, you will have an abundant supply of sugar, coffee, madaira and Sherry wines etc. etc. etc. salt and flour will be the only articles to be laid in but you will have now to begin to learn the wants of a family and supply it. This will require oeconomy and care, which you will have to learn and attend to, if you expect to get thro life well—by always knowing your means, and living within them, you will get well thro' life. This has been my rule and I recommend it to you. you and Sarah must write me often and I shall write you as often as I can. when I hear from Morrison that he has finished the monument, and receive the account of sales of my last shipped cotton I will write you—tell Mr Morrison to haste with and finish this work, it is and has been a great hindrance to the farm. I will direct Mr Josiah Nichol to furnish you with such necessary funds as you may need, so soon as I hear how much remains in his hands. I have not time to write him now, as I intended, and wrote him I would do, but will, so soon as I hear from him the amount in his hands after meeting those debts I have instructed him to pay. In the mean time you will should your wants require it, call upon him for two hundred dollars, which he will advance you, and of which you will advise me forthwith, that I may not draw upon him for more than is in his hands.

Examine the stock Hogs as soon as you get home, and if there is a good supply of corn purchase up one hundred head of such, as will do to fatten and kill next fall, and keep them in the pasture at the homestead, or at the Winston place. If there is not a good supply of corn, do not buy any as it will be cheaper to purchase the Pork, but if there is corn to spare there will be a great saving in purchasing young hogs and feeding them to fall. such as will suit to *kill*.

If my mares are not put to the horse before you get home, have the oscar filly sent to the stockholder the ballance put to my citizen colt, if not sent on here. I name this as I wish a colt out of that mare from stockholder, but should it be found inconvenient, let her be put to *citizen*. Write me fully as to the situation of all things about the farm, The health and condition of the negroes, the appearance of my stock of all kinds, but the colts in particular, their form and size, and which promises best, the number and appearance of my oxen, and milch cattle.

[*mut.*] me the resu [*mut.*] a memorandom Book, in which enter all settlements with all receipts. This you will find a great convenience thro life, particularly commencing this system now as you are entering into life.

TO ANDREW JACKSON, JR.

WASHINGTON, April 12, 1832.

D'r Andrew, Your Cousin Saml. J. Hays has agreed to take the Dog—he will rest at Rockville with you to night. he takes on Sarahs Gator [Guitar]—you must direct him where to leave it—with the Postmaster at Wheeling would be the best deposit, as you will [be likely?] to call there for letters. I have only time to add, that all your attention to Sarah and Emma is due. they are strangers in a strange land, and will require your attention in making them acquainted with all our friends and neighbours near the Hermitage, and on the journey to make them as comfortable as you can. Present me kindly to them with my prayers for your and their happiness. yr father

TO JOHN RANDOLPH.¹

WASHINGTON, April 12, 1832.

D'r Sir, I have been so much occupied during the past week as to be obliged to postpone an answer to your favor of the 28th ulto. until now.

Altho the relations of this country with England are at this moment very important I cannot undertake to entrust another minister with the responsibility which they will impose upon him without further advice from Mr. Van Buren. What impression did he make upon the British Government, what assurances of success does he possess, and how are they likely to be affected by his rejection? are considerations which must influence materially the future course of the Govt. in regard to that mission and particularly the selection of the Minister: and they are such as we are not yet able to dispose of for the want of information.

Your suggestions on the subject have been weighed with the respect due to your superior acquaintance with the policy of the British Cabinet but they do not obviate the difficulties to which I have just adverted: and besides are liable to an objection which I must regard as insuperable in the present state of the country. The public mind at this time both at home and abroad would regard the employment of a private agent however competent to manage the important concerns of the United states at that court as an acknowledgement of the weakness of the Executive, which could not fail to discredit the Agent and make it impossible for him to accomplish any thing useful. other various consequences would follow which I need not enumerate, but which I know will strike your mind the moment you look at the subject with a view to its political bearing upon the administration.

I can only add on this subject generally that as soon as we have the information which Mr. V Buren will soon communicate in person or in writing shewing the effect of his rejection and the views and feelings of the British Cabinet on the points already opened to this discussion by him, I shall endeavour to select a suitable individual to report on them.

¹ Handwriting of A. J. Donelson. See p. 429n., *ante*.

HENRY BALDWIN TO JACKSON.

PHILADELPHIA, April 13, 1832.

Dear Sir, I received the enclosed letter from Mr Lacock last evening. I think the course proposed by him is a very proper one and that it will have a better effect to procure from him the desired information than by an *ex parti* statement.¹ You will observe his remark in the latter part of his letter which alludes to Mr Munro. it will therefore be unnecessary to put any questions to Mr Lacock touching any information desired from him.

This is now a fair opportunity of procuring unquestionable evidence of all the matters necessary to elucidate the first History of the Seminole persecution of 1819. You know what the answers will be in substance and when they are given after notice of the questions to J. C. Calhoun no one can question their correctness or doubt their effect.

Yours with esteem

TO COLONEL ANTHONY BUTLER.¹

WASHINGTON, April 19, 1832.

Private

. . . . I have noted your account of the financial operations of Mexico, and the exhausted state of their Treasury. This is produced by the constant commotions in that country and must continue until the Government becomes permanent, the standing army disbanded, and the labour of the country confined to exploring the vast resources of that fine country, which will soon restore commerce to a state of prosperity, and give a full treasury to the country. The intimation you so appropriately gave to the secretary of Foreign affairs, of "devising ways and means" should their pecuniary distresses become pressing, were happy and opportune, and may lead to a happy and speedy result, which I sincerely hope.

The treaty of boundery with that of commerce² was laid before the Senate, both ratified, and exchanged—it was considered by the senate that the national faith was so far pledged that its ratification was imperious—your private letter was submitted, *confidentially*, to the chairman of our committee on foreign relations.

¹ In his letter, Mar. 12, 1832, Lacock said: "What I stated to you in relation to the Johnny Rhea Letter, was at your request, and I authorized you to mention my knowledge of the letter to Prst. Jackson for your justification. you have done so, and no doubt he is perfectly satisfied in relation to you. and it was this object, and this only that induced you to ask for the information you received from me, and communicated to the President. But the President by his letter has a different object in view. he wishes to justify himself, and convict J. C. Calhoun of duplicity and incincerity. You are therefore no longer concerned in the result, the ground is changed intirely and the President and V Prst alone interested. Standing as I do politically opposed to both I cannot volunteer *ex parte* in favor of either. If however the President will send the Interrogatories contained in his letter to you, and designed for me, To J C Calhoun and direct him to examine them, and put others himself if he thinks proper, I shall then answer such interrogatories fairly fully and explicitly, confining myself strictly to what relates to the parties and to them only. There is no consideration that shall induce me to disclose the knowledge of facts, I receivd from those not now before the public. The course above suggested is the only one to which I could assent to have my name used in this controversy."

¹ Univ. of Texas, Butler Papers.² See p. 390, *ante*.

I need not urge your attention to enlarging our boundary. Commissioners will be appointed to extend and mark the present. Our instructions will pursue the express words of the Treaty, which declares, it shall commence on the gulf of Mexico, on the west bank of the Sabine and run up on the west bank etc. etc. therefore it must, when the Sabine forks, take the west bank of the west fork. This by us will not be abandoned and it is intimated that Mexico will contend for the East fork. This we will not consent to.

I am happy to hear that your health is restored—the excursion you are about to take, I hope, will fully restore your health and vigor.

Let us hear from you often. the papers of the day will give you the extraordinary proceedings of congress—a private citizen arrested and imprisoned for a contempt of the House because the citizen, who congress had nothing to do with, who had disturbed none of its members, being wantonly brought into debate and outrageously slandered, meeting accidentally with the member,³ congress being adjourned, gave him a severe flagellation, for which the citizen (Genl Houston) has been in custody for several days. This is the greatest act of tyranny and usurpation ever attempted under our government. congress is sick of their rashness, and how to get out of the dilemma puzzles them, and pride prevents them from retracing their steps, and admitting their want of power.

TO ANDREW JACKSON, JR.

WASHINGTON, April 25, 1832.

My D'r Andrew, Your hasty note from Wheeling has this moment been recd. I was very solicitous to hear from you, and am happy to hear that you are all in good health, and spirits, and over the fatiguing part of your Journey, and I trust to the superintending care of a kind providence that he will in health and safety land you at the Hermitage. The late fatal accident of the burning of the steamer on the Mississippi with the loss of so many valuable lives has occasioned great solicitude for your safety down the river, but that providence that protects and prese[r]ves you on land, will protect you on the water—still it has and will increase my anxiety until I hear of your safe arrival at home.

I have this morning recd. two letters from Mr Steel one of which I inclose you, the other being on the subject of the colts which he informs would set out with three boys on the 16th instant and gives the opinion of Alexander and Dunwoody, that they are first rate animals. he has sent Byron on as one of the boys. The letter of Mr Steels which I inclose is for the purpose that you may have it, and compare it, with others, on the settlement with him. you will find in his account that he acknowledges a ballance due me of the money recd for articles sold from the farm of twenty or thirty dollars, and in one of his letters he says “so soon as he receive his money for his wages from Mr Nichol, he will leave in his hands, or pay him the one hundred and fifty dollars which he recd. from the sale of the pair of horses and Carryall. I bring this subject to your particular

³ William Stansberry of Ohio.

notice that you may have a fair settlement with him. His various, and different statements at different times may proceed from ignorance rather than from any other cause. having a blacksmith, it was a great want of oeconomy to buy single plows. fourteen plows to be bought, with the number on the farm is an extravagance in which I would not permit any overseer to indulge. You must now attend to these things. Your interest and that of your family *now* require it.

Deliver the inclosed to my D'r Sarah with my kind respects to Emma, and with kind salutations to all my good neighbours believe me your affe[c]ti[o]nate father. give my respects to Mr Steel, and say to him I will write him soon. tell all the servants how do you. yours in haste

COLONEL JAMES A. HAMILTON TO JACKSON.

NEW YORK, May 7, 1832.

My dear Sir, The Bank report ¹ has realized all your anticipations and consequently justified to the most sceptical or perverse opponent the course you have taken in relation to it; Should an act to extend the charter be passed at this, or any other session, which I believe is impossible you may take new or additional ground which is as stable as truth or justice; not only has it subsidized the press, but it has ruinously administered its affairs as it respects the stockholders, and most injuriously as it respects the Country. Connected with this subject and particularly its corruptions my mind has been much occupied in relation to the position of the surveyor; ² And I will as I am accustomed to do on all occasions frankly express to you my views, That he has been bribed seems to be admitted on all hands and consequently that he is unworthy of the confidence of the Government. This office is one in which if he is disposed he may do great mischief and he is now exposed to ten thousand times more temptation to enrich himself at the public expense than he was before; without having the restraints which character impose and the shield it threw round him before, for Bad men before would have been afraid to approach him, now the way is not only opened to them but they are invited to pursue it.

Again, If you may in any event or at any time be called to reject a Bill and should you as a reason for doing so urge this maladministration consistency requires that he should be first removed; Again by his removal allowing full time for a thorough investigation and his defence you throw the weight of your opinion and character into the scale with the conclusions of the committee and thus justly put a mark of opprobrium upon the Bank, more effectual and more lasting than any thing that could be done and I think by doing so you would gratify in a very high degree the Public feeling without the slightest risk of injustice. I am quite sure that your true friends as well as that portion of this community which are not partizans would receive it as a most welcome sacrifice of your private partiality to promote Public Morals. His conduct on this occasion, and in re-

¹ Meaning, the report of the majority of the House committee, rendered Apr. 30.

² Mordecai M. Noah.

lation to our friends at Albany, and Just now as to Mr Cambreling, has striped him of favor and influence and would therefore if expediency is to be a consideration on the occasion render such a cause quite proper. I have thus reasoned this matter in this letter as I have before with myself, Without however intending to intimate any belief for I hav[e] none as to what you[r] views are.

My feelings towards Noah are not those of hostility but rather of pity and I should therefore but that I think in these cases great public ought far to outweigh all private or personal considerations be induced to plead for him. But it is my duty to say to you that his removal is here expected with the utmost confidence. . . .

TO ANDREW JACKSON, JR.

WASHINGTON, May 13, 1832.

My son, Calculating that you arrived at the Hermitage on the first instant, I had a hope of receiving a line from you or Sarah to day, but in this I am mistaken. I recd. a letter from Mr Steel dated 28th ult. informing me that he had got planted 185 acres in cotton some up, and part of his crop of corn worked over. When your Leisure will permit I will be glad if you will inform me how much cotton he has planted this Spring, and how much corn and other grain, and grass. When I receive your letter, I can better judge of what reliance can be reposed in his statements.

Your cousin Andrew and myself were truly astonished, at the unaccountable conduct in sending Hutchings after the colts and returning them back, to be an incumbrance there after the engagement made on them here, and I was truly mortified on being informed by Steel that he had turned them into training to run at the spring races in Tenness. I was in hopes, on your arrival you would have started Alexander on with them forthwith, and I still hope you have done this—had the colts not be[en] turned back they would have been now here resting, growing, and fattening; and your filly would, I have no doubt, won the sweepstake in the fall. If she does she [is] worth to you \$8000—may still do it if she gets here in time and before the fly season and Summer is on. do tell me whether Hutchings had not his colt sent for to be trained, and whether others were not to be trained at the turf at the Hermitage. have the Turf closed, plowed up and permit not a horse to be galloped upon it.

I have nothing new to inform you, more than you will see from the papers. Houston beating Stansbury has taken up better than two weeks, and those high dignitaries and would be privileged order, has voted their power to punish a citizen for whipping a member of Congress distant from the Congress Hall, and when it was not in session by a majority of seventeen. The people will inquire into this act of usurpation, and make these little Tyrants who have thus voted feel the power of the people. I inclose for your amusement a well drew caricature of the Scene, taken from the real facts and deposed to by senator Buckner a witness who was present. preserve it.

Give my love to Sarah and deliver to her the inclosed letter, and make my kind respects to Emma, and Thomas, and to all my connections and good neighbours, and believe me your affectionate father.

P. S. I pray you to hasten the completion of the monument over my Dr wifes Grave—and let not my hands be taken from the crop—we must endeavour to make a good crop this year

HENRY BALDWIN TO JACKSON.

PHILADELPHIA, May 13, 1832.

Dear Sir, Since the receipt of Mr Lacocks letter enclosed to you in my last I have received a duplicate from him which he authorises me to copy and send you. there can therefore be no objection to your retaining the one now in your possession.

I have reflected much and anxiously on the subject of putting interrogatories to Lacock; you have been deceived, betrayed, and possibly attacked, by a sett of men who sought your confidence merely to advance their own interest and ambition, and you know that with such men it is a practical rule in their political morals never to forgive the men they have injured. If you have not already had sufficient proof of this being their rule of action, I shall be much disappointed if many months elapse before it becomes most manifest; not only by the course of those who have been your open assailants but of others who have remained behind the curtain, rehearsing their parts preparatory to public exhibition.

Thus far you have made out a triumphant vindication of your own conduct in relation to them, your friends are proud of it, and the country has approved and will sustain it, but you have not done with the man who assailed you before the public of duplicity towards him. It is not enough for you to repel this charge on yourself only, you owe it both to your own character and to your friends, to retort and fasten the charge on him, by evidence which he cannot impair, and which no one will doubt: that evidence is not only in your power, but offered to you by a witness whose personal veracity is above reproach, who has stood towards you in an attitude in which no one can impute a personal or political bias in your favor. Tho he yet avowes himself to be your opponent in politicks he offers to do you justice in relation to a matter concerning which you have and ought to have an anxious desire that the public should appreciate your course, and correctly understand that of your enemy and accuser. His testimony is offered in writing in answer to interrogatories and you ought certainly to wish it so taken as to expose it to no objections which will weaken its effect, and give it the greatest possible weight in public opinion.

Your experience and observation have no doubt often led you to remark on the difference in the effect produced by a declaration, written statement, or deposition made in the presence of the opposite party, where he had the opportunity of explanation or cross examination; and where it

is made *ex parte* without either. From mine and Lacoeks letters you are well informed as to the proper subjects of inquiry, and cannot be taken by surprise in the answer which will be given, no doubt in conformity with former statements. when this is done on notice to J. C. C. he can complain of no unfairness or secret means and Mr. Lacock will not be exposed to the imputation of having volunteered his interference in the controversy. The disclosure will be much more full than you could obtain in any other manner; the letter of Lacock to J. C. C. would be an unquestioned document of the greatest possible weight, from his having received it and by his silence admitted the correctness of its contents, and this can be had in no other way than the one proposed. You will observe that there is no restriction imposed as to the questions to be put, except such as may relate to "those not now before the public" and these are not your mark. There are no considerations which in my mind can balance these. Mr Lacock wants or expects no favor from you neither can he have any expectation of putting you under any personal obligation. he is now disposed to make a full statement in answer to questions of which a copy shall be sent to J. C. C. events may possibly occur which may induce him hereafter to be less willing when he finds his offer has not been accepted. He must now feel bound to make the required statement but hereafter he will not be so unless he is willing if there is already or should be any political coalition between Mr Clay and J. C. C. that may furnish a reason why Mr Lacock would be unwilling to furnish any statement calculated to injure the personal or political standing of the latter. Tho from the evidence already in your possession there can be no doubt of the nature and extents of the communications between him and J. C. C. on the subject of your confidential letter yet much of it must depend on inference and construction and you cannot expect to have the same means of nailing your accuser to the counter as you would have by an explicit[*sic*] definite answer in writing admitting of no doubt as to its meaning and extent. We both have good reason to know the course taken by him in the Senate on the Seminole war and that the whole correspondence was known to him. from his conversation with and his letters to me he must have conferred fully and freely with the other. You can have the whole authentically stated in the mode pointed out but cannot have it so full or satisfactory without it and your triumph may be less complete owing to your having omitted the means necessary to inforce it. Lacock may die and those who represent him be unwilling to have any reference made to his papers or correspondence on this subject.

I have taken the liberty of making these suggestions and urging them on your consideration in hopes that you will reconsider and change the opinion expressed in your letter. it is done solely from an earnest wish that you may [have] the best possible means of making out in your own favor and against your enemy not only a strong and conclusive case in your own favor but against him. There is in my opinion no man in the

country who can furnish as powerful testimony as Mr Lacock¹ he is of all others the best possible witness you could expect to have.

I am very glad to hear that you are in good health and spirits

Yours with esteem

TO ANDREW JACKSON, JR.

WASHINGTON, May 19, 1832.

Dear Andrew, I have just recd. your letters of the 1st and 6th of may with those from Sarah inclosed. I am relieved from the great anxiety I had about your safety and health, as about that time many steam Boat accidents had taken place. as you are now at home with your D'r Sarah and Emma in good health I hope you will be all happy, and spend your time pleasantly. Write me often for as yet, I cannot say whether it will be in my power to visit you at the Hermitage this summer. I cannot see when congress will adjourn. Write me the situation of Sarah and if I cannot go home I will meet her at Guiendot in due time to bring her to this place before she becomes too clumsy to travel. Emily presented major Donelson last night with a fine son. Sarah I hope in due season may present you with a fine daughter—if so, I will claim to name it *Rachel*.¹

I have been mortified with the course pursued with the colts. Steel well knew that I was opposed to have any horses trained on my farm, or track in my plantation Stockly Donelson was to have furnished *one*, you and Andrew has Alexander employed at \$25 pr month—engagement was made on the colts, Alexander sent on, Stockly refuses to have any thing to do in the concern—a tract at your request opened on the farm, the colts trained, trial made, the colts started agreeable to instructions sent after, and brought back, fearful that it might injure my character, but returned, and my farm made a training stable of, the very way to injure me, and Stockly, agrees to pay half the expences—all the expence of Alexander from the time he left here, half the expence whilst in Tennessee and returning here with half the expence of stables and Lotts engaged for them by major Donelson. no my son Stockly only means the pittance whilst there. no my son, your engagements with major Donelson you

¹ See the extracts from Abner Lacock's letter to Baldwin of Feb. 18, 1832, subjoined to Baldwin's letter of Feb. 27 (p. 411, *ante*). Jackson was not offended by a tone of frankness in Lacock's letter, which Baldwin read to him. "He told me to say", says Baldwin, writing to Lacock on Feb. 25, 1832, "that far from being offended at the frankness with which it was written he admired its candor and magnanimity and stretching out his long arm said, the nation shall be saved and tell Lacock so. There was no mistaking the tone, the emphasis, and the manner, it was beyond all cant, affectation, or hypocrisy." Baldwin then tells how he heard from Crawford the story of Calhoun's real attitude toward Jackson's Seminole campaign, and how he told Jackson about it in 1824; and he urges Lacock to write him as to his source of information on the same point. He believed he could draw out a statement that Lacock in 1819 had had from Calhoun a full account of the John Rhea letter. He closed his letter as follows: "If you think that the name of Judge Baldwin should not be known to the public, you have the corrective by addressing your reply to the President directly. If you are willing that he should retain the letter of the 18th say so to him. I shall submit this letter to the President and write a postscript from the [Supreme] Court room."

¹ Writing to his son on May 27, 1832, Jackson said: "The jewelry of your dear mother is under your care. Present to Sarah, with my affectionate regard, the pearl necklace, ear rings, etc." The letter is the property of Mr. Henry F. Du Puy, of Easton, Md.

must comply with and Alexanders wages must be paid until he returns, therefore the colts must be sent on here, or a training stable procured some where else than on our farm and major Donelson exonerated by you and Stockly paying all expence that has and will accrue by detaining Alexander. This I am sure Stockly will not do. Therefore the colts I hope before this reaches you have been sent on. indeed I had a hope that the moment you got home you would have started them.

Hutchings and Steel both well knew that the colts were to be sent on, and that my plantation was only thro' necessity made a training ground. I am constrained to believe that there was some intention in their being turned back more to benefit others than you and major Donelson and for this act I blame Mr Steel, and I have lost all confidence in him. have the virginia filly by Stockholder and her colt by Bolivar well taken care of and fed well upon oats corn and grass, as well as the sway backs, and the oscar fillys These young colt are valuable, and altho the oscar filleys colt by citizen does not look well at present—it has the blood. feed the mare well, and I have no fear but it will come out. The citizen is now the best blooded horse in your country, and unless my mares can be sent to the Stockholder, the oscar filly particularly, I wish them put to citizen—but as to this, do as you please, and send the virginia filly to crusader. Still I think citizen the best blooded horse, and this year it may be as well to put him to all the mares.

I wish you to have the House finished and the monument in the garden spedily. See mr morrison, and have a fair settlement with him and with Steel—the House and monument I hope will be finished before I reach there in july—on the monument being finished, say to Mr Josiah Nichol to pay morrison the ballance of the thousand dollars yet unpaid, but not until the work is finished—my memorandum as to all other matters will govern you. The deficiency of Pork you must make up—middlings for the negroes are the best.

I must close for the present—my letters will give you my wishes and your discretion must supply the rest. I inclose you a letter from your friend McCauley. I have recd the present and will attend to his request of the pictures. If you write him inclose the letter to me and I will have it forwarded to him. deliver the inclosed to Sarah, present my affectionate regards to Emma, to Thomas and all my connections and good neighbours and believe me your affectionate father

TO ANDREW JACKSON, JR.

WASHINGTON, May 24, 1832.

My D'r son, I have this morning recd. your letter of the 14th instant with much pleasure and satisfaction, and am pleased that the colts are sent on. you know my son, how loth I was to have any horses trained on my farm. It was that, which might have been construed that I was encouraging racing, not when I was giving them to you, and Andrew, and [having] them sent away and run else where. I hope they will reach their stables provided for them by major Donelson, and that your filly may

prove profitable to you and the other two also. I have no wish to acquire wealth for myself, if I can add to your and Sarahs comforts whilst I live, and leave you comfortable and independent of the world when I die, I am contented. . . .

I wish you to bring to a close the accounts with Steel. settle the whole with him amicably, if you can, and take his receipt—and also with Mr Morrison. remember the old adage, “that short settlements makes long friends”, and never pay money without a receipt. With Steel take into account the season of Bolivar last year. after a settlement you can judge better if he ought to be continued longer than the present year and before he is notified of a change be certain that you can get another that will do as well as him. I think him honest, but unacquainted with accounts but in your settlement you will be able to conclude whether I am mistaken in the good opinion I have formed of him—he never ought to have blended his accounts with mine, and if he had not, there was no need of a settlement, or any deficiency in our accounts, as every year my account was settled for articles furnished for the use of the farm with Mr Josiah Nichol who furnished them. In your settlement it will be necessary to advert to Mr Nichols accounts and examine them *well* to see whether I am not charged for money advanced for those articles contained in Steels accts and charged to me.

I wish you to direct and see that the colts, viz, the two year old filly by Stockholder and the Bolivar colts, are well fed. Their food ought to be mostly oats and grass, much corn injures their legs, particularly in hot weather. These colts if well attended to will be valuable.

Sarah writes me about a Carpet for the dining room and some table linnen and common furniture for the Table. There were abundant supply of table linnen etc. etc, when we left the Hermitage, but I suppose it must have gone the same way as the sheets. I have said in my letter to Sarah inclosed that a carpet must be bought for the dining room. There is always a supply of the carpets made by the Shakers, to be had at Mr Nichols, and she must buy such furniture as the House wants, having an eye to a proper oeconomy. This you will have done agreeable to her directions. I have named the domestic carpet, as it will be cheaper and better than an oil cloth or matt. . . .

GRAVES W. STEELE TO JACKSON.

HERMITAGE, May 25, 1832.

D'r Sir, Your Letter baring date the 3d of this inst has bin ricd and your ordeirs as it respects the colts has bin Complied with. You say to me in your letter that you war informd that the Sway Back mair war in bad Condition when deliveried to Major Donelsons oversuer. I war astonished to hear of that althoe knowing what base Scoundrell Mr Donelsons oversuer war and thinking at the same time that him or som otheir Base person mout say that the mair war in bad health or in bad Condition I had her examined by sevrell of the kneighbours hoo informd me that the had never befoar seen this mair in as goo[d] Condition. I will refur you to Mr Cryer hoo see her onley a few days befoar she war

sent off, allso to Thos J Donelson hoo war present and hoe I got allso to examine her. I Can asure you Sir that the mar war in two high keeping at that time for aney kind of servise and I will feal trewley thankful to you for in formation of the person who has maid or communicktied this to you which is Base and holey destitute of truth. I am confident that it is and that doe not wish you well in Boddey or mind. I hope that your son will make inqurey into Such things and give you the necessarey information about mattirs and things that ar concerning the plantation. I have prest on Andrew to pay strict attention to the maniage and manner in which your affairs has bin conductied during your absence but it appears that he dont take the least pride or feell the least intrusted in the farm or aneything their pertaining. I hope that he will give you the necessarey information about the concerns of the farm. I regret to inform you of the destructive rain that fell on the 23 third of this month. I think that I had the pirtiest prospect for a crop of Cotton that I have had since year 1826 but the heavey torrent of rain has blasted it. I had Just put my Cotton to a stand and I think that their has bin about one fifth part of the crop entirley washed up and the ballance of it beet to the ground, the plantation more washed than it has in all during the last foar years.

respectfuley in confidence.

TO ABNER LACOCK.

[WASHINGTON, May 28, 1832.]

The following interrogatories are intended to be submitted to Abner Lacock Esqr. of Pennsylvania for his answer thereto.

Did Mr. John C. Calhoun at any time during the session of Congress in the Winter of 1818-19, or at any other time, mention to you my confidential letter [to] Mr. Monroe dated 6th of January 1818 relative to Florida and the Seminole War, shew you a copy of the letter or speak of its contents? Did he ever tell you, that letter had been answered? If yea, what did he say was the substance of that answer, If nay, did he give any reason why an answer was not given, and what? What did you understand to be Mr. Calhouns object in speaking to you of that letter? Did Mr. Calhoun at any time, and when, communicate to you the views expressed or the course pursued by him in Mr. Monroes Cabinet in relation to my conduct in the Seminole War? If yea, What were these views and that course?

What opinion if any, did Mr. Calhoun express to you as, at the time of your conversation, entertained by him relative to my orders and the manner in which I had executed them? Was your object in consulting Mr. Calhoun to procure information to aid you in forming your Report upon my conduct in the Seminole War, made to the Senate on the day of February 1819? Did Mr. Calhoun understand that to be your object? Did Mr. Calhoun see your Report or any part of it before it was made? Did he, before it was made or afterwards, in direct allusion to the Report

¹ On May 28, 1832, Jackson sent these interrogatories to Baldwin and asked him to send them to Lacock. At the same time he sent a copy to Calhoun. See p. 452, *post*.

or otherwise, express to you his concurrence in the views therein expressed? What other views, or opinions, or facts, if any, relative to my conduct or his in the affair of the Seminole War, did Mr. Calhoun communicate to you at that or any other time?

Has any thing passed between you and Mr. Calhoun since the session of congress in 1818-19, explanatory of his conduct or mine in relation to the Seminole War and the incidents Which grew out of it? If yea, What.

May 28th 1832.

Genl A. Jackson takes leave to acquaint Mr. J. C. Calhoun that in collecting facts relative to the Seminole War for future and historical use, it is deemed necessary to request of Mr. Abner Lacock of Pennsylvania answers to certain interrogatories, a copy Whereof is herewith furnished Mr. Calhoun that he may have the opportunity of proposing on his part to Mr Lacock such questions as he may deem proper

The undersigned certifies that he delivered on the 30th inst to the Honble J. C. Calhoun a note of the President to him of which the foregoing is a copy.

The undersigned also certifies that the copy of the interrogatories which was enclosed in that note is correct.

30th May 1832.

ANDREW J. DONELSON

TO COLONEL THOMAS H. BENTON.¹

Col T. H. Benton.

[June ? 1832.]

Irst. the receipt of his letter of the 10th instant. The gratification of hearing of his good health and that of his family, and reciprocates their kind, and good wishes for his health and happiness.

The charge made of my being friendly to the Bank of the united states Bank until I found it could not be used for my political purposes, when I turned against it, is one of the foulest and basest calumnies ever uttered—all who know any thing about me know it to be such.

I have always been opposed to it upon constitutional grounds as well as expediency and policy—there was a time when the arristocratic few in Nashville made a movement to obtain a Branch there. judge White then being a member of the Legislature, to forestall this movement introduced a bill which passed into a law imposing a penalty of \$50,000, on any bank, that would assume banking business within the state, not chartered by the legislature thereof. this put down that movement for years untill that law was repealed by a secrete and combined movement of the arristocracy. I was absent at the time, returned to [mut.] Washington [mut.] the night previous to its final passage by the senate, sent for the speaker, Robert C. Foster, Expostulated with him upon the danger of repealing that law, that the intention was to introduce a branch of the

¹ Jackson MSS., vol. 117, p. 132. The letter seems to be a draft. It is without date but was probably called forth by the debate on the bill to recharter the bank, which ended early in July, 1832.

united states Bank, which would drain the state of its specie to the amount of its profits for the support and prosperity of other places, and the Lords, Dukes, and Ladies of foreign countries who held the greater part of its stock—no individual but one in our state owning any of its stock. my admonitions had no effect and the repealing law was passed, I think by one of a majority—this Mr Foster can vouch for. immediately thereafter a memorial was got up praying the President and directors to extend a branch to Nashville, this presented to me, which I preremptorally refused to sign. soon afterwards Genl Cadwaleder came on as the agent of the Bank, he dined with me, my opposition was open and known to every one, and major William B. Lewis who is now in the city, and judge Grundy can vouch for my hostility against the u.s. Bank on all and every occasion. Soon thereafter a Branch was established at Nashville, when a recommendation was presented for two Gentlemen for President and Cashier, with a request, as I was known in my public character to the President and directors of the mother Bank, and knew the Gentlemen to be capable and worthy of confidence, that I would recommend them for the office. The Branch being established at Nashville, and the people liable to be cursed with all its attendant evils and corruption, I with pleasure recommended them, believing that they were honest, and fit and would direct the institution well and as far as they had controle would not wield it to corrupt political principles. this recommendation, as I have been informed has been used to prove my approbation—nothing more false, or ridiculous. When organising the Government of Florida, I was applied to by the mercantile interest in that place to aid them in procuring a branch there. my views were fully given to them of the impolicy of the measure, and my hostility to that institution, but upon their solicitation I forwarded, as Governor of the Territory, their memorial to the President of the Bank—this also has been aduced as evidence of my approval of the u.s. Bank—there can be nothing more unfounded and unjust. my duty as the Temporary Governor of Florida was to make known the wants and wishes of the people of the Territory—officially I did so by forwarding at their request their memorial. I have been opposed always to the Bank of the u.s. as well as all state Banks of paper issues, upon constitutional grounds believing as I do, that congress has no constitutional power to grant a charter and the states are prohibited from granting charters of paper issues—their powers retained, are to charter Banks of deposit discount and exchange.

MAUNSEL WHITE TO JACKSON.

NEW ORLEANS, June 9, 1832.

Dear Sir, I recd. your Letter of 8th april enclosed by Mr. S. J. Hays, whose carriage arrived and was duly sent on in Conformity. I have also recd. and forwarded all the articles sent to me for you by Mr. Toland, and should have sooner replied to you but I was anxious to close the sales of your last lot of Cotton and knowing you were fully engaged with Public Matters I did not like to trouble you with Letters Until it was necessary or important that I should do so. I have been unwell for some days which has been in some measure the cause of the detention of those

sales which I now have the pleasure to annex. Nt proceeds \$1097 $\frac{10}{100}$ to your Credit in acco't Current, which you will also find annexed, Shewing the charges incurred and how I have disposed of the proceeds, by sending the amo't in a check from the B. Bank of the U States to Mr Josiah Nichol Nashville. You will Observe that after holding the cotton a considerable time, I at length got for it $11\frac{1}{2}c$ except for those that were stained, and those he gave me $10\frac{1}{2}c$ for. the same Gentleman bought them, and this morning I was informed by one of the partners of the House to whom yr first lot of Cotton was sent in Liverpool that 20 Bales were sold at $8\frac{1}{2}d$ sterling, which is the highest quotation, so that your Cotton this Season has brot. the highest price at home and abroad. . . .

TO THE SYNOD OF THE REFORMED CHURCH.¹

WASHINGTON, June 12, 1832.

Dear Sir: I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 10th instant submitting to me an extract from the minutes of the session of the general synod of the reformed church of North America relative to the general observance of a day of fasting, humiliation and prayer, which it is recommended that the President of the United States should appoint.

Whilst I concur with the synod in the efficacy of prayer, and in the hope that our country may be preserved from the attack of Pestilence and "that the judgments now abroad in the earth may be sanctified to the good of nations", I am constrained to decline the appointment of any period or mode as proper for the public manifestation of this reliance. I could not do otherwise without transcending those limits which are prescribed by the Constitution for the President and without feeling that I might in some degree disturb the security which religion now enjoys in this country in its complete seperation from the political concerns of the General Government.²

It is the province of the pulpits and the State Governments to recommend the mode by which the people may best attest their reliance on the protecting arm of the almighty in times of great public distress. Whether the apprehension that cholera will visit our land furnishes a proper occasion for their solemn notice, I must therefore leave to their own consideration.

TO MARTIN VAN BUREN.

[WASHINGTON, June 14, 1832.]

Private and confidential

my D'r sir, This moment I have recd. enclosed from Mr McLane, with his note of this day, my letter to you of the 1rst of april last, which I am mortified you did not receive. I now send it under cover to Col Hamilton, that he may hand it to you on your arrival. It was written in great haste,

¹ Draft, in the handwriting of Maj. A. J. Donelson. See also *Niles' Register*, XLII. 338.

² June 27, 1832, Clay offered in the Senate a resolution requesting the President to appoint a fast day against the cholera. It passed that body but was tabled in the House of Representatives (July 14). In the Library of Congress, Van Buren MSS. (Calendar, p. 183), is a draft by Louis McLane of a veto for such a resolution, in case it should pass.

full of blunders, but it being written in the spirit of prophesy, I send it, that you may read and burn it, and judge of the fulfilment of my prediction.¹

The coalition are determined to press upon me at this session the bank, and a few more internal improvement bills. I am prepared to meet them as I ought, but I want your aid. The able heads of Departments except Woodbury and the attorney General, are all in favor of the Bank. Let me see you as early as you can. your friend

TO REV. HARDY M. CRYER.¹

June 17, 1832.

. . . . I thank you for your friendly offer of an interest in your fine horse. But Andrew is now married, and I mean to throw the care of the farm on him, I shall never more pester myself with this worlds wealth—My only ambition is to get to the Hermitage so soon as the interest of my country and the will of the people will permit me, and there to set my house in order and go to sleep along side of my dear departed wife.

I enclose a letter for my friend Mr Cotton, which I will thank you to deliver. I have said to him that you will raise by a draft on me, any sum that may be due him under the contract with my son for the training of Polly Baker, alias Virago—I have spoken often to my son to have this matter settled, and as I have handed over to my son and Major Donelson, my four grown colts I have referred Mr Cotton to them. I wish you my dear Sir to draw upon me for any sum due Mr Cotton from my son, as

¹ It is to be regretted that this letter of Apr. 1, 1832, has not been preserved. It probably foretold Van Buren's nomination for the vice-presidency. In the absence of such a letter the following from Walter Lowrie, senator from Pennsylvania, to Van Buren, Jan. 27, 1832, may be taken as a reliable presentation of the political situation created in the Jackson party by the rejection of Van Buren's nomination:

"I take for granted that you know the vote of the Senate on your nomination. At first your friends were rather vexed at this result. No party wishes a defeat, even if that defeat may be supposed to lead to results, which they much desire. Now, however, altho' but one day has passed, some of your friends I know, and amongst them myself, would not change the result if they had the power.

"The question most likely to have produced division and embarrassment in the Republican party, was the vice Presidency. The Kentucky candidate R. M. J. seemed in a fair way to unite the whole of the West. At the South were Crawford and Smith, and Penna had two. Many prominent men would hear of no name but yours, and others, much more numerous, would not agree that your name should be mentioned. The vote of the Senate has brought these two classes together. I have not heard, nor heard of, any opinion but one, and that is, that you are to be the candidate on the ticket with the Old Chief, and all his friends believe, that he and you will be elected. This too is the opinion of many of the friends of Mr Clay. In placing your name thus before the public, the impression now seems to be, that a case has occurred, when it is proper for your friends to use your name without waiting to consult, or hear from you. On this I believe they are right; nor do I see how, acting on the principle, that the public have a right to the services of prominent men, you can refuse.

"Ohio, Indiana and Illinois have appointed their delegations here to attend the Baltimore Convention. They to a man, are for your nomination. New York of course will take the same stand, and our Penna candidates have so neutralized each other, that no difficulty will arise from that quarter.

"The President hears the vote of the senate, just as you, who know him, would expect. He *was* angry, and when he is angry he speaks freely. I took up the return of the vote yesterday; I was also there this morning. He now talks over the matter with perfect coolness, but with much emphasis, and his remarks are often pointed and severe. . . ."

¹ Tenn. Hist. Soc.

I cannot rest until justice is done him and then I give over any attention to colts and the turf. Attend to this for me. I still intend keeping up my blood stock upon my farm, and will be happy to hear the blood of your fine horse Crusader, his size and figure. If my stud colt Citizen should be moved from my farm, I may direct my mares to Crusader, except Oscar filly, that I intend sending to Stockholder.

I will write you again soon, if I can, shall expect to hear from you. with a tender of my best wishes to your lady and family and the request that you will kiss little Rachel for me believe me your friend.

P. S. The Vice-president is wielding his talents and showing his vindictive feelings as it regards Van Buren. But two votes he has given in Secrete Session, it is said by some of his former friends, has sunk him beneath contempt in the Senate.

SAMUEL SMITH ¹ TO JACKSON.

WASHINGTON, June 17, 1832.

D'r Sir, This letter requires no answer

I recieved on friday the Enclosed letter from my Son.² I pray you to read it, and take it for as much as it is worth. He appears to have assumed what appears to be a general opinion, "That you will give the Bank Bill your Veto" and wishes, that which almost all your friends desire, That you may give such reasons as will leave the Subject *open* for the decision of the people at their next Election. This will quiet those of your friends who require that the Bill should now be signed by you. The mootng of the question at the present Session was against my Opinion. It will however have the Effect to Cause all the Elections to be contested on the principle of Bank or no Bank. And if the people shall in that way determine for a renewal of the Charter, Sound Policy would Say—Comply with their declaration.

My own private Opinion is to dissappoint those who have pressed the Subject, who expect and Count on your Veto, as a means to injure the Party in public Opinion. I believe it will have little Effect but I should like to dissappoint those gentlemen. If, however you should determine against signing the Bill at present, I pray, Beg and intreat you to do it, So as to leave the Subject *open* for the decision of the people

With the sincerest personal and political Regard, I am

¹ Senator from Maryland 1822-1833.

² John Spear Smith, who wrote from Montebello, near Baltimore. He urged that Jackson should come out in favor of a bill to force the Bank of the United States to lend money at five per cent. instead of six. He said Biddle and the supporters of the bank were not opposed to it. Of the expected veto of the bill to recharter the bank he said: "The President has, without touching the constitutional question, the strongest arguments to put in his veto message, should he put his negative on the bill. First, that some three millions of people are unrepresented in the present Congress. Second, that the subject has not been fairly put to them yet, and the presumption is that at the next elections, they will select representatives, with an eye, in part, to this subject. Third, no inconvenience can result from the postponement, but much benefit may be the result, as the intervening time may afford much light on the wants of the country, in its new attitude, of exemption from debt, and diminished revenue."

COLONEL ANTHONY BUTLER TO JACKSON.

MEXICO, June 21, 1832.

My dear Sir, I am just returned from my tour North, in search of health, and am happy in being able to say that the object is attained; I think my health is now better than at any period within the last four years, and I hope it will bear me through the Negotiation that is to come, and which shall be entered upon the moment that the distracted situation of this country will permit any thing to be done. I find every thing here in the most wretched condition on my return: The Vice President and his ministers have quarrelled as it [is] said; it is certain that they have all resigned, and the Executive is now without a single head of a Department and not a dollar in the Treasury—money attempted to be borrowed at 5 pr. Cent per month, but no lenders—nominations made of several individuals to supply the vacancies in the different departments of the Government, but all have declined.

I waited on Mr. Alaman immediately upon my return, found him in bed and completely disgusted with politics as he tells me, determined to retire to his Estate in Guanajuato the moment he recovers: I must find means to prevent this if possible; for more can be done with Mr. A. and through him than with all Mexico besides. He must be the active Agent in the coming Negotiation and if possible I must have him *alone* as the plenipotentiary on the part of Mexico. I am confident we will not disagree eventually on this matter, for I think I hold the key to unlock his heart, and the means of enlightening his understanding in the way I desire it should be illuminated; we are perfectly cordial, and Confidential, much more so than with any other man of Mark in or out of the Administration. I hope the Negotiation (if we can go into it) will be a very brief affair, and I feel great Confidence in being able to bring home the Treaty in less than 3 months from the first protocol, provided Mr. Alaman is the Negotiator—lest however it may be more tedious than I anticipate, let our Commissioners be instructed to insist on the Western branch of the Sabine Lake so as to prolong discussion, increase the difficulties of adjustment and give me time. . . .

TO GOVERNOR WILSON LUMPKIN.¹

WASHINGTON, June 22, 1832.

D'r Sir, Your letter written last winter to me relative to our affairs with the Cherokee Indians was duly recd: but it was not acknowledged in

¹ Copy. Handwriting of A. J. Donelson. Jackson's instructions for writing this letter exist in the Jackson MSS. and, by comparing them with the letter prepared by A. J. Donelson, the reader may see that Jackson was essentially the author of the letter. Probably this was true in the same way of most of his letters actually penned by others. Lumpkin was governor of Georgia. The instructions are as follows:

"Write to Govr. Lumpkins

"your letter was recd. but, as I believed you were well apprised of my personal friendship for you and my confidence in you, as well as my opinions upon the Indian question I did not believe it either necessary or prudent for me to address you officially on that subject. I had spoken freely to Govr. Troup and other members from your state on the policy I thought would be most prudent to pursue with regard to the surveying

consequence of the great pressure of business at the time, and because I thought an official answer unnecessary to one so much in my confidence and so well acquainted with my views on the Indian question, as you were. I had spoken to Govr. Troup and other members of your state in relation to the course which appeared to me the most proper to be adopted in regard to the survey and disposition of the land lying within the Cherokee boundary. My great desire was that you should do no act which would give the Federal court a legal jurisdiction over a case that might arise with the cherokees; and having explained myself fully to your delegation I did not doubt that you were fully apprised by them of my feelings and wishes.

Surrounded as I now am with business I address you this hasty note only to assure you of my continued confidence and respect; which I trust you will never question on account of the rumours and statements which the malice of our common enemies may circulate for the purpose of seperating us.

With great respect I remain yr. friend

TO EPHRAIM H. FOSTER.¹

WASHINGTON, June 22, 1832.

D'r Sir, I have recd. to day from the hands of Judge White of the Senate your letter of the 10th inst apprising me that my name has been used and connected with the senatorial election shortly to be made by the Legislature of Tennessee without saying by whom; and asking me for an explanation which will remove all misapprehension of my views or wishes on the subject.

It is a matter of much surprise to me that any of my friends should suppose, whatever my personal relations may be to any candidate for the office in question, that I could so far lose sight of my official station as to wish to make it subservient to such relations. The charge of Executive influence or interference in any form with the purity and freedom of state elections is a most serious one, and one that I feel confident no act of mine can make imputable to this administration. So strongly was I impressed with the importance of conducting the operations of the Federal Government so as to steer clear of this charge, that I deemed it my duty to pledge my administration to the observance and practice of the principles which would effect it: and I trust if the pledge has not been entirely redeemed, in the estimation of any of my friends, there are none who would desire to make my own acts an example of its failure.

of and disposition of the land lying within the cherokee boundary—which I knew had been communicated to you. My great desire was that you should do no act that would give to the Federal Court, a legal jurisdiction, over a case that might arise with the C. Indians, and having explained myself fully to your delegation, I was certain they had fully apprised you of my feelings and wishes. Surrounded as I am with business I would not now write you only to assure you of my continued confidence and respect, in which you may always confide until you hear otherwise from my own lips, all rumors and statements to the contrary notwithstanding. With great respect I am in haste yr friend"

¹ Handwriting of A. J. Donelson.

In reference to Mr. Grundy, not as a candidate or a competitor of your's for the office he now holds, but as a public man entitled to the measure of justice for the faithful performance of his duty, I have no doubt on many occasions spoken in terms of satisfaction and pleasure with regard to his course here as a senator. In doing so, however, it must be obvious that I was but doing justice to his acts here and exercising the privilege of an individual; that privilege which is inseparable from the idea of a free-man and which in this country is the foundation of all public character because it is in its just exercise that the public servants find the highest rewards for their services. To suppose that my approbation of Mr. Grundy's general conduct as a Senator cannot be expressed without subjecting me to the charge of desiring to procure his reelection or of being understood as having an unfavorable opinion of the claims of those who may be his competitors, is affixing to my character and to those who are considered as within its influence a want of elevation which I feel confident neither you nor any member of the Tennessee Legislature would countenance.² you must recollect, that very lately I have been charged with using my influence against judge Grundy to favour the election of those opposed to him. Each rumour is equally unfounded. I interfere not in state elections leaving the people whose province it is freely to choose their own agents, whilst I confine myself solely to the performance of those constitutional duties conferred upon me by the partiality of the people.

With my kind salutations to your father and mother and their family, your Lady and family, believe me to be very respectfully yr. friend

ABNER LACOCK TO JACKSON.¹

FREEDOM, BEAVER COUNTY, PA., June 25, 1832.

Sir, Some days since, through the medium of a mutual friend, I received your letter enclosing a number of interrogatories, that I am requested to answer, in relation to the knowledge I have of the course pursued by John C Calhoun, Vice P. U. States, and his conduct towards you, in regard to your conduct in the Seminola war.

By the same mail I recd. a line from Mr Calhoun, in which he states, that he had received a list of interrogatories, and that he had declined putting any questions to me, or what he terms "joining issue" but had no objection I should answer whatever questions you should put, requesting however as a matter of justice, to be furnish,d with a copy of my answers; to a compliance with this request I could see no valid objection and have accordingly furnish,d him with a copy.

Interrogatories put by Andrew Jackson, president of the U. States, to Abner Lacock of Penna.

"Did Mr John C Calhoun at any time during the Session of Congress in the winter of 1818-1819 or at any other time, mention to you my con-

² From this place to the end the handwriting is Jackson's.

¹ Copy, in Lewis's handwriting. This letter is in *Niles' Register*, XLIII. 79, and in other papers of the day.

fidential letter, to Mr Monroe dated 6 of Jan,y 1818, relative to Florida and the Seminola war; shew you that letter, a copy thereof, or speak of its contents, did he ever tell you that letter had been answered, if nay, did he give any reasons why an answer was not given? and what: what did you understand to be Mr Calhoun,s object in speaking to you of that letter?

Answer. Mr Calhoun never did at any time or upon any occasion, communicate to me, either verbally or in writing, his knowledge of the existence of such a letter. although at the time alluded to, I had a knowledge of the contents of the letter, I did not derive that knowledge from Mr. Calhoun; nor have I ever made a suggestion, to any person that would justify such a belief.

2 "Did Mr Calhoun at any time, and when, communicate to you the views express,d or the course pursued by him in Mr Monroe,s cabinet, in relation to my conduct in the Seminola war? if yea, what were those views and that course? what opinion, if any, did Mr Calhoun express to you, as at the time of your conversation, entertained by him relative to my orders and the manner in which I had executed them?

Answer. Some time in January 1819, I think towards the latter end of the month, Mr Calhoun calld upon me in the Senate Chamber, and asked me into a committee room, and when there said he wishd to converse with me in regard to your operations in Florida, as that subject was before a committee, of which he understood I was chairman. He then stated the subject had embarrass,d the administration, and presented many difculties at first, but a course had been finally agreed upon, that he had flattered himself would have been generally acquiescd in, or approved, and he was sorry to find himself mistaken, or words to this effect. We then went [on to] compare opinions, and discuss the subject. Among other things I stated expressly, that from the facts disclosed, it was my opinion, you had in the prosecution of the seminola war, exercised cruel and unprecedented severity, in putting to death captive Indians and British traders, That by the forceable seizure of the Spanish posts you had transcended your orders, and Usurped the power of Congress, and consequently violated the Constitution of the U States. Mr Calhoun replied that he agreed with me that capturing the spanish posts was unauthorised and illegal, and he said when the subject was first presented by the President, he had been for taking pretty strong [action] and instituting an enquiry into your conduct, but after mature consideration the Cabinet had made a different decision, and he had acquies,d and he observed he had yielded his opinion with less reluctance, finding the President strongly inclined to adopt a different course, and he added that while he was a member of the Cabinet, he should consider it his duty to sustain the measures of the President if it could be done with any propriety. To a suggestion by me that we only differed in opinion, as to whether you were or were not reprehensible for your conduct: he repl,d to decide this question regard must be had to your motives. Those he believed had been pure and patriotic, that from mistaken zeal in the service of your country, you had exceeded the powers given you, or any the President had a right to be-

stow. At the same time he observed, that Spain deserved from us the treatment she had received, and a surrender of the posts was all she had a right to look for, that whether you were culpable or not was a concern of our own, and not hers. He spoke of the acquisi[ti]on of Florida, then a subject of negociation with the Spanish Minister Don Osy [Onis] and the prospect of a favourable result, that he was apprehensive might be defeated or endangered by a vote of censure or the disapproval of your conduct.

I told Mr Calhoun in reply, that his views on the subject, or those of a similar nature had been previously presented to me by the President but he had failed to convince me that there were either consistancy or safety in the course adopted by the administration. That if the seizure of the Spanish post by you, was lawful, constitutional and in obedience to orders given, they should not have been surrendered, and on the other hand if their capture was illegal unconstitutional and in violation of your orders, you were highly reprehensible. and to pass over such conduct without censure or animadversion, was to sanction it, and acting upon, and fortified, by this precedent every land or naval officer in our service might in future involve the nation in war at their discretion or caprice. Such I told him were my views, and having been charged by the senate with the investigation, I should not shrink from the responsibility of faithfully discharging my duty.

Mr Calhoun then said he would not wish to be understood as objecting to the enquiry, it was rather the spirit with which it was carried on that had given him surprize. he had understood that Governor Mitchel of Georgia who had just arrived in the City had been sent for to give evidence. That his testimony should be recivd with allowance, as he was the personal enemy of Genl Gaines, and he believed equally so of Genl Jackson. That Mitchel was an Indian agent, and charges had been or would be preferd against him as he understood, that would, if establishd, seriously affect his character, and he wishd to put me on my guard. I assured him Governor Mitchel had not been sent for by order of the committee, nor to my knowledge by any member of it. That after his arrival I was told by Mr Forsyth that he, Mitchel, was in possession of many facts connected with the Seminola war, and this I had mentioned to the Committee and by their orders he was subpoenaed.

In repeating the above conversation between Mr Calhoun and myself I do not pretend that I have used the precise words spoken by us, but I am certain I have not been mistaken in their general import and meaning.

This conversation was not considered by me as confidential, nor was it enjoind upon me as such.

3 " Was your object in consulting Mr Calhoun to procure information to aid you in forming your report upon my conduct in the Seminola war, made to the senate on the [24th] day of Feby 1819? did Mr Calhoun understand that to be your object?

Answer. I never did consult Mr Calhoun or any other member of Mr Monroe's cabinet with a view of obtaining information, or aid, in forming the report, unless the circumstances and facts, I am about to mention may be so considerd

Previous to Mr Forsyth's appointment as Spanish Minister, and when he was a member of the committee, he had more than once, stated to me his belief, that you had after the close of the Seminola war, issued orders to Genl Gaines, directing him to capture St. Augustine the Capital of East Florida, and that those orders had been countermanded by the President. But, as the documents furnishd by the war department containd no evidence of the fact, we were left in the dark, untill I was informd by Mr Eaton, one of the committee, long afterwards that orders to that effect had been issued by you, and that the place would have been taken, had not the orders been countermanded, and this he gave as an evidence of your firmness and decision, and the absence of those qualities in the administration. This information induced me soon afterwards to call upon Mr Calhoun at the war office, my colleague [colleague] Mr Roberts was in company. Upon enquiry, Mr Calhoun told me that such orders had been issued by you, and were immediately countermanded. I enqui[r],d why this correspondence had not been furnishd. He said it had never been call,d for. I replied that the call was in general terms, and comprehended all the information on the subject of the Seminola war, that it was safe and proper for the Executive to communicate, or words to this effect.

Here Mr Calhoun in the most bland and conciliatory manner observed (I remember his words and manner distinctly) "Had you not better try Genl Jackson for what he has done, and not for what he designed to do". I assured Mr Calhoun that I was not governed by personal hostility to you nor was any member of the committee, we wish,d to the country, ourselves, and you strict justice, and for that purpose we wish,d all the information that could be rightfully obtaind. If the correspondence was of a private or confidential nature, I did not ask it. If of a public nature we had a right to receive it. Mr Calhoun then said he would be glad I would consult the President, and if he had no objection he would send in the documents, if I would call for them as chairman of the committee. I immediately calld on the President, and when informd of the object of my visit, he said he had not examined the seminola documents since their publication, nor did he know that the correspondence in question had been with held, or words to this purpose, but if it were so, he was perfectly satisfied it should be furnish,d. I gave this information to Mr Calhoun, and he soon afterwards sent to the committee a copy of the correspondence.

4 "Did mr Calhoun see your report or any part of it before it was made? did he before it was made or afterwards, in direct allusion to the report, or otherwise, express to you his concurrence in the views therein express,d? What other views or opinions or facts, if any, relative to my conduct or his, in the affair of the Seminola war, did Mr Calhoun communicate to you, at that or any other time?"

Answer. Mr Calhoun never did see the report, or any part of it before it was made, nor has he at any time before or since the report was made express,d to me his concurrence in the views taken therein, other than what passd in the committee room, as stated already by me in my answer to the second interrogatory. Nor has Mr Calhoun in any manner or upon any occasion since I calld upon him, as stated above, in the war office,

communicated to me his sentiments or opinions, on the subject of the seminola war, or your conduct in Florida.

5 "Has any thing pass,d between you and Mr Calhoun since the Session of congress in 1818, 19, explanatory of his conduct or mine, in relation to the seminola war, and the incidents that grew out of it? if yea, what?

Answer. After the unhappy dispute (I mean for the honour of the country) had taken place between you and Mr Calhoun and the publication of his pamphlet, he sent me one of them, with his name and compliments written on the title page. On reading the book, and finding my name gratuitously introduced, with the name of Mr Crawford, in a way not very honourable to either, I was at a loss to decide whether Mr Calhoun had sent the book, as an act of civility, to an old acquaintance (with whom all intercourse had been suspended for ten years) or an insult, and in this state of uncertainty I acknowledged the rec[e]ipt of it; and in my letter, made some animadversions upon the impropriety of dragging me from retirement before the public, Endeavoured to repel the insinuation that I had acted under the influence of Mr Crawford in Framing the report, reminded Mr Calhoun of our conversation in the committee room, and his endeavours to justify your motives in the Florida operations. I recurd to your confidential or Johnny Rhea letter, and its new version as given in his pamphlet, as proof irrefragable of your having committed an unlawful act with a perfect conciousness of its being so, Inasmuch as you had proposed, confidentially, to the president, to take the Floridas, or make war upon Spain if the President would guarantee to you an indemnity by signifying his approbation to a confidential friend. Thus if successful secureing the honour of a triumph, and at all events escapeing with impunity, by shifting the responsibility and throwing it upon the President. In this view of the case I stated that your deliberate intentions, and the motives by which you had been governed could not be mistaken. I express,d likewise to Mr Calhoun my regret to find by his pamphlet facts disclosed and opinions express,d by him and others high in authority in relation to your conduct, that had been carefully suppress,d at the time of the investigation, That for his part he was about to receive his reward, and would fall a victim to his own policy, nor would he in my opinion although the first on the list, be the last victim.

The purport or substance of my letter to Mr Calhoun I have given you, my papers were so deranged and distroyd by the spring flood that I could not find the copy, of course I have to write from recollection. This letter was not written in confidence, I did not request, nor did it require an answer, nor did I ever receive an answer from Mr Calhoun. I have only to repeat that other than what I have already stated, I have had no information from Mr Calhoun "relative to the Seminola war, and the incidents growing out of it."

Having closed my answers to your interrogatories you will permit me to observe, that such of the foregoing questions, as by fair and necessary inference were calculated to make me the passive instrument in the hands of Mr Calhoun to criminate you, I should have refused to Answer in a court of justice, and should have repeld, as an attempt to make me impugne

my own character, and dishonour myself, and that too in the discharge of an important public duty. and notwithstanding you seem to consider me as the victim of Mr Calhoun's superior duplicity and skill, still your appeal to me, in a case where you suppose me conce[r]nd in inflicting the injury, evinces such confidence in my sincerity and candour, on your part, that it has not faild to be duly appreciated, on mine, and hence it is I have answered all your questions, however objectionable, with unreserved frankness. Finding by your letters before me that you design my statement "for future and historical use" and that, "*your object and sole object is the establishment of truth, and to do justice to all men*" permit me in conclusion to assure you, that it will afford me sincere pleasure to learn, that I have contributed in any degree, to the accomplishment of an object so laudable. and should the information I have given be the means of producing harmony, or restoring a good understanding, and amicable relations between the two first officers of the government, it will be to me a source of much additional pleasure, and cannot fail to be highly gratifying to every man who regards the reputation and honour of his country.

I am sir, your obedient Humble servant

GRAVES W. STEELE TO JACKSON.

HERMITAGE, June 26, 1832.

Der Sir, I indeavour this morning to Give you the necessary information as respects the farm and Crop Stock and So forth. I did on 22th of this month finish working my Crop over the fourth time it is all perfectly clean and I am now preparing to make 100000 Brick for the purpose of building Stable Carriage house and Coffee house etc. and a house at the winStand place If you wish it

the monument is not up as yet allthoe I think that it will be up by the last of July the Stone Cutter will commence raising it in the morning and it will take one month to compleet it. I have Cut about half of my Small grain. the Crop of rye and oats ar good But the Crop of wheat ar indifferant owing to the drouth. we have not had one Drop of rain Since the first of May. the cotton Is about 6 inches high and Corn in a common way about as high as a mans shoulders. I Can assure that the prospect for a crop is quiet gloomey at the present time. You will find Genl that your contract and mine is out on the 18th of December. I expect to continue the buisness that I now follow a few years longer. this is about the ceason of year that I have allways bin in the habbit of making my Contracts. If you wish me to continue longer than this year I wish you to let me Know So soon as you rice [receive] this. I will not make any contract with aney othier person untiaell I hear from you. If I continue at your farm I will not make a contract with aney won but yourSelf and then their would have to be Some allterration in a new wone and that of the oald wone. Mr Polk will give me \$500. provided I dont continue hear. it is But few men that I will doe buisness for In this capasitey. the Stock all looks well and the familey ar all well.

with dew respect your most Hunble Survant

JACKSON'S MEMORANDUM ON THE BANK IN VIEW OF VETO.¹

[July, 1832.]

It has been often inquired, would I approve no Bank Charter. I have always answered, that I would approve no Bank charter that violated the constitution, but I would approve any Bank charter that was presented where none of its provisions violated the principles of the organic law. I have always viewed that the powers granted by the constitution to our Federal Government were for general purposes, for national not local objects—these powers are delegated and precisely marked that those to whom they are entrusted may not exercise any power but in strict conformity with the limits of their trust. Under this rule the Bank must be national, not for a few stockholders, and the charter securing to this few exclusive privileges, from which all the rest of the community are excluded—to be constitutional its benefits must be, and enure to the whole nation as the taxes do, that are levied and collected by congress—no exclusive privileges, agreeable to the true reading of the constitution, can be granted to a few that is not common to all, except for meritorious services performed. It has been asked—then, what kind of a Bank I would believe constitution[al] and would approve. I have answered—A Bank of deposit and Exchange, purely national, without stock holders. I say now to congress, that before it usurps any power not expressly granted and before creating a Bank with stockholders and the united states becomes a member of that corporation, which grants exclusive privileges to a few stockholders, let them submit to the people by way of amendment of the constitution, and ask them (in the true spirit of the Sages who formed it) whether you will grant this power. If they say nay, then I say to congress, now and then, “touch not, handle not, this accursed thing”. I therefore recommend such amendment of the constitution to be submitted to the people.

note.

The amendment offered to reduce the interest to 5 percent rejected. This would save annually, to the (borrowers) people between four and five millions.

It[s] passage at present is inexpedient

1. That three millions of people, under the present census are unrepresented in the present congress who ought to be heard, and that the people might deliberate, and at the next election for representatives might select those who would truly represent their wishes on this important subject. I in my last message I used the following language—(here insert it)

2nd. no inconvenience can result from my veto. There is four years of the charter yet to run. in the mean time an amendment to the constitution can be submitted to the people to give congress the power to establish a national Bank or Banks if the people think proper to grant the

¹ This memorandum seems to have been prepared as Jackson's suggestion for the veto of the bill rechartering the bank, which went to Congress July 10, 1832. The veto message was probably written by Roger B. Taney, Attorney General, and took little notice of the memorandum here given. See also p. 462n., *post*.

power with proper restrictions, then with a full representation under the new census, coming directly from the people, and instructed by the people, under its new attitude of exemption from debt and diminished Revenue, much light will be afforded etc. etc. etc.

JOHN RANDOLPH TO JACKSON.

CHARLOTTE COURT HOUSE, July 5, 1832.

Private

My dear Sir, Your kind and considerate letter of the 30th of last month was received the day before yesterday, too late to answer it by return of mail: and yesterday just as I was about to answer it, at the hour when your receiving rooms begin to overflow with visitors, (2 P. M) I was, after much previous anxiety and distress, seized with the gout in both feet. It is a very sharp attack. The pain I could endure with a degree of patience that would not disgrace my manhood, but there is an affection of the stomach and of the head and neck that is almost too much for my fortitude.¹ I had intended to set out for Washington on the 6th or 7th so as to get there before Congress should have dispersed, (I wish I could say disbanded,) but of this there is now no hope. My object was to demand redress of a wrong which I have sustained from the Treasury Department and I submit my case to you, Sir, entreating that you will grant it by giving orders to Mr Auditor Kendall to strike my name as a publick debtor from his books.

The circumstances of the case will be explained by my correspondence with Mr Secretary Branch. Briefly, the matter stands thus. When the Concord was fitted out at Portsmouth N. H. the navy agent there put on board of her a quantity of furniture and utensils for my use. Of the existence of this fact I was ignorant until we had been ten days or more at Sea. I then caused the bed and furniture, china ware etc: etc: to be packed up and requested Capt: Perry to transmit them to the U.S. substituting a *cot* as a more appropriate fixture in an American Man of War than a bedstead and curtains. Capt. P. said he would deliver them to the Navy Agent at Port Mahon on account of the U. S. He might have left them with Mr Hunter at Cowes, when he touched there on his return home. Be that as it may, these things were thrust upon me without my knowledge or approbation, and against my consent I am made a debtor to the Publick for property which seems to have been purchased by way of *Job*. I sent Mr Secretary Branch the inventory. What may have been broken by the carelessness, or embezzled by the dishonesty of the Captain's Steward I cannot tell. I am myself personally responsible for two chamber utensils broken in my service.

This conduct on the part of the officers of the U. S. would in private transactions between man and man be deemed highly discreditable, to say no worse. What right has government to force upon me their trump-

¹ June 26, 1832, Randolph wrote to Jackson: "This is the tenth week of my confinement here within 12 miles of my own House unable to be removed thither. Ten days ago I had strong hopes of recovery but a relapse from taking cold puts an end to any such expectation."

ery goods and make me a debtor and report me as a defaulter against my consent, or without my knowledge? The thing calls for amendment.

In the course of our "intercommunication" (as Mr Jefferson would say) I have expressed myself with a freedom and frankness that became us both, and if I have occasionally put your forbearance to the test it was because I felt the most intense interest in your fame and the success of your administration. My friend Mr Mark Alexander² has informed me of the dilemma in which certain persons in the H. of R. think they have placed you by the passage of the Bank Bill. He adds, "our hopes rest upon the President and I have no doubt he will prove himself equal to the occasion", neither have I. This is the sort of man, my dear Sir, to whom you should look for the sentiments of Virginia. The rival Coxcombs who are intriguing to obtain the mission to England have not a feather's weight even in their respective districts, and if I wished to disgust Virginia and disgrace ourselves at St. James's I would send one of them thither. I think I can see the countenance of the Foreign Secretary and of the persons who compose the good society of London at the vulgarity ignorance and impudence of the one, or the pedantic arrogance of the other, equally ignorant of all that it behoves him to know. No; Spain, Portugal, or some of these barbarous sister Republics of ours are the only Theatres where such actors could be tolerated. one of them, to my knowledge, was any thing but your friend and the other never had an attachment except to himself.

I had no suspicion of Dashiell's being intemperate. The propensity, if not formed has developed itself since Dr. T's death; and I presume his successor could not have observed it. I own it surprises me that the objection should come fr[om the] present incumbent, whom I saw in a most disgraceful paroxysm of drunkenness at Stafford Court House on the day preceding your inauguration. It had been of some days standing and in that condition he was tumbled into the mail cart, telling every body that he was going to Washington to get an office. I had never seen him but once before and if he had not addressed me by name as I entered the *Publick Room* of the Inn, I should have set him down for some of the natives and made no enquiry as to who he was. But I asked Alexander the Innkeeper and he told me that he was a counsellor of Virginia on his way to Washington to procure an office, but that his heels had been tripped up by liquor and he had been detained there two days. In the afternoon he caused himself to be lifted into the mail cart and in that disgraceful condition he was carried towards the Seat of Government.

Let me express my grateful sense of the kind interest you take in my health. I shall struggle hard to get to England this Autumn. If I fail I have no expectation of surviving the winter. Believing you to be of all the persons who have been or are in the publick eye the most devoted to the welfare of our Country and the most ready to make personal sacrifices to her interests and placing the utmost reliance on the fearless Integrity of your character, I shall support you with my warmest and best efforts; and shall continue to feel towards you the liveliest affection and respect.

. . . .

² M. C. from Virginia 1819-1833.

[P. S.] I fear that our friend P. P. B. will do himself no service by permitting his name to be used by the Coalition, of which I now consider Mr Calhoun to be a regularly installed member. I would greatly prefer any one that has been named to him, knowing him to the very core as I do.

To day I heard from my uterine brother Mr H. S. G. Tucker. He is at Lewisburg holding his court, probably now at the White Sulphur Springs where his letter was dated. I leave others to sound his praises as one of our profoundest Lawyers endowed with a peculiar facility of despatching business and content myself with saying *that he keeps the faith, most steadfastly.*

GRAVES W. STEELE TO JACKSON.

HERMITAGE, July 6, 1832.

D'r Sir, I take this opportunity to Give you the necessary information as it respects the health of the family, Crop Stock and farm generally. the family ar all in good health and has kep up much Better than I anticipated on during the Season. the prospect for a crop is much better at present than it war a few days parst. we had a good rain on 27 Last month and it has bin quiet seasonable Since then. my Corn in the cakney field and in the field adjoineing the Church is good allso aparte of the Winson farm and a few Spots in the Mosley field but their is som spots inn both of them farms that is not so good. my Cotton is growing verrey fast and is aparte of it abouth the heighth of the knee and a parte again that is not moore than 8 or 10 inches. I had Blooms on the 27 June, And last year I had them on the 14th of June. my cotton Is well branched out from the ground the onley fear Is that I shall have to push it two fast from this time forward to give it cize. the crop of small grain has bin Good except the Crop of wheat that is Bad. It did not produse twice the quantitey that war sown. I am hard working my corn the last time over for this Season. My worke horses ar all in good worke orrdier, the Stock of Catle hogs and Sheepe ar all in Good plait—their has [not] aney deaths taken place In this kneighbourhood during this season except Mr Richard Wadkins who died on the 30 June.

I am with dew respect

TO MARTIN VAN BUREN.¹

WASHINGTON, July 7, 1832.

My D'r sir, I congratulate you on your safe return to your country and friends. I have this moment read it in the Newyork Courier, and have sent for the major ² to order him to you. I am so engaged in my *veto* to the Bank bill that I can only send you by the major a reiteration of my wishes for your presence here.

Col Hamilton will have delivered you some letters containing some papers for you. Attend to my suggestions therein and all is well. The

¹ Library of Congress, Van Buren MSS.

² Major Abraham Van Buren, eldest son of Martin Van Buren.

enemies have attempted to assail you on your ultra Tariff opinions. I have said you were for a fair protection to plaise our productive labour on a fair compe[ti]tion with that of Europe etc. etc. I salute thee with the congratulations of all my houshold. expecting to hear from you first and then see you soon I remain respectfully yr friend

JOHN RANDOLPH TO JACKSON.

CHARLOTTE COURT HOUSE, July 15, 1832.

My dear Sir, It was not until last evening, that I recd. your message to the Senate rejecting the Bank Bill.¹ It diffuses universal joy among your friends and dismay among your enemies. Mr Van Buren I perceive is with you. Congratulate him if you please in my name on his return to his Country. The Senate, which he ought never to have left, is his proper theatre of action. I have an unanswered letter from him written at London which has lain upon my table several weeks, perhaps months from my inability to reply to it, and indeed what could I have told him that some other correspondent would not have anticipated. I should like to talk with him about England. I do not perceive that his son returned with him.

I see a miserable attempt to bolster up a certain person to whom I alluded in my last. The chief actor is an artful horse jockey who has his selfish views in all that he does or omits to do. He is what Mr V. B.'s enemies represent him to be, a most artful and accomplished intriguer. To my knowledge he declared Mr A. to be unfit for his late position and was endeavouring to foment opposition to him. He is a politician, negroe trader, Jockey and always acts where practicable by other persons who are his tools and creatures. Thus nobody *knows* him to be engaged in the domestic slave trade but the tools who carry it on for him. . . .

TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOHN COFFEE.¹

WASHINGTON, July 17, 1832.

My D'r Genl, It is some time since I have written you, or received a letter from you. Congress rose yesterday and altho we have had a disagreeable session, still it has *ended well*. The modified Tariff that has passed, and my veto on the Bank has killed the ultras, both tariffites and nullifiers, and in a few weeks that excitement that has been created by the united influence of the coalition Calhoun Clay and Webster will cease to agitate the union. You may expect to hear from So Carolina a great noise stired up by Calhoun Miller and Co, who has left here for that purpose, but the good sense of the people will put it down. The south being relieved, by the dimunition of duties upon cotton bagging, on blanketts, on course wollings and on sugar will convince the people that the whole attempt at nullification is an effort of disappointed ambition, originating with unprincipled men who would rather rule in hell, than be subordinate

¹ The bank veto was dated July 10, 1832. It is in Richardson, *Messages and Papers*, II. 576-591. In Jackson MSS. (Presidential Messages and Miscellanies, B) is a draft in Amos Kendall's handwriting. It has been much erased and modified.

¹ Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.

in heaven, for the people must now see that all their grievances are removed, and oppression only exists in the distempered brains of disappointed ambitious men.

I shall leave here in a few days for the Hermitage, where I hope to arrive by the 12th of august or 15th. I shall have but a few days to stay as I must be here by the 5th or 10th of Octbr. and I wish to see you and your family, but whether I will be able to see you at your house is quite uncertain. I travel for rest. let me see you if you can at the Hermitage where I must leave by the 12th Sept.

your senator Moor is a great scamp. he visited me on saturday night after I had left the capitol as he said to assure me that he was still my friend altho he could not sustain the nomination of Mr Van Buren and Gwinn.² I replied, that he pursued a curious course to evince his friendship to my administration, that in the case of Gwinn the senate in their secrete session had passed a resolution which violated the rights of the executive and attempted to controle the executive in his constitutional power of appointment which I had and would continue to resist, and if the senate rejected Gwinn because he did not live in the state when first appointed, I would never send a nomination of an individual for that office from the state of Mississippi so long as the resolution remained unrecinded. Mr Moor detailed the whole to the senate on monday morning. if ever he waits upon me again I will know how to accost him. . . .

COLONEL ANTHONY BUTLER TO JACKSON.

MEXICO CITY, July 18, 1832.

. . . . I enclose to the Department of State a minute of two conversations held with Mr. Alaman on the subject of Texas, for although that Gentleman has apparently withdrawn from the Cabinet he still directs the Department of Foreign Affairs *sub rosa*, and is in fact as much the Minister as at any period heretofore. I find him much better disposed on the question, than my most sanguine hopes allowed me [to] anticipate, for although I never doubted being able to put him right eventually, I expected and feared some opposition to the project in the outset. I must so contrive as to have him the sole Negotiator on the part of Mexico, as I have already intimated to him, in which event I have strong faith of settling the Treaty in 10 days: it is possible that my confident and sanguine temper misleads me, yet I feel satisfied of holding a clue that will lead the Secretary precisely by that path I wish him to follow. The amount to which I am limited for the purchase by my instructions, will very probably be in part applied to *facilitate the Negotiation*, in which case we shall provide for that portion of the payment by a secret article, of all which at its proper time and in its proper place.

At the conclusion of the Treaty it may become indispensable for me to be myself the bearer to the U. States, and for this purpose I beg of you to order immediately one of the Sloops of War on the

² Jackson appointed Dr. W. M. Gwin U. S. attorney for the district of Mississippi. He was senator from California 1849-1861.

West India Station to come to Vera Cruz, report to me and wait my instructions. The visit of the Vessel to Vera Cruz will create no additional expence to the Navy Department, because being already on Service on that Station it does no more than increase the length of her cruize, and will besides have a good effect upon the authorities of this distracted Country, shewing a Vessel of War occasionally for the protection of our Citizens and their property, even should I have no employment for her in conveying me and the Treaty to the United States, but of her employment in the latter Service I am very sanguine.

You will be pleased also to send me the necessary order for being myself the bearer of the Treaty to the U. S. because as I have already remarked it may become indispensably necessary for the purpose of making explanations in regard to the contemplated secret Article, and other matters connected with the Negotiation that cannot be communicated satisfactorily in writing: my absence from Mexico will be of short duration and can operate no mischief to the public service, as the Consul may perform all the formal duties such as procuring Letters of protection etc. during that absence. . . .

TO ANDREW JACKSON, JR.

WASHINGTON, July 19, 1832.

Dear Andrew, Your first of exchange of the 7th instant at three days sight for fifteen hundred dollars drew in favor of William Donelson was this day presented, honored, and paid by me, without any letter of advice presuming it was for the purchase of your brother Samuels lot of land. Why you did not advise me of yr draft I cannot say. Suppose I had left the city as I am about to do on the 22d of this month, you and myself might have been placed in a disagreeable situation. I name this only that on all occasions when you draw on any one, be certain with the bill, to send a letter of advice. I am astonished that no one concerned wrote with the bill.

I shall leave here on the evening of the 22d instant for the Hermitage accompanied by Mary McLamore and Mr Breathet and be with you as early as the hot weather and my health will permit.

I wish you to have your pair of horses in good order for the road as I will be obliged to leave the Hermitage for this place so as to be here by the fifth of octbr. next. I hope Steel has had brick made for the Stables so that it may be put up this season.

Mr. Earle, your cousin Andrew Emily and Mary McLamore with major Lewis and Mr Breathet unite with me in kind salutations to you sarah Emma and all our connections. deliver the inclosed to your D'r Sarah and believe me your affectionate father

TO SECRETARY LIVINGSTON.¹

July 21, 1832.

The President with his respects to the Secretary of State, and before he leaves the city cannot withhold the expression of the pleasure he felt

¹ From the collection of the letters and papers of Edward Livingston, preserved at his former residence, Montgomery Place, Barrytown, N. Y.; printed by the kindness of Brigadier-General John Ross Delafield.

on hearing that he intended giving the job for printing the Diplomatic correspondence to the Editor of the *Globe*.² The work will be done faithfully and *well* and as cheap as it can be by anyone as he wants employ for his hands, and is too poor to keep them idle.

It would be mortifying to see his establishment again embarrassed for the want of that support which the work of the Departments afford.

It is a good rule in the Departments I think, to adopt the prices paid by Congress in all cases where Congress has ordered the printing to be done unless, indeed, where the law or resolution points to some other rule, keeping the job within the appropriation made, if this is possible, after allowing a fair price for the work. If the appropriation upon this *rule*, failed to cover the job, Congress could not refuse to make up the deficiency, when it appeared that the printer had done it for a less sum than allowed by Congress, which is understood to be the case in the proposition made by Mr. Blair.

The President with his respects also informs Mr. Livingston, that after he left his office he was waited on by the Secretary of the Treasury, and it appearing from his report that there were no appropriations for House rent, and it would be attended with great risque, and expense, to remove the papers of the 5th auditor the President has come to the conclusion to let the officers rest as they now are, until his return.

TO AMOS KENDALL.¹

WASHINGTON, July 23, 1832.

My Dear Sir: I am off this morning; the *veto works well*. I wish you to look at the Harbor Bill, and compare it with my veto message on the Maysville Road Bill, and my message to Congress in 1830. I have left in the hands of Major Donelson, Genl Gratiot's² report on the items in the bill, from which you will find that many are local and useless; few that are National. I am determined in my message if I live to make one to Congress, to put an end to this waste of public money, and to appropriations for internal improvements, until a system be adopted by Congress, and an amendment of the Constitution; in short to stop this corrupt, log-rolling system of legislation. . . .

COLONEL ANTHONY BUTLER TO JACKSON.

MEXICO CITY, August 12, 1832.

. . . . Gen. Musquiz it is understood will have a new Cabinet as soon as he is inducted into office, which is two days hence; of course the Affair of Texas must rest until the new men take office, and until an opportunity is afforded me for ascertaining the character of the Cabinet, and from whence I may very probably infer the result. I am fortunate in being on the best terms with every Gentlemen in Mexico of that class out of which the Secretary of State must be taken. if however he is selected from

² Francis P. Blair.

¹ Cincinnati *Commercial*, Feb. 4, 1879. This letter was written on the eve of a visit to Tennessee.

² Brevet Brig.-Gen. Charles Gratiot, chief engineer U. S. A.

without the Capital, I shall have to study his character before my approaches are made, and that will necessarily require a little time. If Mr. Alaman could have continued in Office three months longer we should have settled every thing. the War, the exhausted State of the Treasury, the cutting off their resources from Commerce, and the great want of money afforded us the best grounds on which to justify whatever arrangement we might have entered into. He must be made useful still. His indisposition has not yet permitted him to leave his Chamber, but he wrote me yesterday, that he meant to ride as far as my House in three or four days.

The utter bankruptcy of the Government may at this moment make a few Millions desirable; they shall be tempted as soon as I can know before whom the offer is to be laid; but my great fear is that the sum will be considered too small, and that while we are debating upon the price and terms better times may arrive, and relieve them from the present pressure, or that an Administration may be formed of Men with opinions and feelings altogether hostile to such a proposition. All this you will say should make me zealous and prompt, neither wasting time, nor be wanting in exertion: Depend on me My dear Sir that you, *even you*, have not this thing so much at heart as I have. interest, as well as the laudable ambition of discharging efficiently the duties that devolve on me, alike impel and stimulate me; my best hopes are staked on the result. It is my wish to reside in that Country, and to do so, it must be ours; because I cannot consent to become a citizen of this Governmt. and there is no other alternative, so you may estimate very fairly the quantum of personal interest I take in the subject independent of that arising from the desire of success as a Diplomatist. Besides and [in] addition you must know the anxiety which I feel to be useful not only to my Country, but to contribute to the reputation of the Administration of one who for more than 20 years I have esteemed as one of my dearest friends and by whom I have stood unwavering through good and through evil report, yielding him on all occasions the whole weight of my support, taxing to their fullest extent all my moral energies—of such an one, and after such a trial, I presume no doubts can be entertained. Wishing you success (which I do not doubt you will have) in the approaching Canvas I remain

My dear Sir with great respect and all truth

TO MAJOR WILLIAM B. LEWIS.¹

HERMITAGE, August 18, 1832.

My D'r Major, I thank you for the Globe, and I request you to present my thanks to its author for the lucid and intelligent expose of Gwinns case, and of the constitutional powers of the Executive and the Senate. Men charged with official duty growing out of the delegated powers in the constitution who will aid in an infringement of that sacred instrument, ought to meet with the *castigation inflicted*, be them whom they may. Truth

¹ N. Y. Pub. Lib., Ford MSS. Jackson arrived at the Hermitage from Washington on Aug. 15, 1832.

is the guide to all good men and true, and the consti[tution] is and ought to be the guide to all patriots, therefore, is the castigation just.

From the best sources, I am of opinion Breathit is elected Governor of Ky. by from one to two thousand of a majority. This is a close contest. The veto ² if it had appeared three weeks sooner, would have given Breathit a majority of ten thousand. But the treachery of friends and the excitement at first created by the veto, before the message was recd. and the corruption of the Bank, and its unconstitutional features exposed, has had its effects, and there was not time for my friends to counteract it before the day of election, and it is said the funds of the Bank were abundantly used at the precincts. The veto works well every where; it has put down the Bank instead of prostrating me. Virginia is *sure* to give her vote for Van Buren, the best of friends of Mr. Barber ³ on my way thro Virginia assured me thus, for they say, altho they admire Mr. Barber and his republican principles, still knowing as they do, that he cannot be elected, *now*, they will not divide the ranks of the democracy, and thereby throw the election of Vice P. into the Senate where Seargeant ⁴ would be elected; in short that their republican principles are opposed to taking from the people the choice of the vice President and President. You may assure Mr. Blair that Virginia will prove faithful to the Baltimore nomination and so will N. Carolina.

It will give me pleasure to take your daughter back to the City should she come on. you may expect me at the City by the 10th or 12th of October. In the mean time, with my respects to Mr. Kendall and his lady, say to him I will expect him to give his attention to the harbour and interest bills. Present me to Mr. and Mrs. Blair, and say to him I shall expect to see a good reply to Joe Gales ⁵ attack on the administration for removals. Joe may be challenged to name one officer removed that has not been swindling the Govt. or was not a defaulter. However you know all this, and Mr. Kendall if his health and other concerns will permit can give Joe such a dressing as will quiet him, and *if possible*, put him from lying. I shall write you again the first leisure. My respects to Earle, Andrew and Emily and Mary, and to Mr. McLane his Lady and Rebecca, Major Barry and his good Lady, all the heads of Depts. and of Bureaus and believe me yr. friend, to which Mr. Breathit adds his.

TO ANDREW J. DONELSON.¹

HERMITAGE, August 19, 1832.

My D'r Andrew, I have to day rode over your farm and examined your stock and spent the ballance of the day with mrs. Donelson and the family and connections, who I found all enjoying excellent health. Your

² Of the bank bill.

³ John S. Barbour.

⁴ John Sargeant of Pennsylvania, candidate for vice-president on the ticket with Clay.

⁵ Editor of the *National Intelligencer*.

¹ Library of Congress, Donelson Papers.

crop of corn is a good one and your cotton equal to any in the neighbourhood—all our cotton crops have been injured by a severe droughth but a fine rain that fell on the day and night after my arrival here must benefit it greatly. I found your farm in excellent order and well superintended, Your manager a good one, altho several of your negroes complain of great severity, which mr William Donelson and Stockly says is not the case—One fellow they say he whiped severely for stealing. You can say to Emily that I saw more spun cotton and wool yarn than I ever saw in one family before and a sixty yard peace in the loom. Your overseer, from your fences, your stables and other arrangements must be a first rate manager—it is true your stock of horses (the hogs I did not see) are not in as good order as they ought, I speak of your colts, for the swayback and cotton mare and the constitution filly are in good order, the sway back and cotton mare both in foal to Crusader. The overseer is not to blame for the order of the colts, as he had no corn to feed them—they are however, in as good order as mine if not better altho I have plenty of corn. The bolivar colt and the stockholder are fine, and I have ordered them to be brought to my house put with my fillies and fed well. I trust mine and them all will soon be in good condition. my stud colt by Bolivar out of the swayback is one of the finest colts I ever saw, altho very poor—all the Bolivars are fine colts. my Stockholder filly is fine, but in bad condition, my citizen stud colt is a very fine animal and if his leg had not been hurt would have been from his form, size, and trials, a very first rate runner. I shall hereafter breed from him—his colt by the Oscar filly is a first rate colt, tho very poor. Steel, in my stock, has done me great injury—he has only attended to his own and his own mules and neglected mine, and Andrew has been in bad health and could not attend to them but I thank god has recovered, and I hope will regain good health.

I have not been over my plantation but as much as I have seen of it, the crop as good as my neighbours, altho the order and condition of the fences far inferior to yours. I regret to learn from Mrs. Donelson, and William and Stockly, that you will not be able to keep the overseer, without raising his wages. Ward has offered him four hundred dollars, and Doctor Shelby five, to superintend his steam mill.

I have to go to town tomorrow morning to meet the citizens and shake them by the hand. They offered me a public dinner which I declined, but agreed to meet them and shake my old neighbours and friends by the hand. so soon as I return I shall examine your farm and negroes again, inquire of the overseer his intention as to his leaving you, unless his wages is raised, know his terms, and advise you of it—if from his terms I think, after consulting with William Donelson, it is more than you ought to give, I will make him a proposition, first for you, and if he will not remain, I will then make him a proposition for myself, and endeavour to get mr Hobbs for you, who my son has been in correspondence with. You shall hear from me so soon as leisure will permit me to make the necessary enquiries. . . .

JOHN BREATHITT TO JACKSON.

RUSSELLVILLE, KY., August 23, 1832.

D'r Sir, I was much gratified to hear of your safe arrival at the Hermitage in good health, I hope it will long continue. As you may readily imagine, we have had a desperate struggle in Kentucky. my majority is from fourteen to sixteen hundred according to the best information I can receive, The Bank question was laid up for me as for defeat. I saw the use intended to be made of it, and hence early in the campaign suggested modifications, which my opponents but seldom met. The people when I read a list of foreign stockholders were astonished! few were aware of the fact that so much of the stock was held by Foreigners, and but few of those who spoke against me (for they met me almost at every point) would pretend to justify it before the public. my friends write me since the election that the Veto produced a panic in some counties, and had an adverse influence upon my election, which I have no doubt is the fact. Wherever I had an opportunity of addressing the people after the Veto, I do not believe it injured to any extent but I could not reach Fayette, Bourbon etc. where it had some effect as my correspondents think. The panic however has passed off, and I do not believe that it will injure you in Nov.

I have received [sic] more than fifty letters since the election, and our friends are *very sanguine* and in high spirits. they say we have sustained ourselves in the battle of the "23rd" and that we will do so again in that of the "8th January", and of which I have no doubt. no man has ever yet been able in any state election to obtain as high a vote as when you are, Yourself in the field, and *I am quite confident* that the vote in Nov. will shew that this state will not be an exception to that rule. Our friends are getting up a large Convention at Harrodsburgh (on the 10th Sepr.) preparatory to the Electoral election. it will be very usefull by imparting energy to the party. I have said to you that I do not fear the result, whatever can be done in honourable canvass, will be. Your friends in Kentucky are very anxious to see you and I hope you will gratify them to some extent by passing through the state to Washington. it is a better road than the one you came. I hope you will take this place in your route, and altho I shall not be at home I shall expect you to come to my house, my family will be there, and glad to see you, as will be your friends in the place. I will meet you at Harrodsburg and go on to Lexington, I hope you will not disappoint our wishes and expectations in this matter. my Brother George left us today for Hopkinsville, and will return to Nashville on tuesday or Wednesday as the stage may suit. I find that he is very much of a politician,

very respectfully Your friend

TO MARTIN VAN BUREN.¹

HERMITAGE, August 30, 1832.

My D'r sir, I have just recd. a letter from our mutual friend Major Lewis, full of apprehension and alarm about the proceedings of the nulli-

¹ Library of Congress, Van Buren MSS.

fyers of the south, and the late, others [?], proceedings in Georgia; from all which I have no fears. letters from Genl Coffee, and a Reverend Clergyman in the south East section of Alabama, adjoining Georgia says "Moor and the nullifyers are prostrate, and that you will be triumphantly carried by an overwhelming majority. surely, if the nullifyers were making head against you in Georgia, this friend of mine, on the confines, would have said something about it. My own opinion is, that Mr Crawford and the friends of the administration were overreached by the cunning of Berrien, who spun out the debate untill the majority had retired to their homes and thereby his resolutions were adopted, but they will avail nothing. Mr. Brown an intelligent lawyer who knows Clayton² well says, "there is no man more hostile to Calhoun than he is, and nothing could induce him to unite with him—however I have not as much Confidence in the judge, as mr Brown. I believe he is fond of his present situation, and would go with the current, and when it is found that Barbour will not be supported by Virginia, you will get the United vote of the South and West, notwithstanding the united exertions of Mr. Calhoun Poindexter Berrien with all their corrupt associates.

Calhoun is prostrate in this state. I heard one of his best, former, friends say, for his nullification doctrines he ought to be hung as a traitor to the liberties of his country, and if they carried their threats into operation, he could, and would march with 10,000 volunteers to crush and hang these traitors. These are and must be the feelings and sentiments of all honest men who love our happy country and who wish to hand down to their posterity the liberty we enjoy.

I shall set out for the city by the 10th of next month, and expect to hear from you, on my arrival. my Dr sir pass in review the laws I have under consideration. I wish your views, that not only my course may be consistant, but that if any accident should befall me, that the Government may continue to be administered as we have commenced it, and the Government brought back and administered agreeable to the true reading of the constitution.

I am determined in my message to bring to the view of Congress, the folly of appropriating money for internal improvements untill it establishes by law a general system and distinguishing between what is national, and general, from what is local. I have taken a view of this in my veto message on the Maysville road bill, and in my general messages, and I wish to give a full and final view of the whole, to the next congress. The law opening the settlement with the states and allowing compound interest on all claims allowed and that to be deducted from the payments which have been made, and leaving the ballances on interest, are so unjust, unless it is extended as well to individuals as to states, which must accumulate a debt, more than the pre[sent] Tariff could meet in ten years, indeed it would and I have no doubt will if not checked, create a debt greater than our late national debt. let me have your views on this also, and as early as you can. I would be glad to see you at the city on my return, but I suppose you cannot until the election is over. . . .

² Augustus S. Clayton, M. C. from Georgia 1832-1835.

COLONEL ANTHONY BUTLER TO JACKSON.

MEXICO CITY, August 30, 1832.

. . . . Three of the new Cabinet have been appointed, Francis Fagoaga for the department of home and foreign Affairs, Ignacio *Alas* for the Treasury, (a very ominous name you will say) and John Ignacio Godoy for the department of Grace and Justice—that of War and Marine not yet filled. I am much pleased that the Department of State has been conferred on Mr. Fagoaga, he is a Gentleman of Education and talents with manners extremely courteous, and though connected with the high Aristocracy of the Country (being brother to the Ex Marquis of Apartado) has ever displayed great liberality in his political opinions and especially towards foreigners. I have been on the most friendly terms with him since our first acquaintance, and resided for 12 months in a house adjoining his with the best opportunities of cultivating his acquaintance. When I called to pay my respects on his taking Office he was alone, and entertained me for half an hour with Eulogiums on the U. States, Its government, institutions, Commerce, Manufactures enterprize, skill, wealth etc etc., and concluded thus—Sir you are the happiest people in the world, and the most prosperous, you are out of Debt, you are at peace, enterprize and industry is protected encouraged and rewarded. No Civil wars distract your Community and waste private property—your Laws are in full vigour, faithfully administered, and afford ample protection to personal rights; I should feel proud to be called a Citizen of the U. States, and I don't know but I [may] yet become one. Unfortunately Mexico exhibits the contrast of all this, and no one can say when we shall change for the better. All this was so unexpected, and so directly and highly complimentary that I was somewhat embarrassed how to reply—it was proper to say something however, and my reply was directed to the sky and the soil, and not to the Men or their institutions. I spoke of the happy position of Mexico, its delightful climate, embracing all the varieties of temperature requisite for the production of the most valuable Commercial staples, its Cochineal, Coffee, Sugar, Tobacco, Rice, Wheat, Indigo and Cotton, the certainty which such advantages presented of their attaining elevated rank in the great Community of Nations, so soon as their party differences could be reconciled, tranquillity restored to the Country, and a proper direction given to their resources and industry—that I hoped this period would soon arrive, and that hope I must add was greatly heightened since the interior as well as foreign Concerns of the Nation had been placed under his control. He appeared gratified at my concluding observation, and I clearly perceived that the Compliment to himself told well. He rejoined that he had no taste for Office, it was the first he had ever held, and that in accepting his present appointment he had made great sacrifices, but he had done so notwithstanding, in the hope that he might aid in producing the State of things to which I had referred, that so soon as he could perceive his efforts at conciliation would be unavailing he should retire, and in the event of being so happy as to succeed in tranquillising the Country he should still retire. And thus our first Official interview after a little common place, concluded in very good humor.

I shall use the first proper occasion to enquire after my Official Note on the subject of the New boundary, and endeavour to ascertain his opinions on that question—in this I may be aided by Mr. Alaman who is on the best terms with Mr. Fagoagoa. . . .

TO COLONEL ANTHONY BUTLER.¹

HERMITAGE, September 4, 1832.

Dear Sir, Your letter of the 21 of June, Instant, was received by me a few days ago at this place, where I have been since the 15th of last month. It afforded me much pleasure to receive the intelligence of the restoration of your health, which, I hope, will continue good.

It is with regret that I learn of the distracted condition of that country, but trust that before this the Executive will have succeeded in obtaining his ministers, and that Mr. Alaman has recovered, and been made the plenipotentiary on the part of Mexico in the contemplated negotiation, as you think him more disposed than any other to do us justice in the negotiation.

The Commissioners have already been instructed to begin at the Gulph of Mexico, and run up the West branch of the Sabina, and continue up on the West side of its West fork, to the point designated in the treaty.

I very much hope that you will *soon* bring this subject to a close.

Each of the Treaties has been ratified. The one pertaining to our commerce is entirely satisfactory and entitles you to the thanks of your countrymen. My health is very good. . . .

MAJOR HENRY LEE TO JACKSON.

NEAR PARIS, September 4, 1832.

dear Genl. The enclosed letter contains what I have to say in answer to Major Lewis's enquiry respecting my recollection of the Johnny Rhea letter. In regard to that part of Major Lewis's communication in which he states on your authority, that you wrote to me or got Donelson to do so, on this subject before, and that no answer had been recd. to your or Donelsons letter, I beg to observe that I have not recd. a single line from you or Donelson, on any subject whatever since the letters you and he wrote me by Com're Porter, on the occasion of my *disappointment* by the Senate. So far from having been guilty of the disrespect and injustice which a neglect of a letter from you on the subject of your correspondence with Mr. Monroe would involve, I have repeatedly written to you although my letters have never been noticed. For knowing that you had enough to do without troubling yourself with writing to me, I did not feel that your silence indicated that my letters were unwelcome. To conclude, on this subject, as my friendship and respect for you are as sincere and strong as they ever were, I am incapable of observing a line of conduct toward you, which could only proceed from disesteem or indifference. If you or Donelson did write to me, the letter must have miscarried, though I suspect the fact to be that you told Donelson to write to me, and that he among innumerable other letters forgot or postponed this one.

¹ Univ. of Texas, Butler Papers.

I am delighted to learn from Lewis that the young lady who has become the wife of your son, is likely to become a source of much comfort to you in your anticipated retirement at the end of 4 years more, to the Hermitage. The respectful assiduities and tender care of an amiable daughter in the quiet of your declining years will make you forget the vexations through which your long and arduous career has passed, and will smoothe your descent to that limit which all mankind are destined to reach. May you carry with you the same clearness of conscience, warmth of affection and fortitude of mind which have hitherto entered into your Character, and die as nobly as you have lived; is the earnest wish of your faithful and affectionate friend and svt.

TO SECRETARY LIVINGSTON.¹

(Private)

NASHVILLE, September 8, 1832.

My dear Sir, Yours of the 24th ultimo is received. I have, heretofore, expressed to you my gratification that you were proceeding in the publication of the Diplomatic correspondence without difficulty.

I have, however, understood with regret that, on your departure from the City, your chief clerk appointed a Mr. Knapp (an insidious spy) to take charge of the Diplomatic Correspondence, and prepare it for the press. At this I was surprised. It is well known that I do not object to men's being employed in the service of the Government *merely* on account of their entertaining opinions different from my own, but I thought it was as well understood that I would not approve the appointment of unprincipled men, who were to act the character of secret spies, to office, when honest and capable friends are desirous of employment. I have, however, learned with pleasure that by the interference of a friend the appointment of Knapp has been recalled. I mention this circumstance to you with a view that you should see how easily we may be imposed on and take such steps as will prevent a like occurrence in yr absence.

I expect to leave in a few days for the City, where we will talk about the official matters alluded to in your letter. Please make my kindest regards to Mrs. and Miss Livingston. I hope Miss Cora's health has much improved and will be finally restored.

With respect Yr friend

TO DAVID BURFORD.¹

HERMITAGE, September 10, 1832.

Dear sir, I have this moment received yours of this date, stating that "it is said that (I) entertain a preference for the election of Mr. Grundy to the Senate of the United States"; and further, "that whatever were the relations between (myself) and Major Eaton heretofore, that they are not such at this time as should induce (my) friends to desire his services" in the Senate of the United States.

¹ From the collection of the letters and papers of Edward Livingston, preserved at his former residence, Montgomery Place, Barrytown, N. Y.; printed by the kindness of Brigadier-General John Ross Delafield.

¹ Copy.

From the friendly manner of your communication, and in justice to myself and all parties concerned, I feel bound to give you a reply.

In respect to the first of the "reports", which you say "are circulated" there, I have to inform you that it is incorrect. Not knowing who were to be ultimately the candidates I could not determine, and consequently could not have expressed "a preference for the election of Mr. Grundy to the Senate of the united States."

I am much astonished to learn that any one has intimated that the friendly and confidential relations, which have existed between major Eaton and myself for the last twenty years, have undergone the slightest change. He has ever had, and still possesses my entire confidence. I have, therefore, in reply to the second part of your letter to remark that, if the relations between Major Eaton and myself ever were such "as should induce (my) friends to desire his services," they are so still.

I feel very grateful for the confidence you express in the administration of the general Government and your determination to advance and sustain it. Nothing can be more satisfactory to me than to be aided in my administration by men of zeal, capacity, and honest fidelity.

I have the honor to be very respectfully yr obdt. Servt.

TO THE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY (LEVI WOODBURY).

HERMITAGE, September 11, 1832.

Confidential

My Dear Sir, It has been more than intimated to me, by a confidential friend, that *efforts have been made, and perhaps not without success*, by the Nullifiers, to disaffect the Officer of the Navy in command at charlston towards the Union, and secure his co-operation with them in the event of serious difficulties happening. While I will not admit the probability of things in the South coming to a desperate issue, yet it behoves us to be ready for any emergency. I communicate this information to you with the suggestion that you make such arrangements as will enable the Government to be relieved, if it should unfortunately become necessary, of any difficulty in respect to this matter. It is further said that the Legislature will be convened immediately after the elections in So Ca, and that then the Nullifiers will determine their course (in S. C.).

It is likewise stated that the same efforts, of a similar character with [those] mentioned to have been used with the Navy, have also been practiced by the Nullifiers upon the Army, in whose cooperation they confide. I desire you to communicate this confidentially to the Secretary of War, and request him, for me, to make arrangements to relieve the troops now at charlston at any time it may be desireable, and have in our Forts at charleston, officers, who cannot be corrupted by nullifiers. The idea is, that by the treachery of our officers, to get possession of our Forts, and thereby prevent a blockade. *This must guarded against, and prevented.*

I am becoming more and more convinced of the propriety of our having Captain Elliot *a float* at the Norfolk Station that he may be ready to take command of the squadron it may be necessary to employ, if we shall be required to use any.

I shall set out in a few days on my return to Washington via K.y. and reach the city as soon as I can by easy marches. My health continues good. Make my respects and that of Mr Breathet to all the heads of Departments and Bureaus and their families including your own and believe me very respectfully yours

TO ANDREW J. DONELSON.¹

HERMITAGE, September 13, 1832.

D'r Andrew, Yours of the 3rd instant is just recd. and I hasten to reply to it. I have conversed with Stockly and Steel on the subject of Polly Baker. There are none who can or will give any information about her hip, none that knows of any injury. The only thing I can learn is this, the filly at a certain point of the tract shew a disposition to leave the tract, and a fence was there made to prevent it—in a trial run she there bolted, attempted to leap the fence and hung upon it, but after extricating herself shew no symptoms of lameness, and on her second run performed well. If she has been injured it is, must have been then. This is all I can hear about it, and I have no confidence in Steels veracity. If the filly stands her training well, I would suppose she would not fail in the race. The Revd. mr Cryer confidentially says, if she is in good order she will beat the Bonnets of blue with ease. If she continues well and makes a good trial run, I would say, risque the entrance. Capt Territ will be able to judge of the run, and I would try her in the run with the best in the stable. Then you can judge from her time, as well as her merit compared with others with whom she competes. *You must risque to win.*

My horses have been cruelly Treated and my stock destroyed by the neglect of Steel. Dunwodys time was entirely engrossed by the Stud horse, and mine neglected, and william will have trouble with Steel. mr Steel has recd. all the season of the stud, nothing left for his keeping and claims a ballance due from William, and threatens to sell the stud horse for the ballance. This I will see he shall not do, but will direct Andrew to keep the horse untill I return, and he receives instructions what to do with him. since I got steels statement in writing I have not had time to converse with him being surrounded with company, but will postpone leaving home until monday to settle this, and some other business with him. I regret the continuance of, and the virulence of the Colera. I pray you to take care of yourself, and remove Emily mary and the children into the country, if the disease should appear to seize all person[s], those of regular as well as those of irregular habits.

All friends well here, and join in kind salutations to you and mr. Earle, who I offer up my prayers for his recovery, and the preservation of you and your dear little family. yours affectionately

TO ANDREW J. DONELSON.¹

HERMITAGE, September 17, 1832.

.....
Attend. I am confidentially advised, that the nullifyers of the south, have corrupted both the Naval officers, and those of the army in charles-

¹ Library of Congress, Donelson Papers.

¹ *Ibid.*

ton, that the nullees are determined to push matters to extremities, and expect to get possession of the forts etc. etc. see the secretary of war and let the officers and men at charleston be relieved by men who cannot be corrupted, and the Forts and defences on that station ordered to be guarded against being taken by surprise. They are sure of getting possession of the Fts. on that station, and it is this belief, that makes them so bold. say to the sec. of war to look to this. it is useless to change the officers without the men—if the sentinel and soldiers are corrupted the officer cannot defend the garrison, therefore let the officers and men be relieved by a faithful detachment, and this carried into effect as early as possible at farthest, by the 20th of October, and before their assembly meets. Let it be done without a hint of the cause until it is effected, and as the common routine of the army. . . .

JOHN C. McLEMORE TO JACKSON.

NASHVILLE, September 25, 1832.

Private

My Dear Friend, Your kind favour of the 23d Inst. handed by Mr. Chester is before me. Nothing of consequence has occurred since you left us. Majr. Claiborne did not make his nullification speech as was expected on yesterday, and I am informed has declined di[s]cussing the subject before the Legislature—indeed he is as far as I can learn entirely silent—attempts were made to draw him out without success. Majr. Eaton is gaining ground, and will I am confident, be elected. Grundy is still loading the mails with letters to his friends to get up instructions to Vote for him. We are writing letters too to Counteract his movements, and some of the members have already recvd. counter instructions to Vote for Eaton. Our friends are *firm and decided*, and I have no hesitation, in assuring you, that Eaton will be Senator, or that there will be no election this session. The election is put off to Friday the 5th day of October, and I *have no doubt* but that on that day John H Eaton will be declared by the proper authority, duly and constitutionally Senator in Congress etc.

I have just been informed, that certificates are about to be obtained, stating that you have *no political* preference for Eaton, that it is merely a personal friendship, entertained for him, and that *politically* you prefer Mr. Grundy—they will try to make much of this. I, you *know* can contradict, this, and *will do so wherever* I meet it; but if you will write me a letter; substantially such as is herewith inclosed, the effect will be good. I may not use it, but I wish to have it ready to be used by me with *great caution*. I feel intensely anxious for Eatons success and must guard every point, and I really think a letter similar to the one inclosed *may be necessary to success*. Write by the first mail. all our friends in good health.

Verry sincerely Your friend

[P. S.]¹ I have just come in while McL is closing his letter. What he states is true. Grundy is saying, that your opinions are not correctly rep-

¹ This postscript is signed "E", and was probably written by Major Eaton.

resented; and that he would obtain certificates to shew your political desires are for him.

Letters to me to night from Gallatin say that the fever is up since I came out. That all Grundys instruction men, are turning away[?] and in three days a majority of the County will direct Watkins and Boddie to vote against him. So much for his management of matters.

TO JOHN C. McLEMORE.¹

LEXINGTON, KENTUCKY, September 29, 1832.

My Dear Sir, I have this evening received yours of the 25th Inst, and must confess that I am much surprised at its Contents for I am sure no one can, with truth, say that I ever expressed a qualified friendship or confidence in Major Eaton. It is strange to me that anyone should insinuate that I have not entire confidence in him as a statesman after I have given so many unequivocal evidences of such confidence.

With what plausibility can such insinuation be made, when it is recollected that it was by my persuasion alone that he left his seat in the Senate of the United States, and accepted a place in my cabinet, where he was always found true to the administration and efficiently engaged in advancing the best interest of our Country?

It is well known that it was his own voluntary determination and not by my wishes that he retired from this Station, and that he carried with him my increased, rather than Diminished Confidence. When you reflect on these things, and recollect the various other evidences of confidence in Major Eaton, both as a man and a statesman, that I have given to the world, you will not be astonished at the surprise I felt on reading your letter.

I deeply regret that my opinions in regard to Major Eaton have been so misrepresented as to make it necessary, in discharging a duty which I owe to myself as well as others for me to say anything about him at this time, inasmuch as I am apprized of the strong disposition entertained by some politicians, to misinterpret and misrepresent whatever may be said by me.

But while I regret the necessity of speaking, I will not hesitate to do so, when, as in this case, the only alternative left me is to do it or permit a friend to be injured by tacitly countenancing the unfounded insinuations that are made. I would hold myself guilty of base ingratitude were I to refuse a contradiction to these incorrect statements which have been made with a view to injure a friend.

It is not true, as has been stated, that I have been or now am opposed to the election of Major Eaton to the Senate: and it appears impossible to me that, under all the circumstances, any should conclude that it would produce any other feeling than that of pleasure to see Major Eaton in the Senate from which I took him, should it be the pleasure of the Legislature to place him there.

¹ Handwriting of George Breathitt.

TO A COMMITTEE.¹

September (?), 1832.

Gentlemen, Your communication of this date has been recd. Delicate, as the Subject is to which you refer, the respectable Source from whence it arises, and a conviction that candor on all occasions is most conducive to the good of mankind, as well as the individual interest of all who practice it makes it my duty simply to state the facts from which you can draw your own conclusions.

It is well known to you, that Major Eaton was called by me from his seat in the Senate to fill the office of Secretary of War, as a member of the first Cabinet under the present administration, which appointment he accepted with much reluctance. He was appointed from a knowledge of his ability and adequacy to the performance of the duties attached to that situation, but more especially to a well tried personal attachment and undeviating fidelity. In the course of the opposition which necessarily exists in all free Governments his faithfulness made him peculiarly obnoxious to the leaders of the opposition, and to all those secrete agents, who acted in consonance with their views. During the whole course of his acting in the performance of the duties assigned him the same inflexible and inviolable adherence to the public interest was by him observed. He was firm and faithful, which the most violent opposition, and the most artful laid plans to drive him from the councils of the Executive could not shake. But it seemed to him that to attain the public happiness, and to enable the Executive to carry on the administration of the Government in the spirit it was conceived, that it was necessary that he should resign the office of Secretary of War. He did so, and perhaps [in] the annals of individual sacrifice rarely has [it] occurred that a more patriotic and judicious step was taken. As exempt from fault as ordinarily falls to the lot of man, at all times inviolably faithful to his duty and to the Executive and in his full confidence, in the opinion of this honest and patriotic man, it became necessary in the course of the opposition that he should resign for the Public good. Such self denial, is very rare, and cannot be too highly appreciated, as under such circumstances few could be found capable of it. It enabled the administration to progress by opening a way to such reformation as the public good imperiously required and called for. Upon this reform the nation has passed its verdict.

The question with the honorable [body] of which you are members, is simply this, Shall the enemies of the administration succeed in destroying a most useful and honest man, a citizen of your state, to attain their object by dividing weakening and embarrassing its friends? You answer no.

Mr. Grundy our present Senator has so far as I know ably supported the administration but it is for you to say whether the public interest will be best promoted by the election of Major Eaton in preference to Mr Grundy. It is not for me to judge of this, all I can or ought to do, is to

¹ Copy. No clue is found to the composition of this committee. It seems to have been a group of Eaton's friends in the Tennessee legislature.

bring to your view, the course of the Democracy of Newhampshire, when they put their favorite Woodbury aside and elected Mr Hill² who had been appointed to office and rejected by the Senate, as the most pointed rebuke the[y] could give to the outrage committed by the Senate by the rejection of Mr Hill who they had recommended to the office to which he had been appointed. To you the constitution has assigned this duty without any interference on my part, which I have and will continue to avoid.

All I can say is that should the Legislature elect Either it is believed the State will be ably served. If in the opinion of your honorable body it be necessary to elect Major Eaton to the Senate to shew the opposition that in their Career of destruction that they shall be essentially met and opposed in a greater degree, and the Executive in a greater degree strengthened I will at all times feel grateful for Mr Grundys faithful and patriotic services. It is with the Legislature to determine at this important crisis of our national affairs who shall be selected as their Senator of the three persons named, Major Eaton, Grundy or Foster.

COLONEL ANTHONY BUTLER TO JACKSON.

MEXICO CITY, October 9, 1832.

. . . . The stirring events of the last two months has completely suspended our Texas Negotiation. I have had one conversation with Mr. Fagoaga (the present Secretary) on the Subject. he promises me a Written communication at the first leisure, and I mean on every fit occasion to renew it, untill we shall come to some definite arrangement. The loss of Mr. Alaman's Agency in that Negotiation is a serious loss. I must endeavour to repair it in the best way I can, but it is impossible to form any opinion as to the prospect of a satisfactory result with Mr. Fagoaga untill I can get his views more fully than I have yet been able to do. He does not seem shy, but the continual occupation in which he is kept with the peculiar condition of Home affairs, has compelled him to suspend every thing disconnected with the restoration of internal tranquillity for the present.

COLONEL ANTHONY BUTLER TO JACKSON.

MEXICO CITY, October 10, 1832.

My dear Sir, The departure of the British Messenger allows me but a few minutes for a hasty letter; but a report which has just reached my ears makes it proper for me to communicate the facts upon which that report is based, in order that you may not be imposed on by misrepresentations made in the U. S. in regard to my conduct here.

The first fact is that Mr. Alaman late Secretary of State, has withdrawn from Mexico upon the approach towards the Capital by Genl. Santa Anna, from apprehension of personal danger should he be arrested by the op-

² Levi Woodbury, U. S. senator 1825-1831; Secretary of the Navy 1831-1834; Secretary of the Treasury 1834-1841. Isaac Hill was second comptroller of the U. S. Treasury 1829-1830; U. S. senator from New Hampshire 1831-1836, chosen to succeed Woodbury.

posite party, and the second fact is, that since his departure, my attention has been occasionally given to Mrs. Alaman, with a view to lighten her distress and revive her hopes of a speedy settlement of the present political disorders. The report however is "that I have or am to occupy Mr. Alaman's house during his absence, that the Arms of the U.S. are to be placed over the door, and that the sanction of my Official character will be given to protect Mr. Alaman's house and property from injury by the Santa Anna party when they enter Mexico and thereby commit my Government. by my ill judged aid afforded to an unpopular Man." There is no truth in any part of the report—whatever assistance I may be able to afford Mrs. Alaman during the absence of her husband would be rendered cheerfully, guarding carefully not to commit myself as a public agent; and that Mrs. Alaman understands perfectly.

In order that you may understand fully the position I occupy, and how it came that I am placed there, you will receive enclosed herewith a transcript of Mr. Alaman's Note to me written just before he left the City, placed in the hands of one of my Servants after I had retired to rest, and delivered to me on the Morning after. Mr. Alaman's Note will speak for itself and is a literal transcript except in one sentence and the meaning there is exactly preserved although it was necessary to alter the form of expression.

You have long known the very intimate and friendly relations that subsisted between this Gentleman and myself, and it will not therefore surprise you to find that he committed his family to my charge on his leaving the City. The connections of both Mr. and Mrs. Alaman, are numerous, wealthy, and occupy distinguished rank in the Community, but they are all of that party who are at present going down, and were from that circumstance not only unable to afford protection to Mrs. Alaman, but might require it for themselves. I had not seen Mr. Alaman for some time before he left the City, and was completely a stranger to his intended movements untill I received his Note—he is said to be personally timid, and the success of Gen. Santa Anna in the battle at Puebla, and the occupancy of that City so near Mexico induced Mr. A. to move immediately. As soon as I read the Note I waited on Mrs. Alaman, and found her in Tears surrounded by her Children—the appeal was irresistible. All was said to her that occurred to me as likely to cheer and encourage her. I promised my services to every extent that did not commit me as a public Agent, and felt happy to see that she had gained confidence, and become composed during the interview. I have made a daily visit to the House since Mr. Alaman's departure and shall continue to do so, believing that whilst discharging my duties as a Man, towards an unprotected, amiable and most exemplary Matron, there could be found nothing in such a course inconsistent with the relations I sustain towards this Government in my Official character, and that I should put nothing more at hazard than perhaps my own personal safety should there be amongst Mr Alaman's enemies any one so infuriated as to seek revenge on me, and I indulge the confidence moreover that my conduct on this occasion will meet your decided Approbation. . . .

JOEL R. POINSETT TO JACKSON.

CHARLESTON, October 16, 1832.

private and confidential

Dear Sir, You will have seen by the public papers, that the Union party throughout the state of So. Carolina have been beaten at the ballot box; and you must be prepared to hear very shortly of a State Convention and an act of Nullification. Our party met last night, the first time after our defeat, and past resolutions expressive of our firm determination to oppose nullification and to adhere to our allegiance to the United States. But allegiance implies protection and we rely upon the Government acting with vigor in our behalf. The impression on the minds of the Nullifiers undoubtedly is that no measures will be taken against them, and that they will be left to carry out their designs with impunity. If so we have nothing to do but witness the triumph of Mr. Calhoun. I have on every occasion told my fellow Citizens that the Executive of the United States would act decidedly and vigorously. What that action ought to be I have not the presumption to hint at; but it is right you should know, that it is believed the Nullifiers intend to proceed first by process of law agreeably to an act to be passed. They will proceed by replevin, and I suppose if the Collector refuses (as he surely will do, for he is a firm determined man) they will either imprison him or break open the Custom Stores. If the government in addition to any other measures they may chuse to take, think proper to aid the Collector in resisting this illegal and unconstitutional act, Measures ought to be taken immediately. Col. Lindsay ought to be ordered to take up his residence in the Citadel. He is now on the Island. I do not know what number of men he has, but more could be sent, by sending full companies and withdrawing such as are deficient, so as not to excite distrust—two or three hundred muskets and a number of hand grenades ought to be in the Citadel with their corresponding ammunition. Indeed whether the Government is disposed to resist the replevin and protect its Stores or not, the precautions I propose ought to be taken.

We are not disposed to make any riotous or tumultuous resistance; but we are ready to support the laws if legally called upon so to do at the hazard of our lives. I am sure I speak the sentiments of the party when I say so. Judging from the late conduct of these men we may have to defend ourselves against lawless violence, and we ought not to be left entirely defenceless, I mean without arms and ammunition. I am exceedingly anxious on this subject. The party in the city look to me for precautionary measures and I would not have them disappointed. All the officers ought to be men on whom you can rely and in whom we can place our confidence. Major Belton has, I believe, been sent away very properly. Mathias pay master ought not to be suffered to remain here taking the part he does agt. the government. Lining, Surgeon, ought to be removed. The custom house where the battle will be fought is crowded with Nullifiers, ought they not to be removed? I shall send Mr. McLane a list of them. The post office is filled with the Enemies of the government. I am advised even not to put a letter in the Post office of Charleston directed to you! Ought such

things to be at such a crisis? If the executive should resolve to remove these officers I hope Col. Drayton or some leading Union men will be consulted as to their Successors.

On the issue of this contest between the federal government and a faction in this State depends the permanency of the Union and the future character of this nation. We feel therefore a deep interest in the measures which will be adopted by the Executive and an earnest desire to lend our aid to render them effectual.

I am, dear Sir, respectfully Yours

TO ANDREW JACKSON, JR.

WASHINGTON, October 21, 1832.

Private

My D'r Son, On my arrival here on the evening of the 19th instant, I had the pleasure to receive yours and sarahs affectionate letters of the 6th and 7th instant. I was truly gratified to learn that every preparation had been made for sarah's confinement, and her health continued good, which gives us a right to hope, of sarahs doing well. I shall be more than anxious to hear of her safe delivery, for which I shall continue to offer up my prayers.

I am happy to learn that you are succeeding so well with the farm but I beg of you to be careful of your health. I am fearful of your exposing yourself to the dews, of which you must be careful. I am pleased that you have got your wheat and rye *well* in the ground and that you have been able to save the two colts—let them remain with their mothers until you get them in good order, then wean them. When you take them from their mothers keep them in a stable for eight days having their water given them in the stable, and out of the view and hearing of their mothers—then have them turned into the lot you intend for them and have the motherless colt put with them and well fed on oats and some corn during the winter, it will require this to give them size from being so badly treated and stunted. They are worth taking care of. sarahs filly and my stockholder you will keep in good order. thro out the winter you must push the stockholder to give her size and in the spring have her trained if you can—after the crop is up if you can have her well broke, and give her some short exercise to give her heels, it will be of great service to her.

Major Donelson has written you about your filly—altho she got beat, she has obtained high credit and if she lives will make you a handsome sum of money. I have seen william, he will be with you soon by whom I will write you.

I rejoice that you progress so well in getting your cotton out, I hope it will be a medium crop, keep the hands picking when the weather is good and there are sufficient open, but if leisure will permit have the corn pulled in the field next Col Wards or cany field as a pasture for your Cattle, have your Hoggs put up early so that they may be fatted before the cold weather, fattening none that will not weight 120 lb. keeping all under as stock hoggs by which next year you will have enough of large

hogs for the family. I advised you in my last of the engagement with Mr Dismukes for 10,000 lbs. at \$2.25 pr hundred to be taken on foot and delivered at the hermitage, weighing the largest and smallest and averaging the ballance by them. This will give you a stock of good hogs that next year with attention, will average 200 round.

I hope from the open fall yr cotton will be more productive than was calculated when I left you—have it well handled and well sunned and dried and sent to markt in good order. . . .

TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR (LEWIS CASS).¹

WASHINGTON, October 29, 1832.

Confidential

The Secretary at War will forthwith cause secrete and confidential orders to be Issued to the officers commanding the Forts in the harbour of charleston So Carolina to be vigilant to prevent a surprise in the night or by day, against any attempt to seize and occupy the Fts. by any Set of people under whatever pretext the Forts may be approached. Warn them that the attempt will be made, and the officers commanding will be responsible for the defence of the Forts and garrisons, against all intrigue or assault, and they are to defend them to the last extremity—permitting no armed force to approach either by night or day. *The attempt will be made to surprise the Forts and garrisons* by the militia, and must be guarded against with *vestal vigilance* and any attempt by force repelled with prompt and exemplary punishment.

TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOHN COFFEE.¹

WASHINGTON, November 6, 1832.

My D'r Genl, I have just received your favor of the 26th ultimo, and finished a hasty reading of the treaty² all things considered I think it is a good one, and surely the religious enthusiasts, or those who have been weeping over the oppression of the Indians will not find fault with it for want of liberality or justice to the Indians. The secretary of war who has just left me and Major Eaton are pleased with it.

The secretary of war unites with me in the propriety and necessity of your coming on and to be here early in December that you may explain to the senate the difficulty you had to encounter as well as the whole policy of the treaty and the views of the chickasaws. The want of a designated home for the chickisaws can be the only objection made to the treaty. The stipulation that they remove at their own expence and on their own means, is an excellent feature in it. The whole treaty is just. we want them in a state of safety removed from the states and free from colision with the whites; and if the land does this it is well disposed of and freed from being a corruption source to our Legislation. . . .

¹ Cass entered upon duty as Secretary of War Aug. 8, 1831, and served until Oct. 4, 1836, when he resigned to become minister to France.

² Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.

² See p. 406n., *ante*.

TO GEORGE BREATHITT.¹

WASHINGTON, November 7, 1832.

Mr. Breathitt during his visit to Charleston on the business with which he is charged by the Treasury and Post office Departments, will collect all the information he can obtain from correct sources on the following points, 1st. What foundation there is for the statements he has seen that several officers employed in the revenue service are aiding the views of the party that have declared the Tariff laws inoperative and void within the limits of the state of South Carolina. If they are well founded Mr. Breathitt will collect the evidence and bring it with him, specifying the names of all officers so engaged.

2d. What foundation there is for the report that the Post master of the city of Charleston and his clerks or deputies are aiding the views of the same party, and that communications from the Government passing thro' that office at this time are subjected to examination before they reach their address. The evidence of this charge and the names of the persons implicated Mr. Breathitt will collect.

3d. Should it appear that there are any other officers holding commissions from the General Government, aiding or countenancing in any form the scheme of the Nullifiers to thwart the execution of the laws of the Union, Mr. Breathitt will make it his business to ascertain their names and the evidence of their misconduct in this respect. He will also by consultation with Col. Drayton and Mr. Poinsett and other discreet friends of the Union obtain all such information as may be useful to the Government to enable it to take timely steps towards the counteraction of the effort of the Nullifiers to render inoperative the laws of the Union :

TO GEORGE BREATHITT.¹

WASHINGTON, November 7, 1832.

Confidential

Dear sir, The recent movements in So Carolina have awakened in my bosom the most painful sensations, and, altho nothing of serious and dangerous character may result from them, it becomes my duty to ascertain, as far as practicable, to what extremity the nullifiers intend to proceed, and to counteract, to the extent of authority vested in the executive and the high obligations incumbent upon him, such of their movements as tend to defeat the collection of revenue imposed by the united states, and thus render null and void the laws of congress on this subject. You will be able fully to comprehend the views of the Executive by the perusal of the instructions from the Secretary of the Treasury to the Collector of Charleston, which are herewith intrusted to your care for safe delivery, and the instructions herewith inclosed to you.

Having entire confidence in your fidelity and capacity, it is desired, in addition to your other instructions, that you make the enquiry how far the

¹ Copy. Breathitt went to Charleston ostensibly as a post-office inspector; but his real business was to observe the situation with respect to nullification and to report to Jackson.

¹ Copy.

Civil Jurisdiction of South Carolina extends over the bay and harbour of charleston, and whether, before the date of the Federal constitution, that State had established courts of admiralty, and whether the State now has Courts of admiralty jurisdiction.

You will observe the real situation of Sulivans Island, and see whether it could be assailed and carried in its rear. You will also observe the situation of the armament of Castle Pinckny, and what Space of dry land surrounds the Forts.

You will collect all the information touching the subject intrusted to your inquiries that you can obtain, which may be serviceable to the government.

Perceiving, as you must, the highly delicate and confidential character of your business, it is not necessary to give you a caution as to your conduct.

wishing you a pleasant journey and a speedy return I am
very respectfully your friend

TO JOEL R. POINSETT.¹

WASHINGTON, November 7, 1832.

(Confidential)

Dear Sir, This will be handed to you by my young friend George Breathitt Esqr., brother of the present Governor of Kentucky, in whom every confidence may be reposed. I beg leave to make him known to you as such.

Mr Breathitt goes to your state and city as agent for the Post office Depart. he bears instructions from the secretary of the Treasury to the collector of Charleston, but we want him only known as agent of the Post office

I wish him to see the Fts. and revenue cutters in your harbour and to visit Sulivans Island—This to be done merely as a stranger having curiosity to examine your capacity for defence and facilities for commerce. to your polite aid I recommend him for this object.

I have instructed him to obtain the real intentions of the nullifiers, whether they mean really to resort to force to prevent the collection of the revenue and to resist the due execution of the laws and if so, what proof exists to shew that the imputations against important individuals and officers of the government in being engaged in advising, aiding and abetting in this threatened Nullification and rebelous course are true.

It is desirable that the Executive should be in possession of all the evidence on these points, and I have referred Mr. Breathitt to you and Col Drayton believing that you will afford *him* all the knowledge you possess.

Mr. Breathitt is charged with the enquiry what officers, if any, in the Customs or Post office Department belong to or have adhered to the Nullifiers and the character of Mr. Pruson Simpson, from whom I have recd. a long letter today, and all and every information of the views and measures of the nullifiers which they mean to adopt.

¹ Hist. Soc. of Pa., Poinsett Papers.

We have been looking for some information from some friend of the union in that quarter, but have hitherto been disappointed, but it appears a crisis is about to approach, when the government must act and that with energy. My own astonishment is that my fellow citizens of So. Carolina should be so far deluded, by the wild theory and sophistry of a few ambitious demagogues, as to place themselves in the attitude of rebellion against their government, and become the destroyers of their own prosperity and liberty. There appears in their whole proceedings nothing but madness and folly. If grievances do exist there are constitutional means to redress them. Patriots would seek those means only.

The duty of the Executive is a plain one, the laws will be executed and the union preserved by all the constitutional and legal means he is invested with and I rely with great confidence on the support of every honest patriot in So. Carolina who really loves his country and the prosperity and happiness we enjoy under our happy and peaceful republican government

By the return of Mr. Breathitt I shall expect to hear from you.

with my sincere regards I am
yr mo. obdt. sert.

JOEL R. POINSETT TO JACKSON.

CHARLESTON, November 16, 1832.

Confidential

Dear Sir, I received your very welcome letter by the hands of Mr. Breathitt yesterday afternoon, and hasten to reply to it, as that gentleman appears desirous of returning to Washington as early as possible.

His desire to return by the way of Columbia will prevent his examining the precise state of the forts and revenue cutters in our harbour; but I have undertaken to do that for him, and will from personal inspection give you all the details you require. This duty shall be performed as soon as the North Eastern gale now blowing passes over. I hope to be able to send the report so as to anticipate Mr. Breathitt's arrival. With respect to the real intentions of the Nullifiers Mr. Breathitt may be able better to ascertain them by a short stay in Columbia during the session of their convention; but in the mean time I will tell you what we believe them to be.

The principal object of these unprincipled men has always appeared to me to be to embar[r]ass your administration and defeat your election; but they have led the people on so far under other pretexts that they must proceed. They are now somewhat divided. Mr. McDuffie¹ will probably urge the convention to secede from the Union in the event of the government using any means to coerce the state. Many of their party will be opposed to such a measure. They are however so organised that if the leaders of the political club resolve upon this course it will be adopted. It is believed that Mr. Calhoun is against this measure and insists that the state may be in and out of the Union at the same time and that the government has no right to cause the laws to be executed in South

¹ George McDuffie, member of Congress 1821-1834; governor of South Carolina 1834-1836; U. S. senator 1842-1846.

Carolina. Both parties are anxious and indulge the hope, that the general government will commit some act of violence, which will enlist the sympathies of the bordering states: provided it be not their own they care not how soon blood is shed. It will be necessary therefore to proceed with great caution in counteracting their schemes. It is probable they will proceed by writ of replevin, served on the Collector. He will resist by refusing to give up the goods and I am at present of opinion that it will be better to allow them to commit that act of violence; namely breaking open the public stores, which will rouse the indignation of the people of the United States against them. The custom house ought then to be removed to one of the forts, which can be decided upon hereafter. This desicion[sic] will be made with a view to repel any attack which in the wildness of their folly the Nullifiers might attempt.

With respect to the officers of government who are aiding and abetting the nullifying party, I am sorry to tell you, that there are many. The Post Office is entirely filled with them. The Post Master, His Deputy, his son, and all the clerks are active Agents of that party and clamourous Nullifiers. I have no evidence however of any letters or communications between the government and any individuals in Charleston being opened or stopped, and I must in candour state, that I very much doubt it, if I do not discredit it altogether. Such however is the common impression and I hesitate to act against the advice of my friends and to confide a letter on confidential business to the Charleston post office. I have reason to believe, that the merchants generally are not satisfied with the manner the business of the office is conducted by Mr. Bacot and I know that his dismissal will be acceptable to the friends of the Union in this City. He ought to be succeeded by an inhabitant of the State and a member of the union party.

In the Custom house there are many violent nullifiers, a list will be again furnished through Mr. Breathitt. The most active is I regret to say, Major Laval.² He has proved extremely ungrateful to you and there is but one opinion among us of the urgent necessity of his removal. If you could offer him a Place in New Orleans, his entire removal would be useful to the cause of the Union.

The Officers of the army had been seduced by the attentions of the Nullifiers. Major Belton and Major Massias were very properly removed: but I was very much surprised to see Major Massias in Charleston during the last election in October. He ought to be removed so far from this city that he cannot return to it on such occasions. I would not be unjust to Major Heilman. I believe him to be an honorable man, and do not think he has been concerned in any party matters; but he is on very intimate terms with all those gentlemen, so much so that we are and would be afraid to open ourselves to him. If therefore you could send us an officer of the same rank, a Southern man if possible, we should greatly prefer it. I say Southern because prejudices have been excited against Northerners, and as it is considered a Southern question exclusively it

² The context suggests that he was the Capt. William Laval of the 3d infantry, who distinguished himself under Jackson at Pensacola in November, 1814.

might be politic to have it settled by Southern men. I should have preferred therefore on that account and on that account only that a Southern Navy Officer should have been sent here. I know Commodore Elliott ³ and have a great personal regard and respect for him. I know of no one, who unites more firmness with consummate prudence than Elliott, but a Virginian who was true to the union would succeed better. If however Commodore Elliott does come no one will be more happy than myself to greet him and to aid him in the performance of his duties.

You desire to know something of the character of a Mr. Simpson from whom you have received a letter. He is a very good man, a friend of the union; but is considered by us as an extremely weak man. The letter in question was not written by him. I heard the history of it after it was sent. He had, he said known you in Nashville and he asked a respectable gentleman who stands very high in our union ranks to write you a letter for him, which he accordingly did and availed himself of the opportunity to relate what he believed and what is the general impression.

Mr. Breathitt has put some queries to me, which I will answer here. He wishes to know if the Civil Jurisdiction of So. Ca. extends over the bay and harbour of Charleston? It does. Sullivan's Island is attached to Christ Church parish the rest of the bay to St. Philips. Whether before the date of the federal constitution that state had established Courts of admiralty, and whether she now has any such Courts? The admiralty Court existed before the revolution and was continued until the adoption of the present federal constitution when it ceased altogether.

I mentioned to you in a former letter, that some arms and ammunition ought to be sent here. The union party require to be armed to repel lawless violence and I will endeavour to organise them for that purpose. Hand grenades and small rockets are excellent weapons in a street fight and I should like to have some of them. A few of the United States Rifles would be serviceable, say one hundred, and with one sent to me I would instruct the men in the use of that formidable arm. They must be furnished with bayonets. These arms can be kept in the United States forts and will only be called for for self protection and in defence of the laws. I wish some of our small vessels of war would look into this harbour. If they should require repairs so much the better. They can be done [here] as well as elsewhere and if they cost a few dollars more, it matters not to the govt.: the good such expenditures will do is very great. The discontent at no part of the revenue raised from among us being expended among our citizens is general and every opportunity ought to be seized of allaying this cause of discontent.

I hope you may be able to sooth the conflicting parties and to unite all the patriotic men in Congress in one effort to support the laws and to co-operate with you in your praiseworthy determination by every legal and constitutional means to preserve the union. You may rely upon the aid of all the brave and patriotic men, who compose our party in this city and state.

I am Dear Sir, respectfully and with great regard,

³ Commodore Jesse D. Elliott, commander of the Charleston navy yard, was born in Maryland but was appointed from Pennsylvania.

TO MARTIN VAN BUREN.

WASHINGTON, November 18, 1832.

My D'r sir. I have just received your letter of the 16th and am happy to find you have promptly attended to it. the opposition would delight in getting the committees this session to embarrass me in every thing that might require their aid, and notwithstanding I view the proceedings in So Carolina as a bubble still the present situation of that state and the reckless course of the leaders in nullification may require some Legislative aid, and the sudden resignation of Mr Tazwell¹ all combine to strengthen a belief that some plan of policy has dictated this measure; wisdom says, *be always guarded* against the council and combination of the wicked. the precaution suggested is one of safety and prudence.

As to nullification in the south, I mean to pass it barely in review, as a mere bubble, view the existing laws as competent to check and put it down, and ask merely a general provision to be enacted, to authorise the Collector under the instructions of the secretary of the Treasury to demand of all vessels entering our harbours, where a state by law has authorised her Citizens to oppose and resist the collection of the revenue, the duty to be paid in cash deducting the interest on the credits under existing laws to which the[y] would be entitled. This is all we want, peaceably to nullify the nullifiers.

On the subject of the Naval officer I must with my usual candor remark, and you must now be convinced that I can have no other view but to administer the government in such away as will strengthen the democratic party, unite the whole and produce the greatest prosperity to our beloved country, and restore the administration to the rules pointed out by the express grants in the constitution. The opposition is broken and scattered, still tho scotched not dead, and it behoves us so to proceed as to unite and give energy to our democratic brethern, prosperity to the whole union and bury as far as we can that jealousy that I have had so much trouble in keeping down in your state. This can be done. you recollect how hard Hector Craigg has been pressed by his party upon me since the commencement of my administration, and from time to time it has been said to his friends that in due time he should be provided for—first his being a member of congress prevented his being brought into office, and when the Marshall was changed, Mr Waddell by your most confidential friends were presented. This Mr Craigg solicited—he now solicits the Naval office, or the Post office. the latter I view the most important in your state.

Now to put as prominent a character as the acting Governor of your state,² in an office subordinate to a collector would be degrading to him and the great state of New York and be injurious to you. I would therefore suggest that he be placed in the Post office next 3rd. of March or brought here where a more honorable situation can be given him than a subordinate to a collector, and give to Mr Craigg the Naval office which will, with the office you ask for Col Clinton cancel and quiet all the claims

¹ Littleton W. Tazewell, senator from Virginia, resigned his seat suddenly on July 16, 1832, seven days after he had been elected president *pro tempore* of the Senate.

² Enos T. Throop.

of that party and unite them heart and hand to you. I am sure of this, and I am sure it is the proper policy to adopt, and one which *you* will find in the end will unite the Democratic party more than any other course. Gouverneur³ is calhoun to the core, deceitful and treacherous, and on the 3rd of March must go out—and some of the old men here—auditors etc. etc. etc.

JOEL R. POINSETT TO JACKSON.

CHARLESTON, November 24, 1832.

Dear Sir, According to my engagement I have visited and thoroughly examined the forts in this harbour, and will now proceed to give you an account of their situation. This duty should have been executed earlier but the weather has been such as to render it difficult to cross the bay until within these two days.

Fort Moultrie is in a very dilapidated state, The South western wall is cracked in such a manner as to endanger its fall if great guns were fired from the parapet over it. That part of the fort could not however well be attacked, and the wharves Capt'n Eliason proposes throwing out, at the same time that they will protect the works from the action of the currents will furnish a flank fire along the Curtain sea ward, which is very much required. The rear about which you enquire particularly has a regular work, two bastions connected by a curtain and the flank fires are good, when this is picketed it will be strong enough to resist such forces as can be brought against it here. The whole work is surrounded by houses, which to give it fair play in case of attack must come down. There is besides a sand hill about a hundred yards from the fort, which has been thrown up by the eddying winds, and is high enough to command the fort and large enough to hold four pieces of field artillery. A few rifle men on this hill would make the men uncomfortable in the fort. There are no platforms yet on the land side, and the guns about 60 of large calibre are not mounted, indeed there are no carriages to mount them on. These could be made here of Cypress, a very durable wood that abounds with us. This fort would require 4 or 500 men and when put in order might defy all the Militia of the State.

At fort Johnson there are no works at all except a Martello tower, which being upon the land of the State ought to be pulled down for it commands the buildings belonging to the government. Both Fort Moultrie and Fort Johnson must be regarded as most important points for the defence of this harbour and ought to be preserved most carefully. At both positions Break Waters are required to secure the works from the action of the tides and currents and might be constructed by sinking hulks at the proper points. The most important work is the one projected by General Bernard and now in progress; but that would be inefficient without the forts on Sullivan's and James Islands. This work is just appearing above water and I think ought to be driven on as rapidly as may be for at a crisis like this the possession of such a position would render us very

³ Samuel L. Gouverneur. He was the postmaster at New York.

secure. I have conversed with Captn. Eliason on the subject and am induced to believe, that a small steam boat would facilitate his operations very considerably and prove in the end a great saving of money. The small vessels now employed in the transportation of Stone in the harbour are frequently detained for days together by calms and high winds and a great many more men are necessarily employed upon them, than would be required to manage a Steam boat towing properly constructed stone boats, which would discharge themselves.

Castel Pinckney is in fine order. The Armament Consists of 8-24 pounders 1-10 inch Mortar 2-12 pounders and 2-6 ditto. It is situated on a marshy Island a mile from the city and occupies the only spot of solid earth the Island contains. It could only be attacked in the rear by a flotilla in hog Island channel. By a reference to the survey of Major Bache, which is in the department you will see how it is exposed to such an attack. There are no works in the rear, as all the defences are Seaward and Captn. Saunders has placed two field pieces mounted on travelling carriages outside of the Castle, on the small esplanade in the rear of it. I should think some temporary work ought to be thrown up in the rear capable of mounting two heavy guns. In the present state of the works in this harbour Castle Pinckney is the only place where the custom house could be established with safety and upon consulting with Captn. Eliason I find that two buildings might be erected to serve for stores and accommodations for the revenue officers, which would materially strengthen the works. To protect the works from insult if not from danger there ought to be a small floating force in the harbour—one schooner or a sloop of war would be sufficient. Gun boats or smaller vessels are exposed, to be boarded and taken by a superiour force of resolute men. You will perceive by a reference to the survey, that such a force would render it impracticable for an enemy to attack the either fort Moultrie or Castle Pinckney—the Vessel of war ought to be furnished with an additional number of boats capable of bearing small cannon.

I am, Dear Sir, respectfully

I have submitted this letter to Col. Drayton. He approves of the suggestions it contains; but says, that it might be expedient to have two sloops of war in the harbour in the event of a simultaneous attack being made upon Castle Pinckney and fort Moultrie. In that case one sloop of war and one schooner is the force I would recommend, the latter being rather more manageable in passing in and out of our Harbour.

JOEL R. POINSETT TO JACKSON.

CHARLESTON, November 29, 1832.

Confidential

Dear Sir, The deep interest I know you feel in the situation of this state induces me to write to you without hesitation or reserve as often as there is any thing of interest to communicate. The violent measures adopted by the nullifiers have roused the indignation of a great many of their opponents, but it cannot be disguised, that some of them have been

intimidated by them. The party will meet on the second monday in December and we will use our best efforts to excite them to do their duty. In any event I do not [*sic*] believe, nay I am sure, that they will remain firm in their allegiance to the United States, and I cannot but hope, that many of them will be induced to despise the threats of their Enemies and lend their active aid to crush this rebellion. For my own part no threats, no bills of pains and penalties nor definitions of treason to the state shall stop my course and I believe some brave men will go with me. We had rather die, than submit to the tyranny of such an oligarchy as J. C. Calhoun, James Hamilton, Robt. Y. Hayne and McDuffie and we implore our sister states and the federal govt. to rescue us from these lawless and reckless men.

I am more especially anxious about this because I am aware my friend Col. Drayton does not think with me. He is of opinion, that the United States in Congress will say to us, Let South Carolina go out of the union if she will go, and I am afraid believes this to be the best policy which Congress can follow. With great deference for his opinion I think him entirely wrong. If such a course should be adopted the union must be dissolved in all its parts and foreign and domestic wars necessarily ensue. Whereas if these bad men are put down by the strong arm, the union will be cemented by their conduct and by the vigour of the government, and you will earn the imperishable glory of having preserved this great confederacy from destruction. Remember too, that there are 16,000 Americans, your own Countrymen who call upon you to save them from tyranny and oppression. I will not comment upon the ordinance of the convention nor upon the Governor's message, nor the contemplated bills of pains and penalties. They speak for themselves. 16,000 freemen are proscribed and disfranchised by a few ambitious Demagogues. The Ordinances of Charles the tenth were not by half so destructive of personal liberty.

Many of my friends talk of emigrating and leaving these bad men to their fate. I, Sir, shall not do so. I will remain to lead the few brave men, who place confidence in me, and, if we are left unprotected, to sustain them by my example and my determined resistance to the Tyrants who seek to ruin this once glorious Republic. I have been appointed to go to North Carolina, to Virginia and urged even to go to Washington. But this is my post so long as it is surrounded with so much danger. I have strong hopes in the wisdom of Congress, in their patriotism and in your firmness and decision. I explained to you fully in my last sent under cover to the Secretary of the Treasury my views of what ought to be done by the union party and we will do it at all hazards whenever you say it is time to act. I wrote you under cover to Mr. Oliver of Baltimore respecting the forts. But as this is a circuitous route I will propose to you to write under cover to Mr. Mason of Georgetown either the General or his Son John Mason jr. as you may please to direct. If it be judged expedient to change the post master of this City, We would recommend Edward McCrady for that Office.

I am, Dear Sir, very respectfully

NOTE.

November, [1832?] ¹

The attitude of So. Carolina having organised her volunteers with the avowed and declared intent of opposing the execution of the laws of the United States, keeping the[m] organised and continuing to drill and discipline them, with the declared views as expressed by the Govr. of the State in his addresses to them as well as by all the nullifying public Journals of that State that their services will soon be wanted to aid their fellow citizens of the State of Alabama, in resisting the authority of the United States in removing the intruders from the Creek nation and the public Lands and thereby exciting and encouraging rebellion and resistance to the laws of the United States has induced the Executive to bring this subject before Congress for their consideration and action, it appearing to him that the raising arming, and dicipline volunteers and keeping them organised and trained to resist the authority and execution of the laws of the Union, is such a crisis as the Sages who formed the constitution anticipated and intended to prohibit. It is therefore recommended to Congress that by proper enactments it may define what shall be considered by any State of these United States, "as keeping of troops or ships of war in time of peace, or entering into any agreement or compact with another State or Foreign power"—and not only to define the offence, but the punishment. Nothing can be more injurious to the peace and harmony of society and more dangerous to the existing of the Union, than the late proceedings of So Carolina in keeping in time of peace, a standing army of well drilled volunteers, for the declared purpose of resisting the laws but aiding the lawless citizens of other States to resist the execution of the laws of the Union and ought to [be] prohibited

TO JOEL R. POINSETT.¹

WASHINGTON, December 2, 1832.

My D'r Sir, Your two letters of Novr. 24 and 25th last have been received, and I hasten to answer them.

I fully concur with you in your views of Nullification. It leads directly to civil war and bloodshed and deserves the execration of every friend of the country. Should the civil power with your aid as a *posse comitatus* prove not strong enough to carry into effect the laws of the Union, you have a right to call upon the Government for aid and the Executive will yield it as far as he has been vested with the power by the constitution and the laws made in pursuance thereof.

The precautionary measures spoken of in your last letter have been in some degree anticipated. Five thousand stand of muskets with corresponding equipments have been ordered to Castle Pinckney; and a Sloop of war with a smaller armed vessel (the experiment) will reach Charleston harbor in due time. The commanding officer of Castle Pinckney will be

¹ This "Note" appears with some miscellaneous material evidently intended for one of Jackson's annual messages, perhaps for that of 1832.

¹ Hist. Soc. of Pa., Poinsett Papers.

instructed by the Secretary of War to deliver the arms and their equipment to your order, taking a receipt for them, and should the emergency arise he will furnish to your requisition such ordnance and ordnance stores as can be spared from the arsenals.

The Union must be preserved; and its laws duly executed, but by proper means. With calmness and firmness such as becomes those who are conscious of being right and are assured of the support of public opinion, we must perform our duties without suspecting that there are those around us desiring to tempt us into the wrong. We must act as the instruments of the law and if force is offered to us in that capacity then we shall repel it with the certainty, even should we fall as individuals, that the friends of liberty and union will still be strong enough to prostrate their enemies.

Your union men should act in concert: Their designation as unionists should teach them to be prepared for every emergency: and inspire them with the energy to overcome every impediment that may be thrown in the way of the laws of their constitution, whose cause is now not only their cause but that of free institutions throughout the world. They should recollect that perpetuity is stamped upon the constitution by the blood of our Fathers—by those who atcheived as well as those who improved our system of free Government. For this purpose was the principle of amendment inserted in the constitution which all have sworn to support and in violation of which no state or states have the right to secede, much less to dissolve the union. Nullification therefore means insurrection and war; and the other states have a right to put it down: and you also and all other peaceable citizens have a right to aid in the same patriotic object when summoned by the violated laws of the land. Should an emergency occur for the arms before the order of the Secretary of war to the commanding officer to deliver them to your order, shew this to him and he will yield a compliance

I am great haste yr. mo obdt. Servt.

TO EDWARD LIVINGSTON.¹

For the conclusion of the Proclamation.

Seduced as you have been my fellow Countrymen by the delusive theories and misrepresentation of ambitious, deluded and designing men, I call upon you, in the language of truth and with the feelings of a father to retrace your steps. As you value liberty and the blessings of peace, blot out from the page of your history a record so fatal to their security as this ordinance will become if it be obeyed. Rally again under the banner of the Union whose obligations you, in common with all your countrymen, have with an appeal to heaven, sworn to support and which must be indissoluble, as long as we are capable of enjoying freedom.

Recollect that the first act of resistance to the laws which have been denounced as void by those who abuse your confidence and falsify your

¹ From a copy, probably in the handwriting of N. P. Trist, in the N. Y. Pub. Lib., Bancroft Coll. This note has been called a draft of the nullification proclamation. It is the only writing I have found relating to the authorship of this famous document. Ed.

hopes is *Treason* and subjects you to all the pains and penalties that are provided for the highest offence against your country. Can the descendants of the Rutledges, the Pinckneys, the Richardsons, the Middletons, the Sumters, the Pickens, the Bentons, the Taylors, the Haynes, the Gadsdens, the Winns, the Hills and the Crawfords, with the descendants of thousands more of the Patriots of Revolution that might be named, consent to become Traitors? Forbid it Heaven!

WASHINGTON, December 4, 1832.

D'r Sir. I submit the above as the conclusion of the proclamation to your amendment and revision. Let it receive your best flight of eloquence to strike to the heart and speak to the feelings of my deluded Countrymen of South Carolina. The Union must be preserved, without blood if this be possible, but it must be preserved at all hazards and at any price.

Yours with high regard²

TO COLONEL ANTHONY BUTLER.¹

WASHINGTON, December 4, 1832.

My D'r Sir, You request me to give you my approval, under my own hand, of the protection given to Mrs. Alaman and her property in her present unprotected state and absence from her husband. Surely the gallant Genl Santa Ana, and his companions in arms, cannot but approve your conduct—the brave always protect the fair when found unprotected, and those engaged in that contest that now rages in Mexico do not make war on females—they must be contending for principle.

There can be no protection therefore that you will extend to Mrs. Alaman and her property, guarding, as I am sure you will, all your conduct as the agent of this government so as not to compromit us in the obligations we owe to the government of Mexico, by doing any act not justified by the laws of nations, and those friendly relations, which exists between the two governments.

² In the Jackson MSS. is a copy of Jackson's nullification proclamation in the handwriting of A. J. Donelson. Finger prints on it seem to indicate that it served as printer's copy. It contains pencilled comments, mostly erased but still observable, in the handwriting probably of Lewis Cass. In only one case has the suggestion of the critic been followed. The fifth paragraph formerly read: "Strict duty would require nothing more than the exercise of those powers with which I am now invested, or which hereafter may be conferred upon me, for preserving the peace of the union and enforcing the execution of the laws. But the imposing aspect which opposition has assumed in this case by clothing itself with state authority, perhaps may require, certainly will justify, an exposition of motives, as well as a distinct enunciation of the course I shall pursue."

For it the following was substituted and used in the printed copy: "Strict duty would require of me nothing more than the exercise of those powers with which I am now or may hereafter be invested for preserving the peace of the Union and for the execution of the laws. But the imposing aspect which opposition has assumed in this case by clothing itself with State authority and the deep interest which the people of the United States must all feel in preventing a resort to stronger measures, while there is a hope that anything will be yielded to reasoning and remonstrance, perhaps demand and will certainly justify a full exposition to South Carolina and the nation of the views I entertain of this important question as well as a distinct enunciation of the course which my sense of duty will require me to pursue."

¹ Univ. of Texas, Butler Papers.

So far as your conduct is made known to me in this affair by your letters before me, the attention paid Mrs. Alaman in her lonely and distressed situation fully meets my approbation; and I am much mistaken in the high character I have formed of Genl Santa Ana, if your acts be not fully approved by him. To yield protection to an unprotected lady, is a soldiers glory, and every gallant man must approve your conduct, you have mine fully. I can add no more, the messenger awaits.

I enclose you a copy of my message which will be delivered to congress to day, at Meridian. You will see, that the Nullifiers of the South has *run mad, but the union will be preserved*, and the laws duly executed and those taught to know that no state has a right to nullify the laws of the union, or to secede from it, or destroy that perpetual union formed by the whole people. every attempt of the kind is rebellion, and leads direct to civil war and the other states have a *perfect right*, to put it down. excuse the hast of this scrawl. I keep no copy nor have I time even to correct it.

I pray you to keep a steady eye to the boundary question—this peaceably adjusted, and perpetual harmony and friendship must exist between the two republics.

With my best wishes adieu

GEORGE M. DALLAS TO JACKSON.

December 6, 1832.

Dear Sir, I return to you, with my sincere thanks, the mad message of Governor Hamilton. It has filled me with great anxiety as to the situation of our friends of the Union Party in Charleston. If the suggestions of Gov. Hamilton have been adopted by the Legislature: if he is armed with his act defining state treason, with a bill of pains and penalties, and with a battalion of Infantry, what safety or rescue is there for our friends short of an immediate appeal to arms, or *your interventions*? They may be arrested under color of law, and treated as traitors, or as the infatuated Governor may think expedient.

I have letters from Philadelphia this morning which describe the sentiment against the Ordinance and Address to be universal; and those who but yesterday opposed your re-election with ferocity now loudly profess their reliance on your saving the Union. The meeting convened on Monday was too large to be any where accommodated, and agreed to meet again on thursday.

With great respect, ever, D'r Sir, Yrs.

JOHN RANDOLPH TO JACKSON.

CHARLOTTE COURT HOUSE, December 6, 1832.

My dear Sir, I have been confined here ever since our Election—more than a month ago. I came down to add my mite to the Republican Vote not knowing what Freak the White Ba—[illegible] Folks of our Western Counties might take into their Heads: knowing too that they were great Admirers of the American System and some of them also of it's great architect and Supporter. I have been most agreeably disappointed in the Temper of Virginia which ought surely to be inferred from the composition and Character of her Assembly—strange as that may seem.

As you are now in a situation to recede with d[ignity] I speak the Language of many of your staunchest friends [when] I express the hope that you will give to our Sister S.C. amp[le] time for consideration; and I trust that the relation in which she will find herself standing towards her Co-States may lead to the happiest and most peaceful results.¹

I fear that I have been remiss in forgetting a promise that I made to a quondam Protégé of yours Mr Isham Randolph who would be glad to find a haven in his old age in some suitable place in the Custom House or Post office at Richmond or some appointment at Washington for which his honest zeal has fitted him. May I ask the favour of a single line on this subject as Mr R. is at present in a situation under the James River Company not suited to his Infirmities.

Some of my friends are very desirous to see me again in Congress as it is understood that the V.P. will take Hayne's place, this session in the Senate, where he can co-operate with the Godlike man of the East and the great orator of the West² to farther their respective views; which at this moment are nearly confined to the petty Revenge of thwarting the measures of the Administration. It will not be the fault of my friend Ritchie however if I shall receive that or any other mark of my Country's Approbation. He can't forget his old friend Wilkinson nor the drubbings that I gave them both, some five and twenty years ago. By the way I feel a strong desire to see Burr and if ever I get as far as New York, I shall make it a point to find him out and ask an Interview. He and the Chief Justice and one other know more of the History of this Government from the Funeral Pile of the old Congress down to the late war than all the rest of the U. S. put together; and it is desirable that their evidence should not perish with them, but that it should be perpetuated.

It is greatly desired by many of your best friends in Virginia that no final step may be taken by you during the present session of Congress in regard to the Cabinet or the Foreign Missions. I believe I know the temper of the State as well as any man in it. Many who make a great noise in our Newspapers either never possessed or have lost the publick confidence. The very names of some of them excite ridicule. Pray excuse this impertinence from, Dear Sir, your sincere and faithful friend and Servant

TO JOEL R. POINSETT.¹

WASHINGTON, December 9, 1832.

My D'r Sir, Your letters were this moment recd, from the hands of Col. Drayton, read and duly considered, and in haste I reply. The true spirit of patriotism that they breath fills me with pleasure. If the Union party unite with you, heart and hand in the text you have laid down, you will not only preserve the union, but save our native state, from that ruin

¹ Writing to Jackson on Dec. 4, 1832, Randolph said of Calhoun, "It is even doubted by some of their leaders [*i. e.*, the nullifiers] whether he will support them in the course which they have adopted."

² Webster and Clay.

¹ Hist. Soc. of Pa., Poinsett Papers.

and disgrace into which her treasonable leaders have attempted to plunge her. All the means in my power, I will employ to enable her own citizens, those faithful patriots, who cling to the Union to put it down.

The proclamation I have this day Issued, and which I inclose you, will give you my views, of the treasonable conduct of the convention and the Governors recommendation to the assembly—it is not merely rebellion, but the act of raising troops, positive treason, and I am assured by all the members of congress with whom I have conversed that I will be sustained by congress. If so, I will meet it at the threshold, and have the leaders arrested and arraigned for treason—I am only waiting to be furnished with the acts of your Legislature, to make a communication to Congress, ask the means necessary to carry my proclamation into compleat affect, and by an exemplary punishment of those leaders for treason so unprovoked, put down this rebellion, and strengthen our happy government both at home and abroad.

My former letter and the communication from the Dept. of War, will have informed you of the arms and equipments having been laid in Deposit subject to your requisition, to aid the civil authority in the due execution of the law, *whenever called on as the posse comitatus*, etc. etc.

The vain threats of resistance by those who have raised the standard of rebellion shew their madness and folly. You may assure those patriots who cling to their country, and this union, which alone secures our liberty prosperity and happiness, that in forty days, I can have within the limits of So. Carolina fifty thousand men, and in forty days more another fifty thousand—However potent the threat of resistance with only a population of 250,000 whites and nearly that double in blacks with our ships in the port to aid in the execution of our laws?—The wickedness, madness and folly of the leaders and the delusion of their followers in the attempt to destroy themselves and our union has not its paralel in the history of the world. The Union will be preserved, The safety of the republic, the supreme law, which will be promptly obeyed by me.

I will be happy to hear from you often, thro' Col. Mason or his son, if you think the postoffice unsafe I am with sincere respect

yr mo. obdt. servt.

COLONEL JAMES A. HAMILTON TO JACKSON.

NEW YORK, December 13, 1832.

My dear Sir. I receivd yesterday The Proclamation under your Frank for which very kind and flattering attention receive my thanks. The paper I have read again and again with extreme interest and pleasure. The whole is treated in a masterly manner but the elevated, cogent and clear views you have taken of the nature of the Government have afforded me the utmost satisfaction. Knowing that the end of the measures of S.C. must and is intended to be secession I have reflected a good deal on the subject and interchanged opinions with two of the soundest men in this City who both expressed opinions coincident with those you have taken without however sustaining them with as many and as strong grounds as you have taken I trust in heaven the paper will be read by the People

of South Carolina and that sinking into their hearts it may as it ought to do arrest their mad career

Measures have been taken in this city to have a public meeting on Saturday next. It will be crowded and conducted in a manner to produce much effect. There will be strong resolutions against Nullification, in favor of carrying into effect the views expressed by you in your message in relation to the Tariff. In favor of the execution of the laws, denouncing foreign interference. And an address will be sent to you in which we pledge ourselves to sustain [you] in the Course you may pursue to preserve the Union. I pray God to preserve your life among other reasons that you may preserve this Union. . . .

TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOHN COFFEE.¹

WASHINGTON, December 14, 1832.

My D'r Genl, Your letter of the 30th ultimo has been received, and its contents duly noted, and by tomorrows mail, a remittance will be made to you of \$15,000, being the unexpended ballance of the appropriation for surveying the creek cession in Alabama, by the Secretary of the Treasury. This divided amongst the surveyors, will meet the payment to their markers and chain men, and the surveyors must await an appropriation for the ballance.

I am to day informed by a letter purporting to be written by George Colbert [and?] Tussamingo, with their marks appended without a witness, that the chiefs have met and made another treaty, which they are coming on to have adopted in lieu of the one made by you. I cannot believe this to be true. I have sent the treaty to the senate, and if there should be any difficulty will apprise you of it and have it postponed, and request you to come on.

your dear daughter is well and doing well, and you may rest assured I will watch over her with a fathers care, she shall want for nothing, and her prudence and amiableness of deportment will insure her the affection and attention of all. The family are all well. Mary will write you which will be inclosed to you under cover of the envelope that incloses this and to her must I refer you for the news of the place, as you will see from the proceedings of the nullifiers of the south, that I have enough to do.

Can any one of common sense believe the absurdity, that a faction of any state, or a state, has a right to secede and destroy this union, and the liberty of our country with it, or nullify the laws of the union; then indeed is our constitution a rope of sand; under such I would not live. I have always thought ours was first a confederated government and perpetual union of thirteen sovereign and independent states, granting to congress the power to declare war and make peace, make estimates of the amount of revenue wanted to carry on the revolutionary war, and apportion to each state its ratio, and not having the power to lay and collect taxes, it could only recommend to the states to do it, and make a requisition on the legislature of each state for its quota. congress having no power to lay and collect taxes, or to regulate trade with foreign nations it was found

¹ Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.

that our union was imperfect and a constitution was proposed to the people and in the language of the instrument, "we the people to make a more perfect union, do ordain and establish the following etc. etc." This more perfect union made by the whole of the people of the United States granted the general government certain powers, and retained others; but nowhere can it be found where the right to nullify a law, or to secede from this union has been retained by the states. no amendment can be made to the instrument, constitutionally, but in the mode pointed out in the constitution itself, every mode else, is revolution or rebellion. The people are the sovereigns, they can alter and amend, and the people alone in the mode pointed out by themselves, can dissolve this union peaceably.

The right of resisting oppression is a natural right, and when oppression comes, the right of resistance and revolution is justifiable, but the moral obligations is binding upon all to fulfill the obligations as long as the compact is executed agreeable to the terms of the agreement. Therefore when a faction in a state attempts to nullify a constitutional law of congress, or to destroy the union the ballance of the people comp[os]ing this union have a perfect right to coerce them to obedience. This is my creed, which you will read in the proclamation which I sent you the other day. No man will go further than I will to preserve every right reserved to the people, or the states—nor no man will go farther to sustain the acts of congress passed according to the express grants to congress.

The union must be preserved and it will now be tested, by the support I get by the people. I will die with the union. . . .

TO MARTIN VAN BUREN.¹

WASHINGTON, December 15, 1832.

My D'r sir, yours of the 10th instant was duly received, but I was so crowded with business that I had not time to reply on its receipt. you will have seen from the proclamation which I inclosed you, that I have had, and still have, my hands full in attending to the nullifiers *pari passu*. I am now waiting for the information from the assembly of So. Carolina, of their having passed their laws for raising an army to resist the execution of the laws, which will be a levying of war, when I will make a communication to congress, laying before that body, the *ordinance of rebellion*, and the *acts of treason*, ask for the power to call upon volunteers to serve as the posse commitatus of the civil authority, to open our courts which they have shut, direct process to be Issued against the leaders, direct them to be prosecuted for treason, have them arrested wheresoever to be found, delivered over to the authority of the law, to be prosecuted, convicted, and punished. If the assembly authorises twelve thousand men, to resist the law, I will order thirty thousand to execute the law. To this I may add, the request of the Custom house to be removed to Castle Pinckney or Sulivans Island, and the power in the Sec' of the Treasury, to demand the payment of duties in cash, deducting the interests, from all vessels entering a port where the states may have enacted laws, to resist the payment of the duty. It will not do *now* to temporise, or falter,

¹ Library of Congress, Van Buren MSS.

or it undermines the stability of your Government and might shake it to its centre, when by crushing this wicked faction in its bud, you strengthen our republican Government, both at home and abroad. From every quarter I am assured of the firm support of the people. If I am, the union shall be preserved, and the laws executed with triumph.

I thank you for the inclosure—the statement made of the time when my father came from Ireland, and the names of his children, are correct. This is stated in the Biography of Jackson, wrote by Eaton, and may have been taken from that, or it may be really true. I shall, when I have more leisure, look at it with more attention, an[d] scan the relation with more scrutiny. Let me hear from you soon. give me your opinion of the plan I have chaulked out to execute the laws, and put down nullification, rebellion, and secession, twinn brothers of each other.

I am desired by judge Overton to present you his kind regards. The family all desire their kind respects to you, in which your friends Earle and Breathett are included. in haste yr friend

TO JAMES K. POLK.¹

WASHINGTON, December 16, 1832.

Confidential

The President with his respects to Col J. K. Polk, of Congress, encloses him a note from mr Page of Philadelphia, a man of high character and in whom confidence may be placed.² This is done to add to the information heretofore given the Col, *to shew* him that the hydra of corruption is only *scotched, not dead*, and that the intent is thro' wolfs³ recommendation, to destroy the vote of the people lately given at the ballot boxes, and to rally around the recharter the present session of congress *two thirds*. An investigation kills it and its supporters *dead*. Let this be had—call upon the sec' of the Treasury who must agree with me that an investigation by Congress is absolutely necessary

P. S. Have sullivan, a Government director before the committee—attend to this A. J.

JOEL R. POINSETT TO JACKSON.

CHARLESTON, December 17, 1832.

Confidential

Dear Sir, I returned last night from Columbia, where the Union party assembled in convention. Nearly two hundred members attended and the party were represented from the mountains to the Sea board. The best

¹ Library of Congress, Polk MSS.

² The extract, dated Dec. 14, 1832, is as follows: "The selection of Toland was most unlucky—his report has done great harm. Never was man so much out of place as he, acting as Bank Investigator. Nothing short of a thorough and *independent* investigation of this legaliz'd corruption will do. It is now more nessessary than ever to roll back the tide of success rais'd by the Governours attention to the question and Tolands report, upon which our political enemy are rapidly sailing. I have been disappointed in Mr Wolfe, no matter. There is a time for all things."

³ George Wolf, governor of Pennsylvania.

spirit prevailed throughout and we have expressed in strong language our determination to adhere to the Union and to resist the arbitrary proceedings of the majority. I will tomorrow send you a copy of the address and remonstrance which was signed by two hundred of the most respectable men in the state and which represent more truly the feelings of the state than the ordinance and acts of the Legislature.

Your proclamation has just been brought me. I am sure, knowing me as you do, you will not question my sincerity or my motives, when I say, that I regard it as a most able exposition of the principles of our government, an affecting appeal to the citizens of South Carolina, and a wise, determined and firm resolution to save the country from destruction. It does you infinite credit and will tend to elevate your well deserved reputation more highly than any other act of your life. These men are reckless and desperate and I have little hope of a peaceful termination of this conflict. We will be prepared to assist the government in forcibly putting them down. Our convention has declared itself permanent, and appointed a Committee, under the name of Committee of Correspondence, but really an executive Committee of five to conduct the business of the party. It consists of J. L. Petigru and myself from Charleston, Daniel Elliott Huger and J. Manning from the Middle Country and Robert Cunningham of the Upper Country—of this Committee I am Chairman and on me will devolve the task of organising all the means of resistance in our power. This was done without the knowledge of what government might do, and therefore shows the firm determination of the party to maintain the union at all hazards.

It may be necessary to send you a messenger in a day or two. We cannot trust this post office and that of Georgetown is in bad hands, so that our nearest point is Fayette. I was requested while at Columbia to urge the removal of Mr. Rothmahler post master at Georgetown So. Ca. and the appointment of Thomas Heriot an officer in the army during the last war. This is the unanimous wish of the union party in that district.

I am Dear Sir, very respectfully your obt. Serv.

TO SECRETARY CASS.

WASHINGTON, December 17, 1832.

confidential

My D'r sir, If I can judge from the signs of the times Nullification, and secession, or in the language of truth, *disunion*, is gaining strength, we must be prepared to act with promptness, and crush the monster in its cradle before it matures to manhood. We must be prepared for the crisis. The moment that we are informed that the Legislature of So Carolina has passed laws to carry her rebellious ordinance into effect, which I expect tomorrow we must be prepared to act. Tenders of service is coming to me daily and from Newyork, we can send to the bay of charleston with steamers such number of troops as we may please to order, in four days.

We will want three divisions of artillery, each composed of nines, twelves, and Eighteen pounders, one for the East, one for the west, and one for the center divisions. How many of these calibers, are ready for field service. How many musketts with their compleat equipments are ready for service. How many swords and pistols and what quantity of fixed ammunition for dragoons, Brass pieces for the field, how many, and what caliber. At as early a day as possible, I wish a report from the ordinance Department, on this subject, stating with precision, how many peaces of artillery of the caliber, are ready for the field, how many good musketts etc. etc., and at what place in deposit.

yrs. respectfully

JAMES O'HANLON TO JACKSON.

COLUMBIA, December 20, 1832.

Dear Sir, On coming to Town to day I find much excitement etc. among the *Nullies* both in and out of the Legislature. Your able and patriotic Proclamation has almost given some of them the *Cholera*, and it would not *shew well* for them to let it pass in silence. Governor Hayne has issued his *proclamation and general orders* copies of which I herewith send you. As to Prestons (a man I have long since branded as one of the worst, for his age, in the whole country) resolutions I shall not presume upon your patience to speak about these puny efforts of reckless ambition. I would write you a long letter did I deem it necessary and give you more fully what is passing here. The public prints contain enough in all conscience to shew the unhappy state of affairs amongst us, and I apprehend they will be much worse before they can get better.

The Union men are openly threatened with every kind of violence, and in this district where our number is small we are told "we must not assemble together, that it is *treason* and *Rebellion* against the sovereignty of the State". I am put down first on the list, of those who have incurred the guilt of Carolina Treason etc. If the opposite party do half they threaten, the time is close at hand when you may expect to hear of some *lawless act of violence*. They are trying to keep themselves up by, raising volunteer companies and making great shew of power. I doubt not however but that your Proclamation will have a very happy effect upon the minds of the people—those who have been deluded into the villiany of Nullification. As my health is bad, (having not entirely recovered from a severe attack of the fever) and I wish to return to *Fort Marion*, (the name of my residence) this evening, I have only time, to thank you for your kind attention in sending me a copy of your admirable Message, as well as the proclamation. Your letter of the 6th that came with your Message came safe to hand. I read part of it to the Union Convention confidentially when in secret session and they received it with involuntary applause. It seemed to give them more life and spirit than any thing that had been said, though many very good speeches were made to nerve and strengthen their resolves. But when they knew *who* had said that the ordinance etc. etc. was "Treason and rebellion" some cried out "*enough*",

"What have we to fear, we are right and God and Old Hickory are with us"

I understand the Legislature have appropriated 400,000 dollars (the most of which to be used at the discretion of the Governor) for the *defence* of the state's.

I must not omit to thank you for the kind assurance of a welcome to Mrs. O'Hanlon and myself, should I visit you, *when "no imputation"* could be cast upon me "for shrinking from any duty I owe my country". The *condition* will be remembered. In the mean time I remain your friend

TO MARTIN VAN BUREN.¹

WASHINGTON, December 23, 1832.

. . . . You see the course of the nullifiers in the virginia assembly.² I was aware of the combination between them, and calhoun and Co, and the haste, the leaders in So. Carolina, had shewn was to get their Rebellious ordinance before the Virginia Legislature that their nullifying doctrines, and rights of secession, should be sustained by them. It was no time to temporise—the subject must be met, and to do it successfully, it must be boldly met at the threshold, or all was lost. This abominable doctrine that strikes at the root of our Government and the social compact, and reduces every thing to anarchy, must be met and put down or our union is gone, and our liberties with it forever. The true Republican doctrine is, that the people are the sovereign power, that they have the right to establish such form of Government they please, and we must look into the constitution which they have established, for the powers expressly granted, the ballance being retained to the people, and the States.

When we Look into the confederation of the thirteen *United States* of america, we find there a perpetual union and that it might last forever, we find the express power granted to Congress to settle all disputes that may arise between the States. What next—we find upon experience, that this perpetual union and confederation is not perfect. on this discovery, "We the people of these united states", "to form a more perfect union" etc. etc., do ordain and establish this constitution as the supreme law of the land. When we look into this instrument, we can find no reserved right to nullify or secede, but we find a positive provision, how it is to be altered or amended. These must be adopted or it must be changed by revolution—when this is attempted by a state a perfect right remains in the other states and the people, if they have the power, to coerce them to obey the laws and prese[r]ve their moral obligations to the other. Let us remark one absurdity out of thousands that could be named. Congress have power to admit new states into the union—under Territorial Govts. the[y] are

¹ Library of Congress, Van Buren MSS.

² Dec. 20 a report was presented in the Virginia House of Delegates from a special committee of twenty-one on that part of the governor's message which related to the South Carolina affairs. The report endorsed the Virginia resolutions of 1798, and declared against the tariff, but objected to the method taken by South Carolina to redress her wrongs. After much debate the report was amended and simplified and an agent, B. W. Leigh, was appointed to go to Charleston to confer with the nullifiers. For the report of the Virginia committee and the resolutions passed, see *Niles' Register*, XLIII. 394-397.

bound by the laws of the Union, new states cannot force themselves into the Union; but the moment they are admitted, they have a right to secede and destroy the confederation and the Union with it. The virginia doctrine brings me in mind of a bag of sand with both ends opened, the moment the least pressure is upon it, the sand flows out at each end. The absurdity is too great to be dwelt on. The people of virginia are sound. The Union will be preserved, and Treators punished, by a due execution of the laws, by the *Possee comitatus*—in haste yr friend³

TO MARTIN VAN BUREN.¹

WASHINGTON, December 25, 1832.

. . . . I have just recd. a letter from Mr Poinsett who says, "nothing but force will stop the career of these madmen in the south". he sends me the proceedings of the Union Convention and says, they are collecting strength, and the moment the nullifiers raise an army to resist the laws, they will organise and arm, in their defence.

³ The following letter from C. C. Cambreleng to Van Buren, Dec. 18, 1832 (Van Buren MSS.), gives us a states' rights man's opinion of Jackson's nullification proclamation:

"My dear sir, As they say you are a Magician I suppose you must possess the power of ubiquity—if so, I wish you would appear among us occasionally. We have those here who are now and then Republicans from *policy* but not one in principle, except the chief of all. This will account to you for the broad errors in doctrine on some of the fundamental principles of the constitution, which *ornament* the Proclamation, and call forth the unbounded approbation of every ultra federalist from Maine to Louisiana. It was a glorious opportunity to reach every man in the nation but a nullifier—the Union is dear to all and on that point we are indeed "all federalists and all republicans"—had the Proclamation been as empty and inflated as a balloon that sentiment would have carried it through the union with applause. With even this great doctrinal defect it will produce a general and a happy effect in every part of the Country—that effect might just as well have been universal had the metaphysics of the Montesquieu of the cabinet been cut out of it—had plain common sense and sound judgment been substituted for speculative arguments and fallacious opinions about the origin of the confederation, and had the proclamation been made one third shorter. Happily the mass of the people sleep over such parts of it and dwell only on those which make them think and feel like men. The speculations are left for the refinements of those who are only capable of transferring the special pleading of chancery into the councils of statesmen. But the proclamation will do it's office and it may have another good effect—flat despair would have driven the nullifiers into a civil war—the least encouraging symptom will be construed by Calhoun (who is elected to the senate) into positive evidence of a tremendous reaction against the administration—will revive his hopes of forming a party induce them to postpone desperate measures and let nullification evaporate in the humbug idea of a convention of all the states. This will be the course of things if Hamilton and his mad followers can be possibly moderated and controuled, an exceedingly doubtful matter.

"Our 'republican friend' is very busy contriving some means of killing Biddle without projecting another Toland mission! and with the aid of V. P. —k and Ar—r [Verplanck and Archer, presumably] framing a new tariff to tranquilize the whole country and immortalize himself. What I fear is, that this, like the scheme of last year will be so admirably contrived as to *compell* our friends from Newyork to vote against it. If the act of 1816 is revived, wool would be duty free—now all this according to my notion would be well enough but that is not the notion of our people and they will not vote for such a measure—whether wise or not. the only tariff that will ever suit a confederacy is one equalizing the duties on wool, iron, cotton, hemp, flax, and sugar and the manufactures thereof—the rate of the duty is not so important as the equality, but we shall do nothing but project tariffs this winter. While the Legislatures will talk of a convention of the states, we shall have some riots in Charleston, some blood-shed perhaps, some stormy debating in Congress in February and the new Congress will have to act and supersede the necessity of a convention. Sincerely yours"

¹ Library of Congress, Van Buren MSS.

If so, and they call for aid, it will be promptly yielded, and the moment the nullies authorise an army to be raised and enter upon it, it is then *a levying of war and Treason within the terms* of the constitution. I will on that event Issue my proclamation ordering them to disperse, directing a prosecution against all the leaders for rebellion and Treason, and order a sufficient force as the posse Comitatus of the marshall, of his deputies, seize their leaders, where to be found, regardless of the force that surrounds them, deliver them into the hands of the judicial authority of the United States and let it decide whether they have committed rebellion or Treason against the U. States. I will do my duty, preserve the Union, and streng[t]hen it, both at home and abroad.

The absurdity of the virginia doctrine is too plain to need much comment. If they would say, that the State had the right to fight, and if she has the power, to revolution it would be right, but at the same time it must be acknowledged, that the other states have equal rights, and the right to preserve the union. The preservation of the union is the supreme law. To shew the absurdity, Congress have the right to admit New States. When territories, the[y] are subject to the laws of the Union, the day after admission they have the right to secede and dissolve it. We gave five millions for Louisiana, we admitted her into the Union, she too has the right to secede, close the commerce of six states, and levy contribution both upon exports and imports. a state cannot come into the union without the consent of congress, but it can go out when it pleases. such a union as this would be like a bag of sand with both ends open—the least pressure and it runs out at both ends. It is an insult to the understanding of the sages who formed it, to believe that such a union was ever intended—it could not last a month. It is a confederated perpetual union, first made by the people in their sovereign state capacities, upon which, we the people of these u. states, made a more perfect union, which can only be dissolved by the people who formed it, and in the way pointed out in the instrument, or by revolution. I write in haste for your own eye. with a tender to you of the joys of the season, and the return of many happy ones, I am in haste yr friend

P. S. . . .

MARTIN VAN BUREN TO JACKSON.¹

ALBANY, December 27, 1832.

my dear Sir, Your last has in consequence of the obstructions in the travelling been long detained by the way. It gives me sincere pleasure to find from its contents that the unusual and severe crisis in our public affairs finds you in such fine health and spirits. I agree with you fully, that any thing which would wear the appearance of faltering in the course which you consider pointed out by your duty, might, be fatally injurious to the country, and detrimental to the character of Republican Governments; sensible that you must estimate your standing with the people too

¹ Library of Congress, Van Buren MSS. The nullification crisis placed Van Buren in a delicate position. As a former leader of the states' rights Virginia group he had many friends who did not like the doctrine of the nullification proclamation. This letter reveals the anxiety which filled his mind at the time.

well, to think any thing beyond what is absolutely necessary, requisite, to keep the public mind satisfied, that happen what may you will do your duty. Depend upon it my dear Sir that there is scarcely an individual in the country who doubts that for a moment, and that there is no man who can forbear to the last point with more safety than yourself. I like your suggestions in respect to your proposed application to Congress in respect to every step you propose to take; but am not sufficiently acquainted with the law of Treason to decide whether the *mere passage* of the bills would constitute the crime and justify the measures you speak of. That should be well and carefully looked into, and no position assumed in your communication to Congress upon so delicate a point, which is not palpably correct; as the doctrine of a *constructive levying of war* is justly unpopular in this Country: rendered the more so by the abuses of it in Europe. In all your communications to congress therefore I would confine my request, as strictly as possible, to the employment of the forces granted by them to exigencies which render its exercise indispensable to the due execution of the laws. The extent to which the hopes of the people rest upon you and the intense anxiety that nothing should be done that can be avoided, which lessens the chances of an amicable adjustment, will ensure, if they do not require, the observance of a greater degree of caution than might otherwise be deemed necessary. You will say I am on my old track—caution—caution: but my Dr Sir, I have always thought, that considering our respective temperaments, there was no way perhaps in which I could better render you that service which I owe you as well from a sense of deep gratitude as public duty.

I regret to see that the discussion of some of the doctrinal points of the proclamation, the most assailable of which might perhaps have been omitted without weakening the force or probable effect of that document, is likely to bring you in collision with Virginia. Whilst you carry the great body of the people in the other states with you upon the vital point, you will I am sure receive the dissent of that state with those feelings of toleration and magnanimity, which you have never failed to exhibit in all *honest* differences of opinion, upon points in respect to which men are so apt to disagree as the theory and proper operation of our peculiar system of Government. As matters stand, and as they are I think likely to remain, there is no difference of opinion between you which interferes with the performance of your duty according to your own views of it: and the present is not a season for the settlement or discussion of abstract propositions. They disclaim indignantly the right of a state to resist the execution of the laws, whilst she is in the Union, and insists that such resistance is criminal, and admitting, as who can deny, your duty to see to their execution. South Carolina has not, and will not secede. She will avail herself of the mediation of Virginia and postpone the operation of her ordinance, of this there cannot be reasonable doubt. It would be worse than madness in her to refuse to do so, and her leading men will be stimulated to it by the pressure of their internal dissensions. Even if she secedes most of the Virginians will admit, that it is a question for the remaining members of the confederacy to decide, whether they will form

a new Government, or wage a war agt. her to compel her to remain in the Union, and that the right of deciding upon the subject, whether the authority attempted to be exercised over her is authorized by the constitution or not, is reciprocal, as well also as the means of redress. If so that question is fitly to be decided by Congress, where you also mean to go for your means and authority. But my second sheet is nearly full and my letter already as long as you have time to read. I would have written you yesterday but have been engaged with the Gov in looking over his message I hope and trust that he will respond fully to your last message upon the subject of the Tariff. If so the public opinion here will soon settle down right and our members will be strengthened in their good intentions. Look at the *Argus* of today.² Remember me kindly to all your family and accept my sincere prayers for your health and happiness

² The Albany *Argus*, the organ of the Van Buren wing of the New York Democracy.

[Faint, illegible handwriting on a rectangular label]

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